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1817
ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS

William H. Seward

SEWARD

AT

Washington,

AS

SENATOR AND SECRETARY OF STATE.

A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE, WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS LETTERS.

1861-1872.

BY

FREDERICK W. SEWARD.

* * *

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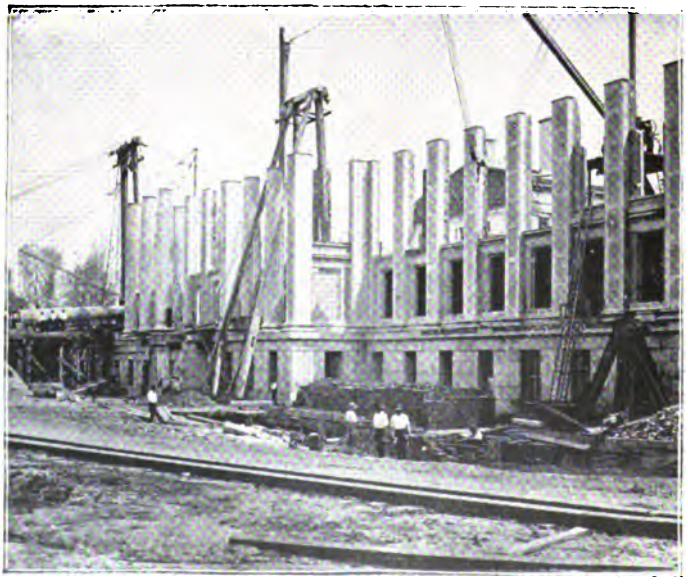
THE UNOFFICIAL ENVOYS.



THE TREASURY EXTENSION IN 1862.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

* * *

CHAPTER I.

1861.

Sending Public Men to Europe. "Unofficial" Representatives. Thurlow Weed. Bishop McIlvaine. Archbishop Hughes. General Scott's Retirement. Military Successes. Renewed Confidence. Increase of Volunteering. The Burnside Expedition. Capture of Mason and Slidell. The *Trent* Case. The Tripartite Alliance Against Mexico.

A MINISTER at a European court always receives the courtesy and respect due to his official character as a representative of his country. But that character also imposes restraints upon his freedom of movement and conversation. He must weigh his words, and be guarded in his inquiries. He must remain at or near his legation. He may not write for the press. Even at social reunions he must avoid talk that might embarrass his Government. It occurred to Seward, early in the war, that it would be desirable to have some prominent Americans in Europe, who could effectually supplement the Ministers, without being trammeled by official duties or restrictions. His suggestion was favorably received by the President and Cabinet.

Mr. Weed, in his "Autobiography," describes how the project was finally carried into execution:

Late in October, 1861, it was deemed important by the Administration that some gentlemen of experience, possessing a good knowledge of all the circumstances which preceded and occasioned the rebellion, should be sent abroad to disabuse the public mind, especially in England and France, where numerous and active agents of Secession and rebellion had long been at work in quarters too ready to accept versions unfavorable to the North. Simultaneously I arrived at Washington, and was informed by the Secretary of State that Edward Everett of Boston, and Archbishop Hughes of New York, J. P. Kennedy of Baltimore, and Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, had been invited to accept this mission, but that he was embarrassed by the declension of Messrs. Everett and Kennedy. The gentlemen selected were informed by the Secretary

of State that their actual expenses only would be paid. The Secretary then asked me to suggest two suitable persons to supply these vacancies. I named Mr. Winthrop of Boston, and Mr. Ewing of Ohio. He thought well of both, and said he would immediately suggest their names to the President and Cabinet. Archbishop Hughes, Bishop McIlvaine, and Secretary Chase were to dine that day with Secretary Seward. I told him that I would drop in after his guests had left in the evening. I called at nine o'clock, and found the Archbishop, who had been informed that I was expected, waiting for me. And now I learned, greatly to my surprise and regret, that the Archbishop had declined. Of the four gentlemen designated, Bishop McIlvaine alone had accepted. The Secretary, after I came in, resumed the conversation, and renewedly urged the Archbishop to accept. But he persisted in his declination, repeating, as I inferred, the reasons previously given.

The conversation was interrupted by a servant who ushered Baron Gerolt, the Prussian Minister, into the parlor. The Secretary seated himself with the Baron, upon a sofa in the ante-room; and I took advantage of the interruption to urge the Archbishop, with great earnestness, to withdraw his declination. * * * After a long pause he placed his hand upon my shoulder, and in his impressive manner, and clear, distinct voice, said: "Will you go with me?' * * * When Governor Seward returned, the Archbishop rose and said: "Governor, I have changed my mind; and will accept the appointment with this condition, that he," placing his hand again upon my shoulder, "goes with me as a colleague. And as you want us to sail next Wednesday, I shall leave for New York, by the first train in the morning. I lodge at the Convent at Georgetown, and will now take my leave So good-night, and good-bye."

I accompanied the Archbishop to his carriage, where after he was seated, he said, with a significant gesture, "This programme is not to be changed."

After describing the embarrassments apprehended from his appointment, but afterward happily surmounted, Mr. Weed continues:

Secretary Seward came on from Washington, on the Sunday night train, and immediately after breakfast, the Archbishop called upon him at the Astor House, as did Mr. R. M. Blatchford, and the late Mr. R. B. Minturn, to whom, with myself, the Secretary read his instructions, and then handed them to the Archbishop, with which he took his leave. Mr. Minturn then quite warmly expressed his gratification upon my appointment, to which Secretary Seward replied: "Mr. Weed goes abroad as a volunteer, and at his own expense." Mr. Minturn at first regarded this as a joke; but upon learning that the Secretary was in earnest, he left the room abruptly. I turned the conversation for a few minutes, and then left also. I found Mr. Minturn walking in the hall in front of my door, more than usually disturbed. He followed me into my room, and handed me a check for $1,000, remarking that I would find a credit at Baring Bros. in London, to meet my expenses, as long as the interests of the country required me to remain there. In due time, my letters to Earl Russell accrediting me unofficially to the English Government, to Honorable Charles Francis Adams, our Minister to England, to Honorable William L.

Dayton, our Minister to France, and to Prince Napoleon, were received. They were couched in language as strong and generous as confidence and friendship could inspire.

Seward's private instructions to the Archbishop were these:

You will repair to Paris; and will deliver to Mr. Dayton the dispatch herewith handed to you. You will on your way thither make yourself master of the contents thereof, by reading the copy which I confidentially intrusted to you. You will confer with Mr. Dayton upon the subject; and explain to him verbally my views, in desiring the fullest attainable knowledge of the disposition of the French Government, whether friendly or otherwise; and especially its views on the several questions set forth in my dispatch.

At the same time, you will be expected to do this in the most confidential manner, deferring in all cases to Mr. Dayton's judgment and acting as auxiliary to him only; as his cheerful consent, to the extent that he thinks your relations and associations, in Paris, and in Europe, may enable you to be useful.

He will be expected to receive you as a trusted, confidential and loyal and devoted citizen, who assumes this duty at much sacrifice to himself, and only on the earnest request of the President of the United States, upon a mature conviction of its importance, resulting from a conference with his advisers.

While in Paris, you will study how, in coöperation with Mr. Dayton, you can promote healthful opinions concerning the great cause for which our country is now engaged in arms. You will extend your visit to any part of Europe you may think proper; and will consider yourself at liberty to stay until recalled.

To Mr. Dayton, he added:

As the Archbishop has the confidence of the President and myself, you may confer freely with him upon public affairs; and may find his suggestions useful.

He wrote to Prince Napoleon:

Prince — Allow me to present to you, my intimate personal friend, Thurlow Weed, of Albany, N. Y. He visits Europe, unofficially, on business of this Government; and is naturally desirous of being known to one so deservedly high in position as yourself. There is scarcely a man in this country who surpasses Mr. Weed in knowledge, sagacity, and experience in regard to our public affairs. As with these he combines unblemished honor, I take pleasure in commending him to your regard.

On the last day of October, General Scott informed the War Department that his age and increasing infirmities compelled him to request that he might retire from active service. The Secretary of War laid this letter before the President. It was read in Cabinet meeting, and heard with unfeigned regret. At the close of the meeting the President and the whole Cabinet proceeded to the General's

house to signify the country's grateful sense of his long and illustrious services. The General rose to receive his visitors, and was deeply moved by such a mark of respect. It was a graceful act of courtesy to a faithful soldier. Press and people applauded it, and inquired with misgivings, "Where shall we find a successor worthy of the place?"

Before his departure for Europe, General Scott wrote from the Brevoort House to Seward:

I have no doubt that rest of mind will relieve me of the tendency to vertigo before arriving at Paris, and that a specialist in surgery there will, in a few weeks, enable me to walk comfortably.

As I am acquainted with many persons about the courts of Paris and London, it may be in my way, in private circles, to counteract, in some degree, the machinations of those arch-traitors Slidell and Mason, without incurring the penalties of Logan's act, or committing the slightest disrespect to my friends, Messrs. Dayton and Adams. If you think it worth while to favor me with hints to effect that end, I shall be happy to use them.

I am glad of this opportunity to renew my grateful recollection of a thousand kindnesses, old and new, I have received at your hands.

Bishop McIlvaine and Archbishop Hughes sailed for England in a Cunard steamer. Mr. Weed went with General Scott on the *Arago*, to Havre, narrowly escaping capture on the way by the Confederate steamer *Nashville*. No official record gives any detail of their labors, but they rendered valuable and timely service. Both in London and Paris their unofficial character enabled them to accomplish much that needed to be done, and which was out of the power of official envoys. They could go from one capital to another, talk freely and confidentially with public men, write for the press, correct errors, and smooth over difficulties without committing their own Government or embarrassing the foreign one.

Encouraged by the success of the Port Royal Expedition, the Administration was now preparing a still larger naval and military force under the command of General Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough, to be used against some other points on the Southern coast. News had come of the occupation, by Federal forces, of Beaufort, of Tybee Island near Savannah, and of Ship Island between Mobile and New Orleans. From Missouri and West Virginia continued to come intelligence of active and stirring, though indecisive movements. In the vicinity of Washington the gradual expansion of the Army of the Potomac was attended by an occasional reconnoissance or skirmish and finally occurred General Ord's victory at Dranesville, which was welcomed as further evidence that the tide of warlike success was

again setting in favor of the Union. Volunteering continued brisk. Replying to proffers of individual service from European officers, Seward wrote:

Our own countrymen are coming forward with just claims upon all positions requiring skill in the art of war, and we must avoid jealousies between native and foreign defenders of the Union. Already the forces in the field exceed half a million, and the officers charged with organizing them report to us that those recently recruited will swell the number to seven hundred thousand. If the insurrection should continue, it would be more difficult to keep them down to a million than to lift them up to that figure.

With the intelligence of military success came another piece of news which was hailed with similar public rejoicing. This was the taking of Mason and Slidell from the British steamer *Trent*, and their incarceration at Fort Warren. The Northern people applauded the act. Eminent publicists wrote in justification of it. Official approval was warmly expressed at the Navy Department and in Congress. The idea that they might be reclaimed was hardly mentioned. Any thought of their release was scouted.

Seward, aware that the chief responsibility must rest on his shoulders, abstained from talking of the matter, but wrote a confidential note to Mr. Adams:

We are impressed very favorably by Lord Palmerston's conversation with you. You spoke the simple fact when you told him that the life of this insurrection is sustained by its hopes of recognition in Great Britain and France. * * * Since that conversation was held, Captain Wilkes, in the steamer *San Jacinto*, has boarded a British colonial steamer and taken from her deck two insurgents, who were proceeding to Europe on an errand of treason against their own country. This is a new incident, unknown to and unforeseen, at least in its circumstances, by Lord Palmerston. It is to be met and disposed of by the two Governments, if possible, in the spirit to which I have adverted. Lord Lyons has prudently refrained from opening the subject to me, as he is, I presume, waiting instructions from home. We have done nothing on the subject to anticipate the discussion, and we have not furnished you with any explanations. We adhere to that course now because we think it more prudent that the ground taken by the British Government should be first made known to us here, and that the discussion, if there must be one, shall be had here. It is proper, however, that you should know one fact in the case, without indicating that we attach much importance to it, namely, that, in the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board a British vessel, Captain Wilkes having acted without any instructions from the Government, the subject is, therefore, free from the embarrassment which might have resulted if the act had been specially directed by us. I trust that the British Government will consider the subject in a friendly temper, and it may expect the best disposition on the part of this Government.

Although this is a confidential note, I shall not object to your reading it to Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston.

Writing to Mrs. Seward, he remarked:

Great Britain is trying to keep peace with us, but the jealousies and cupidity of the British must be gratified. We bear and do not beg. She says we intentionally provoke her. The Mason and Slidell affair will try the British temper. The British people will sympathize with them in their capture, because we exult so greatly in their discomfiture.

Another question which seemed to threaten new trouble was that in regard to the tripartite alliance against Mexico. He wrote to Mr. Corwin:

I have delayed replying some days for the reason that I surely expected the answers of the British, French, and Spanish Governments to our propositions. These have come at last in the form of the Convention, mutually concluded by them, for hostilities against Mexico, with an invitation to us to join in the Convention. I send you a copy of it, together with my reply to that communication.

CHAPTER II.

1861.

Congress Assembled. The Message. Recognition of Hayti and Liberia. Emancipation in the District. The "*Trent*" Case. The British Demand. The Reply. The Cabinet Meetings. The Reaction in Public Feeling.

AT noon on Monday, the 2d of December, the flags were again hoisted over Senate and House at the Capitol. Congress had begun its regular session.

The President's Message opened by referring to the strained relations with foreign powers, as shown by the diplomatic correspondence of the Secretary of State, remarking that "a nation which endures factious domestic division is exposed to disrespect abroad." It alluded to the temptation which the contest offered to foreign powers to intervene, in order to gain commercial advantage. In view of possible complications, it recommended attention to the sea-coast defenses. The Message abstained from any reference to the "*Trent*" affair. In accordance with Seward's advice, it contained a paragraph proposing recognition of Hayti and Liberia, and suggesting the expediency of an appropriation for a *chargé d' affaires* to each of those republics. The greater portion of the document was, of course, devoted to the war;

the President making many judicious recommendations for strengthening the military, naval, and financial efficiency of the Government.

One of the earliest and most engrossing topics of the congressional session was the slavery question. Bills and resolutions were introduced in both Houses, in regard to the disposition to be made of the fugitives who came into the Union lines, and of the slaves found at work in places captured. On these arose a long and protracted debate. Among Republicans there was a growing feeling that the slave-holders, in trying to overthrow the Government, had forfeited any claim for governmental help in recapturing their slaves. On the other hand, Conservatives and "War Democrats" desired to avoid extreme measures that might alienate the support of Union men in the Northern and border States.

A practical step was proposed in the early days of the session by Senator Wilson, who introduced a bill kindred in character to that introduced by Seward in 1850 for the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia, with due compensation to the owners.

Seward's bill had been anathematized as "incendiary" and "revolutionary," and summarily voted down, receiving only five votes. Wilson's was now stoutly contested, but when it came to be voted on, its supporters outnumbered its opponents, and it became a law.

Mrs. Seward was stopping at Philadelphia with her daughter, whom she had placed at school there. A letter to her said:

December 5, 1861.

I almost obtained my own consent to meet you on your arrival at Philadelphia. It proved fortunate that I did not. I had occasion to be useful here. Perhaps I may go up to-morrow or Saturday, and spend Sunday with you. I am wild with apprehension of being found delinquent on the business of the department, which this week has been especially heavy.

To speak truth, there is very little satisfaction in writing to you. I cannot talk on paper, with safety, of the incidents and interests of the day in which I am engaged. I would not leave a record of such things which might be unjust to others — perhaps, being misunderstood, would be unjust to myself. Even the common topics of political conversation must not be touched upon, lest somebody should fall upon the manuscript and make treason out of it.

So you are at school again. I did not foresee this. I have always said that we should end our days in California, whither you would follow your children, dragging me after you. I look upon your going to boarding-school at fifty-six as only preliminary to the migration westward.

I shall hope to look in on you and Fanny. But unless you go incontinently to talking French, I think you had better come here and talk English with me.

The Auburn Second Regiment go straight to Fort Pickens. It is well.

Congress is occupied with great responsibilities; among them, to get consulates, and supervise the Executive Administration; especially the conduct of

the war. In this they are representatives of the press, which they mistake for the people.

The foreign mails now brought news of the outburst of anger in England over the "*Trent*" affair, and the preparations for war with America. The intelligence that it was regarded as not only an insult, but an intentional one, was received with surprise. The popular exultation had been over the discomfiture and capture of the rebel envoys. The incidental question as to what Great Britain would think of it had excited little attention. Doubts began to be felt and to find expression in the press as to what might be the outcome. A fall in stocks, and a sudden rise of the premium on gold, reflected the popular apprehensions. But as yet no one was prepared to relinquish the prisoners. Frequent inquiries were made of Seward about the line of action to be adopted, but he declined to talk of the case until the expected communication from the British Government should be received. Lord Lyons was equally reticent, and the newspapers contented themselves with speculations on the probabilities of war, and descriptions of the captives' life in Fort Warren, usually winding up by asserting, "Of course, they can never be given up. The country would never forgive any man who should propose such a surrender."

On the 20th of December, Lord Lyons came to the Department of State. He had received from the Foreign Office the demand of the British Government for the liberation of Mason and Slidell. Before presenting it, he would leave with Seward a copy for his informal examination and perusal. This was quietly done, and the Secretary of State commenced the draft of his answer before the arrival of the dispatch was generally known in Washington. Closing his door against visitors, he devoted one entire day to the preparation of the reply. It was long and carefully considered. It recited not only the story of the case, but made an elaborate analysis and review of the principles of international law which seemed to bear upon it. Arriving at length at a point which was the gist of the whole controversy, he said:

I have not been unaware that in examining this question I have fallen into an argument for what seems to be the British side of it, against my own country. But I am relieved from all embarrassment on that subject. I had hardly fallen into that line of argument when I discovered that I was really defending and maintaining, not an exclusively British interest, but an old, honored, and cherished American cause, not upon British authorities, but upon principles that constitute a larger portion of the distinctive policy of the United States. These principles were laid down for us in 1804 by James Madison when Secretary of State in the Administration of Thomas Jefferson, in in-

structions given to James Monroe, our Minister to England. The ground he assumed then was the same I now occupy, and the arguments by which he sustained himself upon it have been an inspiration to me in preparing this reply.

He remarked, therefore:

If I decide this case in favor of my own Government I must disavow its most cherished principles, and reverse and forever abandon its essential policy. The country cannot afford the sacrifice. If I maintain those principles and adhere to that policy, I must surrender the case itself. It will be seen, therefore, that this Government could not deny the justice of the claim presented to us, upon its merits. We are asked to do to the British nation just what we have always insisted all nations ought to do to us.

Adverting then to the effect of this decision upon the future relations of the two countries, he said:

Cases might be found in history where Great Britain refused to yield to other nations, and even to ourselves, claims like that which is now before us. She could, in no other way, so effectually disavow any such injury, as we think she does, by assuming now, as her own, the ground upon which we then stood.

He concluded with an expression of satisfaction, "that by the adjustment of the present case upon principles confessedly American, and yet, as we trust, mutually satisfactory to both the nations concerned, a question is finally and rightly settled between them; which heretofore, exhausting not only all forms of peaceful discussion, but also the arbitrament of war itself, for more than half a century alienated the two countries from each other."

The Cabinet meeting which considered the question was an anxious and earnest one. Seward stated the case and gave the substance of his views in regard to it. Other members, not having studied the subject, naturally shared in the popular feeling. "At least," as one said, "we need not decide at once. Let us settle it that we won't surrender them to-day. We can meet again and consider about it to-morrow." So the matter went over.

After the other gentlemen had retired, the President said, "Governor Seward, you will go on, of course, preparing your answer, which, as I understand it, will state the reasons why they ought to be given up. Now I have a mind to try my hand at stating the reasons why they ought *not* to be given up. We will compare the points on each side."

Seward heartily assented. The mutual confidence between the two had now grown so great that each felt the other would ask approval of nothing that was not sound.

On the next day the Cabinet reassembled. Seward read his reply. There were some expressions of regret that the step was necessary,

but it was adopted without a dissenting voice. The council broke up, reassured on the point that war with England was averted, but not without misgivings as to the temper in which the people would receive the decision. The President expressed his approval.

When the others were gone, Seward alluded to their conversation of the day before. "You thought you might frame an argument for the other side?"

Mr. Lincoln smiled, and shook his head. "I found I could not make an argument that would satisfy my own mind," he said; "and that proved to me your ground was the right one."

This was characteristic of Lincoln. Presidents and Kings are not apt to see flaws in their own arguments. But, fortunately for the Union, it had a President, at this time, who combined a logical intellect with an unselfish heart.

On the evening of Friday there were several guests at dinner with Seward, among them Mr. and Mrs. Crittenden and Mr. Trollope, the novelist. Afterward came friends who, hearing rumors of a decision in the *Trent* matter, desired to have them verified, and to thank the Secretary for his sagacity in extricating the country from its dilemma. Coupled with their compliments, however, were many regrets, that the act must inevitably doom him to unpopularity, since the people would resent the loss of their prisoners, and would deem themselves humiliated by the surrender. It was "too bad that he must sacrifice himself," etc., etc.

Seward merely said: "Well, if a sacrifice is required, it is for me to make it, for mine is the department to which the case belongs."

But now came the evidence of the sterling good sense of the American people. When the decision was announced in the papers, its first visible effects were the relief manifested by all loyal men, and the chagrin which the disloyal could not conceal. Public confidence was restored and renewed. Men meeting each other in the streets shook hands over it, and said, "*Now*, we shall pull through."

Down dropped the premium on gold. Up went the prices of United States stocks. Recruiting offices showed that volunteering was briskly renewed. The expected storm of public indignation did not come. Nobody seemed to feel humilitated. Nobody condemned the act but the sympathizers with secession, and they shook their heads over "Seward's infernal cunning."

A day or two later, when the public had had time to read the document and the newspapers had opportunity for comment, it was seen that in returning Mason and Slidell, the United States had established, beyond peradventure, the doctrine for which the war of 1812 was

fought, and had committed England to it also. Then the sense of relief gave place to exultation. Thanks and congratulations began to pour in upon Seward by every mail. Apparently, instead of working his ruin, it was likely to prove one of the most popular acts of his life.

Seward used to say of the Cabinet, that although chosen without special reference to questions of war, and made up of men who represented different political theories, yet under the pressure of the great crisis, it rose to the level of its responsibilities, and met them fairly and successfully. He said that he doubted whether any Cabinet that ever sat in that room had acted with more of harmony or more singleness of patriotic purpose. There were men of "strong opinions" and feelings among them, but each of them was ready to subordinate personal desires or prejudices to the line of action found necessary for the national safety. All were now coöperating heartily and laboring earnestly night and day.

CHAPTER III.

1861.

State of Feeling in London and Paris. Weed's Letters. The "Unofficial" Envoys. Edward Everett. Duchess of Sutherland. Charlotte Cushman. M. Thouvenel. Troops for Canada Stopped by the Ice. John Hay. *"Esse Quam Videri."*

MEANWHILE the three "unofficial envoys" were finding plenty of work abroad. They sent no dispatches for the public files, but their private letters, which were beginning to come, reported freely what they were doing. Every day Mr. Weed wrote a few hasty lines. His notes gave a graphic picture of the state of feeling in London and Paris while the "*Trent* question" was in doubt.

PARIS, *December* 2.

The storm in England and France intensifies. The public mind, as I wrote you, was poisoned in advance.

I saw a letter from a high source from London in which it is again said that you want to provoke a war with England for the purpose of getting Canada. This writer asks the correspondent to inquire whether your personal relations with Lord Lyons were unpleasant.

A friendly article which we expected in the "*Debats*" this morning was excluded, and a hostile one inserted.

We have just left General Scott, with his signature to a letter, which we hope will do some good.

Captain Eastman, whom Sanford sent to Southampton, reports here that the "*Nashville*" cannot get to sea in ten days. So we do nothing about the ship here, as there will be time for action at home.

You are in a "tight place," and I pray that you may be imbued with the wisdom the emergency requires. *This is* true. The English Government assumes that our Government has full knowledge of the laws and authorities — our own, they say, being the most recent and the best — and that if the taking of the rebels from under the protection of the British flag was intended, and is avowed, and maintained, *it means war.*

A marine ship-master of intelligence and devotion, who left London on Saturday, says that the indignation is wild and permeates all classes.

PARIS, *December* 4.

Systematic agencies and efforts must have been employed to poison both the English Government and people against you. It crops out in the London journals through all their articles.

I was last evening with Sidney Brooks who, with his wife, has just returned from England. Warm friends of yours. They say they saw much of you over here. They were surprised and annoyed at the distrust and ill-will toward you in England. All around they found people fortified with evidences of your hostility to England. This was as unexpected to them as it is to me, for I thought you had left favorable impressions there.

Dr. McClintock is really the most enlightened, efficient and devoted man I have found here. He labors truly and incessantly. I shall take his letter of introduction and go directly to London. * * * If everybody here did not receive and treat me with marked consideration and kindness, I should wonder why I came.

General Scott's letter in this morning's "*Universel,*" is doing good. I hope the views it presents are not in conflict with your own.

I am offered the columns of three prominent journals. Mr. Dayton and Mr. Bigelow think it important. * * * A French gentleman of fortune (M. Loubat) came and offered his purse this morning for any purpose I deemed useful to the cause. But I did not feel at liberty to accept advances from a stranger. He seemed sure, that by some sort of intuition I was apprised of your views on the "*Trent*" question, and that they were expressed over General Scott's name.

LONDON, *December* 5.

If in earnest, as they seem, they are really preparing for war here. War gives them cotton and a market in the South. Will not the "almighty dollar" carry Maryland with the South, and the British come again to Washington? * * * The Secessionists in Paris are certainly jubilant over it.

LONDON, *December* 6.

I have been an hour with Mr. Adams whose forecast, confidence, and kindness relieved me from all embarrassment. He shares in all my apprehensions, having, of course, better lights to guide his judgment. He thinks that this new complication occurred, of course, unexpectedly, to give England occa-

PRINCE ALBERT.

COUNT DE MORNY.

sion for accepting what, they fully believe, we and yourself especially desire. That war comes in their way, and they stumble over it — most unseasonably, I fear, for us.

What I mentioned yesterday about the Duke of Newcastle is too true. Whatever you said to him has been used, first, to put the Ministry against you, and has now been given to the newspapers.

The Ministry has also been poisoned by the infernal slanders so rife at home, which Blatchford, Minturn, and I endeavored to stop in New York. Mr. Adams has contradicted them emphatically, but was glad to have my positive confirmation of his convictions.

Most of this mischief has been done here by the press, many or most of the journals being controlled by the Confederate appliances. It may be too late now, but I could, with some means, soon change their tone. Wilson and Morgan want me to meet journalists this evening, but I dine with Sir E. Tennant and go to the Hon. Mr. Kinnaird's afterward.

LONDON, *December* 6.

My instincts, before hearing others say a word on the *Trent* affair, were right. God grant that you also foresaw the wisdom of concession to English tenacity about the honor of its flag. Every thing here is upon a war footing. Such prompt and gigantic preparations were never known. There is general distrust of and hostility to yourself; how created or why, I know not. It has been skillfully worked. I was told yesterday, repeatedly, that I ought to write the President demanding your dismissal. Though I disclaim all official relations with the Government, my disclaimers go for nothing. My relations with you seem as well known, here, as at home.

I dined yesterday with a large party at Sir Emerson Tennant's, all friends of our cause, but all intently anxious for the release of S. and M., partly because they think the "honor of England" requires it; but mainly as a concession for peace.

Among Generals, Admirals, M. Ps. etc. were two most intelligent millionaires from Manchester (Messrs. Ashworth and Pender) who told me that all Manchester would wait patiently for cotton another year, rather than do or say any thing to embarrass the North; that the Confederate emissaries had failed to get any sympathy in Manchester. I promised them a visit, unless we are all driven home by war.

A colonel, whose regiment is ordered to Canada, said that he would talk with me as a gentleman (not the soldier) and expressed the greatest repugnance and horror of such a war; and hoped that from discretion and policy, you would avert the calamity.

It is said, in "high places," that you seek war with England, because the Rebel War will ruin you; and the suspicion that S. and M. are in collusion with Wilkes and Fairfax gains ground.

LONDON, *December* 10.

You are, of course, burdened with cares; but if this "corner is turned," it is really important some attention should be given, indirectly, to London and Paris, where, I am quite sure, much can be done to smooth every difficulty.

I am already in communication with influential persons; and have access to others, by whose influence a world of mischief could have been arrested. You have been infernally abused, and are wholly misunderstood here.

Whatever you did say to the Duke of Newcastle is regarded as evidence of your determined enmity to England; and even the friends you made here, many of whom I have met, are carried away by this idea. And, consequently, war, unless you avert it, is inevitable. I pray that I am not mistaken in the hope that you comprehend the disastrous effect of such a war. I know, or fear that, at home, another view or side to this question exists. But be assured there is but one side to it. With England as an auxiliary to rebellion, we are "crushed out."

You have not overestimated the confidence and affection of Mr. and Mrs. Adams for you. It has all the warmth and freshness of better times. I shall bring Mr. Adams into communication with intelligent and influential English friends of the North.

I am already in deep water here, and feel much distrust; but shall endeavor to navigate prudently. I have had pleasant interviews with Bishop McIlvaine, who is devoted and wise.

Lord Lyndhurst has asked to see me, and I go to him to-morrow.

PARIS, *December* 16.

I came over here to consult with Dayton, Sanford (who met me by appointment), and Bigelow, about two important matters; but, as some think letters begin to be tampered with, I will forbear.

The Archbishop is to see the Emperor, and, therefore, I, for the present, at any rate, forbear to act upon a suggestion when last here.

The feeling of the French people and, as I fear, the Government, is against us in the *Trent* question. And it is claimed that the opinion of Europe is against us.

I would have written you all that "Lord John" said to me, if I had been sure that you had time to read even my letters. You will see my letter to the London *Times*. I ventured into the "Lion's Den" and of course got scratched; but the letter is useful in England, and is copied into Paris journals.

LONDON, *December* 18.

I have information of a nature so important, and yet of such a character, that I do not deem it safe in the post-office here. In talking it over with Mr. Adams I suggested a special dispatch. I have a fact which I was only permitted to make known to the President; and I make it known through you. The last use Prince Albert made of a pencil was to soften the dispatch to Lord Lyons, in relation to Slidell and Mason. The Queen, who, I told you, was our friend (our only one in the Government, I fear) objected strenuously to the tone and language of the dispatch as presented to her; and it was modified by the Prince, at her request. I have this from a gentleman who saw the interlineations in the handwriting of Prince Albert.

But now for my budget. Portland is to be struck at first; with the expectation of holding it for the winter, and for the transition of their troops and

munitions, while the ice shuts them out of the rivers. * * * Again, the Secessionists now rely on England confidently to help them; and turn all their efforts to "fan the flame." They promise cotton and the trade of the Western States. And steam privateers are now fitting; Secessionists furnishing the officers; Englishmen the vessels and seamen.

I got back last night, and went to work organizing a journal to reach the people through the press.

11 *P. M.*

I am just back from dinner with Mr. Hargraves, who brought five Members of Parliament to meet me. Of course the conversation was all about America, and much of it of yourself. The men I met this evening will all stand by us in Parliament; and will all do so in the expectation that our war will end slavery.

December 18, 11 *P. M.*

Your dispatch to Mr. Adams, in reply to his giving you his conversation with Lord Palmerston, afforded him and me a gleam of hope. As Lord Palmerston is sick, he takes it to Earl Russell to-morrow.

I hope to be useful here, if the "tail does not come loose" on the 20th or 26th.

The King of Belgium pays a visit to the Queen. Sanford has endeavored to put a word into his ear for us.

LONDON, *December* 20.

Another "last word." The stocks have gone up to-day, on, as is supposed, Mr. Adams' interview with Earl Russell, though whatever transpires comes from themselves.

We are making excellent headway with the press.

What I said to you yesterday, about the friendship of the Queen, and the softening of the language of the dispatch by Prince Albert, is true. I have it confirmed, from Sir Henry Holland, to-day.

P. S.—We rose at six this morning, to see the Fusileer Guards depart for Canada.

LONDON, *December* 27.

Even if we avert war about the *Trent*, other troubles are close at hand, for Parliament will open in full cry for recognizing independence, breaking blockade, etc., etc.

I have read your foreign correspondence with great satisfaction, and even Englishmen, who believe we mean to provoke war, admit its great ability.

I work all day, and dine nearly all night.

We have access to several journals, for which we have one very able writer, Torrens McCulloch, and two subordinates.

Of the Archbishop's interview with the Emperor, you will have heard.

LONDON, *December* 27.

I am urged to go to the principal cities, where it is supposed I can do good, but just now I cannot leave London.

I commence dining at the clubs on Monday, first at the "Reform," with Mr. Evans, who asks a party to meet me.

LONDON, *December* 31.

I confer with Mr. Adams constantly, having his concurrence in all I do or say. We are just back from dinner there, and though I hear nothing from you, and don't know that you care to be annoyed, yet Mr. and Mrs. A. would be surprised to know that I have not heard a syllable from you. With ten lines, in the spirit which has characterized your letters to me, I could have calmed the troubled waters here. As it is, in the *belief* that I represent you, I have accomplished much.

Bishop McIlvaine has been in the country for more than a week, and remains several days longer, visiting bishops and clergy, and doing good wherever he goes.

Mr. Ellis has been visiting ministers in the country, but returned to London to-day, and I am to breakfast again with him to-morrow.

Yesterday, at the Reform Club, where I expected to meet Mr. Cobden, at dinner, his friend, Mr. Evans, handed me a letter from him, explaining why he could not come to town, and desiring to impress upon me the importance of preparing you for an organized movement in Parliament, for a recognition of the Confederate States, and the consequent negation of the blockade, under a provision in the Treaty of Paris in 1815, prohibiting the blockade of rivers running through two countries.

England certainly behaved well in refusing to unite with the French Emperor in disregarding the blockade; and but for some accidental causes, the feeling here might have been with us, though the ill success of our Army, for four months, weakened us all over Europe.

The real trouble now is that Europe doubts our ability to subdue the rebellion.

Two or three letters, from widely separated places, will serve to illustrate the feeling on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Duchess of Sutherland wrote:

CLEVEDEN, *December* 8.

I do not know if you will recollect me; but I think so. I liked much having known you. Your feeling toward England seemed so friendly. Your aspirations, your earnestness against slavery were so great, I rejoiced in hearing you speak.

With these feelings, can I believe that *war* is contemplated by you, that it is *not impossible*, that in the midst of a civil war, not unaccounted for, you are going to undertake one, or seem to be, with a country for which you must have a filial feeling; for, after all, the utmost of the American's feeling toward England is, that we did not sympathize sufficiently with your war. This is reason for regret, not war. The sympathy would have come, as the nobler part of the motives had developed themselves. The friends that knew you best did not doubt that detestation of slavery had prepared your blood for the acceptance of so terrible an alternative.

Then you have made England responsible for the language of the press! Why have you thought it as much the voice of the country? Can you, can

we contemplate a monstrous alliance with the South, which being your enemy would make us? I heard of Lord Clarendon saying "it would be like a war between London and Liverpool." It cannot be; reason and feeling equally revolt; it cannot be.

Stay this treacherous state of things, with all the force of your understanding and of your feelings; which I will not believe can do otherwise than intensely desire that there should be no breach between us. Reserve your energy for the finest cause in the world, which I believe does reign in so many hearts, and in yours, — the abolition of slavery — the curse that is worse than war. Do not, while you achieve this long desire of our souls, do not let us feel that we are not with you.

You know that much sorrow has come to me since I saw you. I am a widow, and my sight is feeble. I was very happy then; — but all this contrast cannot prevent the absorbing interest and intense desire that we should both be spared the sin of such a war.

Charlotte Cushman wrote:

ROME, *December* 4, 1861.

DEAR AND VALUED FRIEND:

I want this note to reach you at Christmas time, for it bears you the affectionate greeting of a sincere friend for that day and many, many other happy ones. An opportunity is afforded me of sending this to Paris, and I send it as you told me, I might sometimes do, through the "Ambassador's bag."

You will be too busy for me to intrude upon you long, and I will only tell you how anxiously I have watched all your movements from the distance, and how hard it is to be patient, as you are and must be, with all the miles between me and the great events which are taking place at home. I don't know that it would seem as trouble to you, were you in my place, for you are a patient man, and I only an impulsive woman; but every day and every hour seems to make matters at home less clear to me, and sometimes I am faint and sick at heart as the clouds of injustice and wickedness rise up on this side to obscure my true vision. I cannot be in America now, and yet my every thought is *there*. I am fain to think that my place is here, where I can help those of my own sex to work, better than I can at home.

But my heart, my prayers, my aspirations, and my thoughts, are with all you great, good, earnest workers at home. We have but few loyal Americans abroad. Secession abounds, and it is hard to see and hear their triumphs. We are just in the midst of the news of the seizure of the Commissioners, and doubt and fear sits upon every Northern heart. My faith in your prudence, and wisdom, and sagacity is unbounded.

Forgive me for bothering you at such terrible moments. I should be so thankful to have a word from some one of you, just one word to bid me believe and take heart. Get Fanny to write to me, or Mr. or Mrs. Frederick Seward, to say how you are, whether you are well and hopeful, and how the tide is running.

Dear friend, believe that I write to you in all affectionate interest, and that I am anxious for and about you, although my faith in you is so strong. The

dangers with which you are encompassed do not fright me, for you are strong to crush them, but a word from or about you would give comfort to the heart of

Your faithful friend,

CHARLOTTE CUSHMAN.

Mr. Everett wrote:

BOSTON, *December* 30, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. SEWARD:

Allow me to congratulate you on the mode in which you have disposed of the Mason and Slidell affair. The situation was extremely difficult in itself, and wantonly made more so by the ferocity of the English press and the greed of the party leaders to get, or to keep office. You have baffled them all; and will be deemed in the eyes of the impartial world, to have gained a much more enviable victory over them than they could have gained by iron-plated steamers and Armstrong guns.

Let us hope that the conciliatory course pursued by the Administration on this occasion will not invite new aggression. In haste

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

P. S.—I spoke at Auburn on Christmas evening, to the apparent acceptance of a very fine audience. I much regretted that my very brief stay did not allow me to enjoy your son's kindly proffered hospitality.

Seward wrote to Weed:

WASHINGTON, *December* 27, 1861.

Of course I am unable to write in reply to your many letters, which are very useful, and now, when possible, shown to the President, and hailed with pleasure by the Cabinet.

You will see what has been done. You will know who did it. You will hardly be more able to shield me from the reproaches for doing it, than you have been to shield me in England from the reproaches of hostility to that country, and designs for war against it.

I saw the Duke of Newcastle only the one night at Albany, and then had only the few words possible on the way from the hotel to the cars. The whole of the story, as I see it here, is fabricated. I never said or thought a word like it. But all I could have said is so opposite, that I am amazed that he lets it pass, except it be on the ground, as I do, that it is impossible to correct popular errors, engendered in political heat.

Shortly after the decision in the *Trent* case was made, a note from M. Mercier, the French Minister, was received, inclosing a copy of a dispatch from Mr. Thouvenel, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reference to the same subject, which plainly foreshadowed that France would make common cause with Great Britain in any war that should grow out of it. Seward, in acknowledging the note, remarked that the case had already been decided. "That disposition of the subject renders unnecessary any discussion of it. Mr. Thouvenel, however,

has not been in error in supposing that the United States would consistently vindicate, on this occasion, the character so long maintained, as an advocate of the most liberal principles concerning the rights of neutral States."

One of the incidents of the *Trent* matter had a humorous side. The British Government had hastened to dispatch troops to Quebec. A vessel bearing one detachment, on arriving in the St. Lawrence, found that river closed with ice, and so put into Portland, Maine. The only way to reach their destination was to cross the State of Maine, and that could only be done by permission of the United States Government. When the request reached the Secretary of State he granted it with prompt courtesy, and the detachment proceeded by rail. An expression of indignation in a local paper — that soldiers to be used against the United States should be allowed to use its soil to get into position, was ridiculed by the others, who pointed out the absurdity of expecting damage from that "handful of redcoats," to a nation that already had half a million of men under arms.

The story of this eventful year of Seward's life cannot have a more appropriate ending than these lines, written at the time, by John Hay:

TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

"*Esse Quam Videri.*"

(Motto of the Seward family.)

The knightly legend of thy shield betrays,
The moral of thy life — a forecast wise;
And that large honor, that deceit defies,
Inspired thy fathers in the elder days,
Who decked thy 'scutcheon with that sturdy phrase,
"To *be*, rather than *seem*." As eve's red skies,
Surpass the morning's rosy prophecies,
Thy life, to that proud boast, its answer pays,
Scorning thy faith and purpose to defend;
And so, a generous people, at the last,
Will hail the power they did not comprehend,
Thy fame will broaden through the centuries;
As storm, and billowy tumult overpast,
The moon rules calmly o'er the conquered seas.

JOHN HAY.

WASHINGTON, *December*, 1861.

CHAPTER IV.

1862.

Delivery of the Prisoners. The "*Rinaldo*" at Provincetown. Weed's Letters. War Preparations in England. France and England to Break the Blockade. Proposed Recognition of the Confederacy. Reception of the "*Trent*" Dispatch in Europe. Parliamentary Movements. Death of Prince Albert.

ONE morning while Seward was at breakfast, Captain Fox, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, came in to consult him in regard to the delivery of Mason and Slidell, who were still at Fort Warren. The diplomatic question had been settled and the country seemed to acquiesce in the decision. It would be very unfortunate now, he remarked, if any popular excitement should arise to complicate matters. None such was anticipated. Yet the sight of a British frigate coming into Boston harbor and taking prisoners out from under the American flag, was one that certainly would attract attention and perhaps provoke disturbance. To avoid any such contingency, he suggested that the delivery be made at some more remote and quiet place, such as Provincetown.

Lord Lyons had already informed Seward that the frigate *Rinaldo* had been designated for the service, subject to his orders, and she would go to whatever point the Secretary of State might prefer. Provincetown was agreed upon accordingly.

Another suggestion made by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy was, that the delivery should be made by the State and not by the Navy Department. To give up prisoners made by the Navy would not be a pleasant task for a naval officer; but to close a diplomatic negotiation by the transfer of prisoners of State would be a creditable one to a civil functionary. Seward agreed that this was reasonable, and said it required a man of tact and discretion — qualities that life in the Department of State was supposed to cultivate.

That night Mr. E. D. Webster, of that department, was on his way to Boston with the Secretary's instructions in his pocket. He performed his mission with such celerity and secrecy that he was at the wharf at Fort Warren, with a steam tug, before the Boston people knew his errand. The commander of the fort was glad to be relieved of his charge. The prisoners had divided feelings. They were naturally glad to get out of confinement; but they saw that their going ended the chance of the hoped-for war between the United States and Great Britain. Mr. Slidell at first refused to go in the tug at all, saying he would wait till a British officer came for him. However, they were all

placed on board, and, in a few hours more, were duly escorted up the side of H. B. M. frigate *Rinaldo*, at Provincetown, without excitement, the "Cape Cod Folks" being apparently either ignorant of, or indifferent to, their departure.

Meanwhile European advices continued to bring fresh evidence of unfriendly feeling. Weed wrote at Christmas time:

LONDON, *December* 25.

Your dispatch to Mr. Adams, with the dispatch of Mr. Thouvenel, has partly settled the English mind for peace.

But now new troubles begin to attract attention. The Confederate emissaries have been, and are working for a recognition of their independence. Napoleon, supposed hostile, demands the breaking of the blockade. I regard this as worse than recognition, but both points are to be raised and passed upon in Parliament, which meets for business on the 14th proximo, unless our friends can stave it off till February. Enemies here and elsewhere have poisoned the British Government, press, and people, against you. With this I would not annoy you, if it did not enter into our public affairs, and if it were not well that you should know even disagreeable things. Men are ransacking your three volumes for every word against England.

I have done something, and hope to do more, in turning back this adverse feeling. By needful concessions I have the ear of the British people, and to a greater extent than I expected, the use of the London press.

I see that R. throws out the idea that war with England would reunite the States. This is a false one. It would do no such thing. It would only be seized upon to effect their own traitorous purpose.

Some gentlemen (English) urge me to go through the kingdom seeing editors, etc., saying that it will do good.

Seward wrote back:

WASHINGTON, *January* 2, 1862.

If I had not nerves of steel, I should give up my place, and let some less offending man take it up. They say I sent John Brown to Virginia to raise a slave insurrection. Everybody waits for me to prove that I did not. They charge me with "compromising." The press calls upon me to prove that I am not guilty. They charge me with gross vices: Friends ask "can it be so bad," and call upon me for refutations. They say I want war with England. Immediately I must prove that I love England better than our own country. The Duke of Newcastle, forgetful of the amenities of a dinner, gives the press a story about insulting the Prince of Wales and his whole party, and I must immediately go into a defense.

Now, either I have character enough for sense and decency to live through silly falsehoods like these, caused by hatred of our country and her cause; or I have not. If I have not, I ought to be compelled at once to relinquish a place which some other can fill better.

I have prepared a note to the Duke of Newcastle, but have thrown it into the fire. Before this silly canard could be exposed, some new one would be started.

With love to Harriet, I am ever your unfortunate friend, who has faith in everybody and enjoys the confidence of nobody.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Weed's letters continued:

LONDON, *January* 4, 1862.

Mr. Moffitt, M. P., with whom I dined yesterday, brought Rt. Hon. Milner Gibson, Mr. Villars, Lord Clarence Paget, and Mr. Layard to meet me. I had much and free conversation with the two members of the Cabinet, and a long talk with Lord Clarence of the Admiralty. Mr. Gibson, as you know, is unreservedly our friend, while Mr. Villars (brother to Lord Clarendon) sincerely deprecates war, and while he thinks we can never be reunited, says the North has the right, and that when separated, the South will not be capable of self-government.

Lord Clarence told me how actively the Admiralty had been fitting the Navy. He said he prayed constantly for peace, and would thank God devoutly if war is averted.

Mr. Villars spoke of your recently published State papers, not only as evincing great ability, but as models in taste and tone.

Mr. Ward, late Chinese Minister, came here to-day to tell me of your kindness and confidence in him. * * * I, too, believe him to be a perfectly truthful and sincere man, and who, if the time ever comes, may be relied on to be useful in the South.

At breakfast with Sir Henry Holland this morning, he showed me a letter from Mr. Winthrop, recalling the fact that, when it was reported that Napoleon was endeavoring to get to America, in an American ship, England sent a British frigate to intercept her and take him out. But half-a-century-old precedents are not to the purpose.

LONDON, *January* 6.

I am just warm from dinner at the Reform Club, where several important personages came to meet me, and to talk. The result of all which is a conviction that our troubles here are just commencing.

I heard from Torrens McCulloch this afternoon, that France had renewed its suggestion of breaking the blockade. This was confirmed at the Club, by a gentleman near Lord Palmerston. The Emperor has not yet been telegraphed. If you have proposed arbitration, or adopted any course which induces delay, I see nothing but trouble ahead, for with Europe backing England, and the sentiment of the world against us, I do not see how we are to get along. But the facts will soon be known, and I will not speculate.

I am to see Milner Gibson alone, when he returns from Osborne House. I am also to breakfast with the Duke of Argyle, when he returns.

LONDON, *January* 8.

I do not see humiliation in undoing a wrong; and that it was wrong to take the men who embarked from Havana in a British steamer will be the judgment of the world, whatever our Government may say about it.

But, as I have told you before, there are strong personal as well as public

reasons against war. England is quick in seizing occasion. They think here that private instructions were sent to Havana, etc., as you will see in a paragraph I inclosed yesterday.

While I was away to breakfast this morning three important personages called; and told Harriet that the Ministry here was in doubt yesterday about the issue; that they feared you were trifling with Lord Lyons, etc.

The impression here that the French Emperor wants to move against the blockade gains ground. Mr. Adams is unwilling that I should leave London, as are all our friends. But I think I will go to Paris, for a week or ten days, to learn, if I can, what is going on there.

LONDON, *January* 10.

From glimpses of correspondence issued here, I judge the surrender of Mason and Slidell was in a wise and useful spirit. This will greatly strengthen the friends of the Union on this side of the water.

LONDON, *January* 11.

The *Observer*, one of Earl Russell's journals, says: "The American Government have not only conceded the British demands, in the affair of the *Trent*, but they have met them fairly and frankly, at last. The correspondence is now published in substance, and may be said to be creditable on each side. The dispatch of Earl Russell to Lord Lyons is eminently calm and courteous, whilst it is, at the same time, decided and clear. The letter of Mr. Thouvenel is acknowledged by all to be, perhaps, the very best argument published in a succinct form, and it is but true of Mr. Seward to say, that no one has more emphatically admitted the justice of the claim put forward by the Government of Great Britain.

"So far, the difference may be considered at an end, and the manner of the concession by the Secretary of State, at Washington, has gone far to obliterate the bad feeling engendered on this side. No one has done more to brush aside all the sophistries that have been accumulated upon so simple a case, than Mr. Seward himself; and the authors of the silly chatter that has been uttered on both sides of the Atlantic must hide their heads in the presence of the very straightforward and candid admission of the American Secretary of State."

I have just come back with Harriet, from breakfast at Mr. Ellis', where we met Mr. and Mrs. Grote. The talk was all about America. You know, I suppose, that Mr. E. is a "Power behind the Throne" here. I am trying to work through him, for time. He says that the Emperor is pushing England to get rid of the blockade. I tell him and all, that interference with the blockade is war — war of their own making; that it will *not* give them cotton, but it *will* precipitate the horrors they profess to deprecate, and which you hint in a paragraph to Mr. Adams.

The Archbishop and Mr. Bigelow want me in Paris. I go over on Tuesday. But as Mr. Adams and all our friends want me here, I shall come back in a fortnight.

The adversary is making all he can out of the destruction of harbors. They say it is "barbarous."

I went to Southampton yesterday. The Government requires the *Tuscarora* to remain in port twenty-four hours after the *Nashville* departs. The naval officers went on board of the *Tuscarora* with the order, while I was there. Captain Craven — "the right man, in the right place," will do all that can be done.

Dispatches from the American Ministers abroad, written while the result of the *Trent* question was still unknown, were now coming in. They all showed that other maritime powers would doubtless have made common cause with England, in attacking the United States.

Mr. Dayton said: "I inclosed you by the dispatch bag, yesterday, a copy of the *Constitutionnel*, containing an article of a very obnoxious character. That article, as you will observe, if you have time to look it over, advocates the policy of France making common cause with England against us. It looks, likewise, to the early recognition, by France and Great Britain, of the South, as an independent power. The *Constitutionnel* is understood here to have a semi-official character."

Mr. Motley wrote from Vienna, that the Austrian Government would be influenced by the British and French.

Mr. Adams had written during the period of suspense:

I confess that the turn things have taken has given me great anxiety for the fate of my unhappy country. But I shall await, with resignation, the instructions which will probably close my mission.

A fortnight later he wrote:

I have now received copies of all the papers connected with the affair of the *Trent*. The result is in the highest degree satisfactory.

I need not add my testimony to the general tribute of admiration of the skillful manner in which the various difficulties and complications attending this unfortunate business have been met or avoided.

Last Saturday I called at the request of Lord Russell, at the Foreign Office, when his Lordship read to me the dispatch, which he was then on the point of sending off to Lord Lyons. We thereupon exchanged congratulations on the complete restoration of friendly relations between the two countries.

Prince Gortschakoff, on behalf of Russia, sent his congratulations through Mr. Stoeckl, the Minister at Washington. Before sending his letter, he read it to Mr. Clay, the American Minister at St. Petersburg, who reported that the Prince added:

That he was anxious to do us all the good offices possible (without interfering directly in our home troubles) and that he would publish it at once. He then repeated to me his wishes for the restoration of the Union.

Seward, in a dispatch to Mr. Adams, said that it would have proved difficult to unite the American people in "a war in 1861, against

Great Britain, for a cause directly the opposite of the cause for which we waged war against the same power in 1812."

Adverting then to the British preparations, he said, "I have observed that the British people were satisfied with the vigor and the energy of the preparations which their Government made for the war which they expected to occur between them and ourselves. It may be profitable for us all to reflect, that the military and naval preparations which have been made by this Government to put down the insurrection have, *every day since the first day of May last*, equaled, if not surpassed, the daily proportion of those war preparations which were regarded as so demonstrative in Great Britain."

But the danger was by no means over. Confederate hopes of European intervention were still high, and their agents were active in schemes to bring it about.

"Parliament will assemble," wrote Mr. Adams, "somewhat earlier than has been anticipated, perhaps by the 16th of January. It will then be impossible to avoid a general expression of opinion upon American affairs. As usual in all deliberative assemblies having freedom of speech, the popular tendency will be toward the most positive doctrines. The war party will, in this particular, enjoy the advantage; which they will not fail to use with effect, against the Ministry of Lord Palmerston; especially if there be the smallest opportunity of reproaching it for any concession on a point of honor. Even if, in this particular, they should find it difficult to make an issue, they will not fail to go on, and urge the application of a limit to the law of the blockade, as well as to the refusal to recognize a *de facto* government. In both these cases, the ground has been already broken by the public press, and by particular members. So that, although Lord Russell, in his latest conversation with me, affirmed that we should have a full opportunity given to us of trying our experiment of overcoming the rebellion, before action on their part, it is not quite clear to my mind that he will very long retain the power to make his words good. * * * It is from the friends of our Government that I gather most of my conclusions. And one of them is, that nothing but very marked evidences of progress toward success will restrain, for any length of time, the hostile tendencies developed by the case of the *Trent*. I am happy to say that I have seen and conferred repeatedly both with Bishop McIlvaine and Mr. Weed. I think their services have already been of material use; and that they will be of still more, hereafter, if peaceful relations should be preserved.

"The industry of the Confederate emissaries in poisoning the sources of opinion, as well as in disseminating wholly erroneous notions of the nature of the struggle in America, has been unwearied."

And a few days later, he added:

There is not a particle of solid material for the dissatisfaction with the Government of the United States, to make a quarrel out of. Resort must then be had to the simple objection that the rebellion has not been suppressed. This

will be urged as justifiable cause for early recognition, and, upon that issue, the sense of the House of Commons will probably be, sooner or later, taken.

Seward wrote to Weed:

WASHINGTON, *January* 21, 1862.

I will write to Mr. Motley to go to London as you suggest. If, as you seem in your letter of December 31, to apprehend there is to be an onset in Parliament for a recognition and a breaking up of our blockade, and the temper of the Ministry and the country are such as to maintain it, then, of course, no argument from an interested nation will be heard against it. Moreover, if the distrust of our ability to put down the insurrection is so deep and universal in Europe as to encourage Great Britain and France in such a policy, that too is an evil that, though understood by us, we can't correct. It results from an incapacity of Europeans to understand the magnitude, territorial magnitude, of the United States, and the time and expense required to meet so extensive a conspiracy and subdue it. The rebellion, in fact, is already becoming circumscribed. No nation ever performed so great a task as we have, in two hundred and sixty days.

If, however, I am expected to be able to convince interested or prejudiced parties in Europe of this, I confess that I cannot. They discredit me, so that they may not be convinced.

But I do know this, that whatever nation makes war against us or forces itself into a war, will find out that we can and will suppress the rebellion and defeat the invaders themselves. The courage and determination of the American people are roused already for every needful effort and necessary sacrifice.

Now, my dear Weed, you have wrung out of me what you, yourself, will regard as too sanguine expressions of my confidence in the success of our cause, and you will undervalue them, though I shall not give them up. But you must not insist on my writing, in such a crisis, my full thoughts; and you must trust that when I seem to you to be doing nothing, I am doing all that I am capable of doing to save our country such embarrassments that you, being absent, know nothing of.

January 22.

If any thing had been wanting to complete the embarrassment of my position here in relation to the disposition of foreign questions, it would have been the fact you have supplied, namely, that Mr. Adams and yourself have been living in the belief that from the first inception of the recent difficulty, I knew and could have intimated, from day to day, as was so much to be desired in London, what would be the solution of the affair, and that I would not.

Pray, understand now, that I neither can advise Mr. Adams beforehand, nor even know for myself, what will be the action of the Government two days in advance of the actual decision it may make, when ready to make it — or, in other words, when obliged to make it. The consideration of the *Trent* case was crowded out by pressing domestic affairs until Christmas day. It was considered, on my presentation of it, on the 25th and 26th of December. The Government, when it took the subject up, had no idea of the grounds upon which

it would explain its action, nor did it believe then that it would concede the case. Yet it was heartily unanimous in the actual result after two days' examination, and in every word of the defense.

Remember, that in a council like ours, there are some strong wills to be reconciled.

Lord Lyons submitted the case to me only on Friday, and on the Friday following the matter was disposed of. It would have been disposed of in exactly the same way had the British Government and British press and American press and all British and American correspondents held their temper and their patience — that is to say, it would have been so decided, if it had been left with me. But I could not know that it would be so left, and I could not assume it so, against the overruling authority I am to consult in all cases.

I am now concerned deeply about the agitation anticipated in Parliament. I fear that there may be precipitancy therein. If there is, the world has never seen such a commotion as there will be. The people are, at last, fully determined to restore the Union, and ready for sacrifices heretofore thought impossible.

January 30.

I have just now your letters of the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th of January. I do not see how I could have prevented the difficulties which attended the delay and suspense in the *Trent* affair. Last Sunday we had news of the *Europa* from Halifax, but down to last night she had not been signaled at Boston, and we cannot have her mails until Saturday.

Your letters alarm me about the malign intentions on the part of Great Britain and France. But I am unable to excite similar concern in the other members of the Cabinet.

We are doing all that we can do. The rains and storms for three weeks have rendered marches or field movements impossible. We have surrounded the insurrection, saved the border States, and we shall now crush it in. It has been a vast work. You know what difficulties have attended it, and can judge how Stanton will infuse new energy into the movements.

It will be a sad day if Europe intervenes. What we can do to prevent it, we are doing. But if it must come, we must meet the evil. Every thing you write tends to impress me with the conviction that we cannot be understood in England. But for all that, my courage and confidence do not fail.

In a private note to Mr. Sanford, he said:

I note your conversation with that active "mediator" at Paris.

The country is fully prepared to maintain the Government in an attitude of dignity.

I think it important that Paris hasn't molested us; but not more important for us, even, than for Paris.

In January came the news of the death of Prince Albert. Replying to a note of Lord Lyons communicating official information of the event, Seward made due expression of "the national sympathies," and remarked:

Your Lordship is not unaware of the high regard for Her Majesty which is entertained, not only by the Government, but by the whole people of the United States, and that this consideration also was extended to, and embraced the just, liberal Prince, whose too early death has now brought Her Majesty into the experience of the greatest of afflictions.

The feeling of regret in the United States was wide-spread; and grew deeper, when it became known, soon after, that the last time the Prince Consort had used his pen was in an effort to prevent the breaking of friendly relations with the United States. "The Life of the Prince Consort," by T. Martin, concurs with Mr. Weed, in saying:

When the dispatch demanding the surrender of Mason and Slidell was read by Lord Palmerston to the Queen, and the consequences of a refusal explained, Her Majesty was startled and distressed at the idea of war with America. Taking the dispatch to the Prince Consort, who, then in his last illness, was sitting in his apartment, the Queen asked him to read it, saying that she thought the language and spirit were harsh and peremptory. The Prince, concurring in opinion with Her Majesty, subjected the dispatch to erasures and interlineations, in which amended form it was returned to the Premier. In relating this incident to Sir Henry Holland, the Queen added: "That was the last time the Prince used his pen."

CHAPTER V.

1862.

Secretary Cameron Goes to Russia. Edwin M. Stanton his Successor. Arrests of Spies and Blockade-Runners. Protest of the British Government. Rolling up a Huge National Debt. Treasury Relief. "Demand Notes" and National Banks. Congressional Debates. Slavery. Proposed Telegraph via Behrings Straits. The Russian Emperor. The Troxell Letter.

On the 12th of January, Secretary Chase took out his private diary, and set down therein the incidents of some conferences with his Cabinet associates and the President. He wrote:

January 12, 1862.

After church went to see Cameron by appointment, but being obliged to meet the President, etc., at one, could only excuse myself. At President's, found Generals McDowell, Franklin, and Meigs, and Seward and Blair. Meigs decided against dividing forces; in favor of battles in front. President said McClellan's health was much improved; and thought it best to adjourn until to-morrow; and have all then present, attend, with McC., at three. Home,

and talk, and reading. Dinner. Cameron came in. Advised loan in Holland, and recommended Brooks, Lewis, and another whom I have forgotten. Then turned to department matters; and we talked of his going to Russia, and Stanton as successor; and he proposed I should again see the President. I first proposed seeing Seward, to which he assented. He declared himself determined to maintain himself at the head of his department, if he remained; and to resist, hereafter, all interferences. I told him I would, in that event, stand by him faithfully. He and I drove to Willard's, where I left him, and went myself to Seward's. I told him, at once, what was in my mind — that I thought the President and Cameron were both willing that C. should go to Russia. He seemed to receive the matter as new; except so far as suggested by me last night. Wanted to know who would succeed Cameron. I said Holt and Stanton had been named; that I feared Holt might embarrass us, on the slavery question, and might not prove quite equal to the emergency; that Stanton was a good lawyer and full of energy; but I could not, of course, judge him as an executive officer as well as he (S.) could, for he knew him when he was in Buchanan's Cabinet. Seward replied that he saw much of him then; that he was of great force; full of expedients, and thoroughly loyal. Finally, he agreed to the whole thing; and promised to go with me, to talk with the President about it, to-morrow. Just at this point, Cameron came in, with a letter from the President, proposing his nomination to Russia, in the morning. He was quite offended; supposing the letter intended as a dismissal; and, therefore, discourteous. We both assured him it could not be so. Finally, he concluded to retain the letter till morning; and then go and see the President. Seward was expecting General Butler; and Cameron said he ought to be sent off immediately. I said, "Well, let's leave Seward to order him off at once." C. laughed; and we went off together, I taking him to his house. Before parting, I told him what had passed between me and Seward concerning Stanton, with which he was gratified. I advised him to go to the President in the morning, express his thanks for the consideration with which his wishes, made known through me, as well as by himself orally, had been treated, and tell him frankly, how desirable it was to him, that his successor should be a Pennsylvanian, and should be Stanton. I said I thought that his wish, supported as it would be by Seward and myself, would certainly be gratified, and told him that the President had already mentioned Stanton, in a way which indicated that no objection on his part would be made. I said, also, that, if he wished, I would see Seward, and would go to the President, after he had left him, and urge the point. He asked, why not come in when we should be there; and I assented to this. We parted, and I came home. A day which may have — and, seemingly, must have — great bearing on affairs.

I fear Mr. Seward may think Cameron's coming into his house pre-arranged, and that I was not dealing frankly. I feel satisfied, however, that I have acted right, and with just deference to all concerned, and have in no respect deviated from the truth." *

*Warden's "Private Life and Public Services of Salmon P. Chase."

In his letters home, Seward wrote:

January 12.

The correspondence of the department grew monstrously, during the week I was preparing my paper on the *Trent* case. My visit in the North, of four days, caused a huge addition to the mass, and it seemed insurmountable, when I reached the office last Tuesday morning. I have applied myself steadily; and it has entirely disappeared. So I write to you.

I hardly dare to tell you what cloud we are walking in here. General McClellan remains sick. The Army is idle, and incapable of movement, for want of direction.

Divided counsels and despondency prevail in our other forces. I do not yield to despondency. But I hardly dare maintain cheerfulness, lest it seem to be indulgence in mockery.

January 15.

For the last ten days, the public has expressed itself as indebted to me for the performance of a task that it had before thought impossible. But the day before it was done, it would have voted me incompetent to do any good thing. So, probably, it will be ready to do again, ten days hence.

We have, just now, somewhat easier occupation in my part of the State Department. But I foresee a profound study that I shall take up soon.

General Cameron has resigned his place, and is going to Russia. Not only was the *press* completely taken by surprise, but with all its fertility of conjecture, not one newspaper has conceived the real cause. So you see, public men must live, and labor, either not understood, or misunderstood by their countrymen and mankind.

We have had abundant company lately. The French Princes dined with us on Monday. Yesterday, the Woodruffs, Wrights and Osbornes dined with us. Then came the levee, and consequently I am no better to-day than I could desire to be. Mrs. Schuyler's two daughters came yesterday.

January 18.

We have dragged through another week of the war, without achievement, but with some hopes, new and cheering, of greater vigor, by and by.

The *Sumter* and the *Nashville* annoy us with their depredations. The vicious feeling in Europe encourages them. I shall try to get the Navy to make an exertion to arrest these petty warriors of the sea.

I have promised the Comte de Paris and Mr. Tassara to spend the Saturday of next week with them, on a visit to Philadelphia. I hope you and Fanny will be well enough to entertain us at the Continental.

And to his daughter, at school, he wrote:

January 20.

I am glad that you have written to me again, and especially that you have written in French. I hope that you will continue that form of exercise.

We are in the midst of mud and fog here. One of the camp jests is that when an army wagon sank down in the mud near Arlington, the horses were

pierced through by the bayonets of a regiment that had gone under and out of sight the day before!

It is mail day, but the European bag is not in. My table is free, so that I find time to drop a note to you.

There is an improved feeling here. But whether it is due to just impressions of the political condition of the country, or whether it is only a natural reaction against unreasonable despondency, I cannot determine.

As the progress of the war developed new opportunities, redoubled energy and daring were manifested by the agents of the rebellion in blockade-running enterprises, as well as in sending information and supplies through the lines. Arrests were of frequent occurrence; and the military commanders of the various forts, to which arrested persons were sent, refused compliance with any writs of *habeas corpus* in their behalf. Those who sympathized with them endeavored to get Congress to interfere. In the Senate, an animated debate occurred over a resolution of inquiry. But when the vote was taken, the resolution received only seventeen ayes. The Senate referred the matter to the Judiciary Committee, and, by its action, showed its belief that the Administration's proceedings were justified by the exigencies of the war.

Unable to get help from Congress or the courts, the Secession agents endeavored to get the aid of the various European Governments to protect their enterprises against the vigilance of the Secretary of State. Havana and Nassau and the various towns on the Canadian frontier had now become favorite points for rendezvous. They could meet, consult, and mature their enterprises, without any official surveillance, and could find there many whom cupidity or love of adventure would lead to join them. The authorities, both British and Spanish, were jealous of interference by United States officers, civil, naval, or military, with either vessels or individuals under their jurisdiction. When, as would sometimes happen, one of these officers was led by his zeal to commit some act of indiscretion, swift complaints were forwarded to the Home Government to be made the basis of swift reclamations, all of which were poured out on the devoted head of the American Secretary. It was necessary for him not only to render exact justice, but to do it in such a way as should not offend the roused susceptibilities, either of his own people or of the foreign nation. Vessels found in Confederate harbors, mail-bags loaded with treasonable correspondence, blockade-runners caught in the act, spies with rebel memoranda in their pockets, rebel officers in disguise, female smugglers of contraband goods, intercepted letters, forged passports, fraudulent papers — all these topics went to swell

the mass of heterogenous correspondence piled upon his table,— every one of them demanding immediate attention, action, or redress.

The British Government continued to protest against the arrest or detention of British subjects who were found engaged in rebel trade or correspondence.

To this Seward rejoined:

I cheerfully consent to leave Earl Russell's protest on the record, where it will lie, side by side, with the decisions of this Government, which show that during a civil war, now of nine months' duration, no complaint of any kind has been denied a hearing; not one person has been pressed into the land or naval service; not one disloyal citizen or resident, however guilty of treason or conspiracy, has forfeited his life except in battle; not one has been detained a day in confinement who could and would give reasonable pledges of his forbearance from evil designs; nor, indeed, has one person who could or would give no such pledges been detained a day beyond the period when the danger he was engaged in producing, had safely passed away. Happily, it is not the judgments of even good and great men like Earl Russell, pronounced in the excitement of the hour, which determine the characters of States. From such judgments we cheerfully appeal to that of history, confident that it records no instance in which any Government or people has practiced moderation, in civil war, equal to that which has, thus far, distinguished this Government and the American people.

The vast expenses of the war were rolling up a huge volume of national debt, rendering necessary some new system of financial legislation. The banks had suspended specie payment and gold was at a premium, but there was no commercial panic or distress. Fortunately the Finance Committees of the two Houses were exceptionally strong. Among their members were Senators Fessenden, Simmons, and Sherman, and Representatives Stevens, Morrill, Spaulding, Corning, and Hooper. Conferences were held by them with the Secretary of the Treasury, and the leading bankers and boards of trade of the great cities. Out of their discussions grew measures which ultimately ripened into a great system of loans, national currency, and national banking that not only gave the Government ample resources for the war, but imparted fresh vigor to commerce, enabling tax payers to easily meet their increased burdens. Especially welcome was the issue of "demand notes," the banks agreeing to "receive and pay out notes freely, and sustain, in all proper ways, their credit."

On the floor of Congress, these propositions met ready acquiescence. Members differed only about details, for they were practically in accord on the general question of meeting the Treasury's needs.

In regard to the slavery question, however, it was different. Long and excited debates took place, over the rights of loyal slave-holders,

and the disposition to be made of fugitive slaves. The events of the war were irresistibly tending in the direction of emancipation; but a large portion of the people, whose support was essential to the Government, were not yet ready to believe that it was impossible to return to the *statu quo ante bellum.*

Among the subjects referred to in this debate was the confinement of slaves in the jail of the District of Columbia. Congress taking no step, the knot was summarily cut by Executive action. Seward, with the President's sanction, addressed an order to the Marshal, instructing him "not to receive into custody any persons claimed to be held to service or labor within the District or elsewhere, not charged with any crime or misdemeanor," and to discharge all such persons in the jail.

While in the Senate, Seward had been an earnest advocate of the Atlantic Telegraph, through its vicissitudes of fortune. After repeated failures, the cable had been successfully laid in 1858. But its promise of usefulness had not yet been realized. The line had proved faulty, and was not available for commercial or diplomatic use.

Another project was now discussed; that of connecting the two hemispheres by a line of telegraph, across the border of the United States and through British Columbia and Russian America; thence across Behrings Strait, and thence to Irkoutsk in Siberia. This with the completion of the Atlantic Cable, would perfect a circuit "around the earth." The Secretary of State now opened the question with the Russian Government, and received in reply assurances of the Czar's willingness to coöperate, if the plan should be found feasible.

Mr. Cameron, when he arrived at St. Petersburg early in the summer, found many evidences of the friendly feeling entertained there toward the United States. A long conversation with the Emperor, he wrote, showed "not only his profound interest in every thing relating to our country, but his accurate knowledge of her present situation. He declared frankly that his sympathies had always been cordially with us; that he was very anxious the United States, as a nation, should suffer no diminution of power or influence; our interests and those of Russia were in many respects identical, and he was desirous to hasten, by all the means in his power, the progress of that telegraphic enterprise, which will enable the two Governments to communicate directly with each other. He referred to his efforts in regard to the emancipation of the serfs, and manifested a great interest concerning the solution of the question of slavery in the United States. The Emperor was exceedingly plain, frank, and unostentatious in his demeanor. The unaffected earnestness and sincerity of his expressions

gave evidence that he desired to make a special manifestation of his friendship for our country and Government."

Another diplomatic labor of this period was the making of a new treaty with the Ottoman Empire, extending trade, securing privileges, and modifying restrictions on commerce between Turkey and the United States. The treaty, when perfected, was duly signed at Constantinople by Edward Joy Morris, the American Minister, and Aali Pasha, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was ratified at Washington during the following summer.

Some of Seward's old followers were still reluctant to give up their cherished hopes. One of them wrote to him this winter, from Philadelphia, advising him of the organization of a "William H. Seward Club" there, with a view to future political action.

In his answer, he took occasion to put an end, at once and forever, to any future efforts in the direction of making him a Presidential candidate:

You will excuse me, my dear sir, for what may seem unkind or ungrateful, in this reply to a communication which has given me some uneasiness, and which only fails to inflict severe pain upon me, because I do not regard the movement which it describes as one of any considerable magnitude.

The club, as you inform me, has adopted a resolution to exert themselves to secure my advancement to the Presidency of the United States. I consider the proceeding as one altogether unwise, and tending to produce only public evil, in a crisis where every possible path of danger ought to be carefully avoided. It is a partisan movement; and worst of all, a partisan movement of a personal character.

If when the present civil war was looming up before us, I had cherished an ambition to attain the high position you have indicated, I should have adopted one of two courses, which lay open to me; namely, either to withdraw from the public service at home, to a position of honor without great responsibility abroad, or to retire to private life, and avoiding the caprices of fortune, await the chances of public favor.

But I deliberately took another course. I renounced all ambition, and came into the Executive Government, to aid in saving the Constitution and integrity of my country, or to perish with them; I knew that I must necessarily renounce all expectation of future personal advantage, in order that the counsels I might give to the President, in such a crisis, should not only be, but be recognized as being, disinterested, loyal, and patriotic.

Acting on this principle, I shun no danger, and shrink from no responsibilities. So I neither look for, nor if it should be offered to me, would I ever hereafter accept, any reward. The country is to be saved or lost by the highest effort of public and private virtue, before another Presidential election shall occur. If it shall be saved, as I believe it will, I do not fear that any zeal in that great achievement will be overlooked by the grateful generations

to come after us. If, on the other hand, it shall be lost, he who shall study the causes of the great ruin shall not find, among them, any want of self-sacrifice on my part.

I could never consent to be a President of a division of the Republic. I cheerfully give up any aspiration for rule in the whole Republic, as a contribution to the efforts necessary to maintain it in its integrity. I not only ask, but peremptorily require my friends, in whose behalf you have written to me, to drop my name, henceforth and forever, from among those to whom they look as possible candidates.

To the end of his life, Seward adhered to the line of conduct herein laid down. His conversation with the nearest of friends or kin seemed to show that the subject was one that had been dismissed from his thoughts.

CHAPTER VI.

1862.

Union Successes. Mill Spring and Fort Henry. The Burnside Expedition. Congress and the Finances. Gradual Extension of the Union Area. Effects of the War on Slavery. European Schemes and Intrigues. Proposed Breaking of the Blockade. Recognition Contemplated by France. French Objections Met and Answered. The New Orleans Expedition. The Obstructions in Charleston Harbor. Weed's Letters. The Emperor's Speech.

WINTER rains, frost, and snow had hindered active operations for several weeks; but they were now renewed with vigor. At last the tide of good fortune seemed to be setting in for the Union side.

Seward wrote on January 23:

The expedition under Burnside is in Albemarle Sound, and we trust it will produce some decisive results. The Government is coöperating with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, in restoring this important communication between Baltimore and the Ohio.

But the great events of the day are, first, the determined vote of Congress to sustain the Government, by a tax of one hundred and fifty million of dollars, which will be adequate to preserve the national finances. And secondly, the removal of the obstructions on the banks of the Cumberland river.

The victory of General Thomas at Mill Spring was a very gratifying affair; but its brilliancy is surpassed by its strategic importance. It opens the way to eastern Tennessee, and so to the cutting off of supplies and reinforcements for the insurgent army on the Potomac. This movement is one having no isolated purpose; but is a part in a general system which contemplates the bringing of all the Federal force into activity.

Three weeks later, he added:

February 10.

Cloudless skies, with drying winter winds, have at last succeeded the storms, which so long held our fleets in embargo, and our land forces in their camps.

The Burnside expedition has escaped its perils, and is now in activity on the coast of North Carolina. The victory at Mill Spring in Kentucky has been quickly followed by the capture of Fort Henry on the Tennessee river, and the interruption of the railroad by which the insurgents have kept up their communications between Bowling Green and Columbus. The divisions in the West are all in activity.

It is now nearly one year since the insurgents began their desperate undertaking to establish a confederacy of the fifteen slave States. They had displaced the flag of the Union in thirteen of these States by stratagem or by force; and it stood in apparent jeopardy in a fourteenth.

But the process of preparation has steadily gone on in the loyal States, while that of exhaustion has been going on in the disloyal. Only eleven of the slave States are practically subject to the insurgents, and already the flag of the Union stands upon some point in every one of the thirty-four States, except Texas, Alabama, and Arkansas. Congress has come fully up to the discharge of its great responsibility, of establishing the finances of the country on a safe and satisfactory foundation.

As to the effect upon slavery, he said:

What is the operation of the war? We have entered Virginia, and already five thousand slaves emancipated, simply by the appearance of our forces, are upon the hands of the Federal Government there. We have landed on the coast of South Carolina, and already nine thousand similarly emancipated slaves hang upon our camps. Although the war has not been waged against slavery, yet the Army acts immediately as an emancipating crusade.

There will be incidents and accidents in the future, as there have been in the past, and these cannot now be foreknown. Just now, the tide of success is with us; the strength of our position is seen and felt by ourselves, and acknowledged by the insurgents.

To Mr. Marsh, at Turin, he wrote:

Your dispatch conveys to us the decidedly adverse expressions made by Baron Ricasoli, on the suggestions, from a distant quarter, that the King of Italy might propose mediation. I do not know whether the Baron would esteem it complimentary, but you may say to him, that he speaks on the subject very like an American statesman.

From Harvey, at Lisbon, came intelligence concerning projects at Cadiz, for privateering, or slave-trading expeditions. In his reply, Seward said the Navy would give attention to the matter, and remarked:

We are now negotiating with Great Britain a far better than the Ashburton Treaty, for the suppression of the African slave trade. That detestable traffic, instead of gaining advantage from the insurrection in our country, will come to its end all the sooner.

Foiled in their efforts at London, the Confederate agents were now redoubling their energy at Paris:

Mr. Adams wrote:

The expectations raised, of a pressure from the manufacturing classes to break the blockade, in order to obtain cotton, are declining. The stock is yet quite large, and with what is known to be coming, it is believed to be sufficient to keep the mills going. It has been found necessary to direct attention to something new. The chief of the latest schemes is to be traced to the supposed policy of the Emperor of France. It is believed here, that he has already made overtures to the British Government, to enter a protest against the blockade, as too cruelly effective, in some respects, and very ineffective in others. It is also affirmed, that he begins to consider it time to agitate the subject of recognition of the Confederate States.

One of the first grounds of complaint was, that a number of French subjects at New Orleans wanted to leave that place, and return to Europe, but were hindered by the blockade. To this, Seward responded by according them full permission to go, saying:

Any French ship of war that you may designate will be at liberty to proceed to the bar of the Mississippi, and take on board a convenient number of French subjects with their families and private personal effects, it being understood that the proceeding shall not be made in any way a means for commercial transactions, or for political dispatches.

A month later, M. Thouvenel said that "grave considerations are pressed upon the Government of the Emperor, by the ills of every kind which weigh upon our commerce, and our industry, in consequence of the present condition of things in the United States, and among others those which result to our merchants, from the interruption of all postal communication with the States subjected to the blockade," and asking if their correspondence could not be conducted through the French Consuls.

To this Seward replied, remarking that his unwillingness to grant the privilege was "not because he was disinclined to make the concession to France, but because the concession granted to French subjects must then be conceded to the citizens or subjects of other foreign States." But, he added: "Military operations are rapidly bringing the commercial cities under the authority of the United States, and in connection with these operations the Government is considering how facilities may be granted."

In the case of New Orleans, the expedition under command of Farragut and Butler was already on its way, and soon after, its success ended that question.

But the chief ground of complaint was the obstruction of Charleston harbor by the sinking of some old hulks loaded with stone. This was considered an unparalleled and wanton act of destruction.

M. Thouvenel wrote:

The closing by such unwonted means of ports in blockade would affect, in a manner irremediable, the general interests of trade; it would not be on the enemy only that an injury would be inflicted, but on all neutrals. This opinion will certainly be that of all Governments which desire not to see war assume the destructive character which is so contrary to the progress of modern civilization.

You know how much the British Cabinet shows itself averse to this manner of making war.

Seward replied, explaining that the obstructions were temporary not permanent, could easily be removed when the war was over, and, in fact, that the ebb and flow of the sea would, in any case, remove them in a short period. He said:

M. Thouvenel seems to have been misled into the error of supposing that we had initiated a proceeding to permanently ruin the harbor. On the contrary, all that has been at any time intended, has been the temporary obstruction of some, not all the channels leading to Charleston harbor.

He added:

"If Europe, instead of believing what the traitorous emissaries of that insurrection report to our prejudice, and lending its sympathies to their unreal grievances, shall come to recognize the simple fact that the Federal Union, while adhering to all its obligations and its treaties, is safely surmounting all its dangers, there will not be a port left in the hands of the insurgents, a month after the hopes of foreign aid shall have thus been disappointed.

Weed's letters continued the narration of events at Paris and London:

PARIS, *January* 16.

I got your letters yesterday and left London in the evening. We reached here at eight o'clock this morning. I have been all day with the Archbishop and Bigelow, and intend to go to Mr. Dayton's in the morning.

They have no evidence of what *is* known in England, that the Emperor has renewed his suggestion of joint interference in our affairs. I cannot doubt this because it comes from reliable sources. * * * I hope you saw an article in the London *Daily News* stopping England's complaint about the "barbarity" of filling up harbors. Bigelow is preparing one on the same subject for this market.

This Charleston harbor matter has been the occasion for talk about the intervention of the other nations, to put an end to "war against the policy and interests of the commercial world."

Here, as in London, the American side of the *Trent* correspondence is regarded as a diplomatic achievement. Your letter to Mr Adams, which was read to Earl Russell, is information to the British public. It is said that their war preparations ought to have rested upon the receipt of that letter; and yet they thought not. Nearly two millions were expended after that letter had been communicated to their Government.

PARIS, *January* 20.

The Emperor has been thinking, and even talking, of interfering with the blockade, for several months. He said three months ago to Lord D.: "If some secondary European power should break the blockade and unite with the Confederates, they would be too much for the North." You know what it is supposed he intends on the 27th instant.

The manufacturing and commercial, and consequently the laboring classes of England, France, and Germany are depressed. This is attributed to the blockade. Europe asks how long this is to last? And finally, assuming the answer, they say, is it not time to recognize the independence of the South?

We started in the rebellion with the general good-will of Europe; France and England soured by the Morrill tariff. But eight months are gone and Europe does not see that we are likely to terminate it successfully. At this distance, delays and disappointments are not understood. But for the success at Port Royal, ere this, all Europe would have said, "the cause of the North is hopeless." And when this conclusion is reached, the powers of Europe will combine against us, for they consider the civil war as injurious to themselves.

All this would have been changed if Manassas had been a victory, instead of a defeat and an humiliation.

January 22.

This morning, Dr. Evans, on his return from the Tuilleries, stopped to say that he did not believe the Emperor would harm us in his speech of the 27th. The Doctor threw out some suggestions I made to him yesterday; in reply to which the Emperor induced a belief that he would not do what we fear.

I am to see De Morny to-morrow. We go to the Tuilleries for presentation in the evening.

January 23.

Mr. Dayton showed me your dispatch yesterday, which covers and anticipates all that Bigelow and myself were most anxious about.

I urged on Mr. Dayton the importance of immediately seeing M. Thouvenel, and he addressed him a note asking an interview, but he only obtained one for Friday.

I am to see Count De Morny to-day. I have sent your letter to Prince Napoleon, who is ill, and I may not see him. Bigelow will make an effort to see M. Fould to-day.

Your dispatch ought to keep any thing injurious out of the Emperor's speech.

The Government is strong enough now, I judge, to do whatever is wise and needful. I do not know that it is wise to raise the blockade; but I do know that if something is not done to quiet Europe, we shall have a row over here.

10 *o'clock, P. M.*

I have had a very *satisfactory* interview with Count De Morny. As he speaks English well, it was free from embarrassment. He will immediately see M. Thouvenel, and afterward (on Saturday) the Emperor, and urge our views strongly, having, after twenty minutes, entered warmly into them.

But, he said, the worst point just now was the total destruction of Charleston harbor. I replied that it was a war measure, for which nearly all maritime governments had furnished examples, and that when the war was over the harbor could be restored. I said I thought this more a *pretext* than a cause of uneasiness. He replied, that whether pretext or cause, it was exciting Europe; and if, as I said, the harbor could be restored, that fact ought to be known. I told him of your last letter to Mr. Dayton, and expressed hope that the contents should be known to the Emperor before his speech was completed. He said that this should be done, adding that when I desired to say any thing important for the Emperor, to come to him at twelve o'clock any day. He said that if the harbor matter could be explained, I need not fear the 27th.

The Count was with the Emperor and M. Thouvenel last Saturday, when American matters were discussed.

Bigelow is now preparing a brief letter on the harbor question, which I shall take to the Count De Morny for the *Moniteur*.

The C. asked me not to name him at all. But I suppose it did not mean that I should keep it from you.

It was at this interview that Mr. Weed showed the Count De Morny that France herself had not only done the very thing she complained of, but had pledged herself to do it by the treaty of Utrecht, and that in consequence the harbor of Dunkirk had remained closed since 1713.

PARIS, *January* 24.

Mr. Dayton called just now, on his return from M. Thouvenel, with whom he had a satisfactory interview, leaving with the hope that the Emperor would not do us injustice on the 27th.

I went at one o'clock to-day to the Prince Napoleon, who kept me as long as I chose to stay, and entered warmly into our interests. He said that the Emperor had opened his ears to gross misrepresentations, and, to some extent, was misinformed upon questions vital to America; that efforts had recently been made to disabuse his mind, as is believed, with success; and that inasmuch as M. Thouvenel was right, it is most likely that we shall not be harmed.

The Prince will himself see the Emperor, and do all he can for us. He asked me to come to him at all times, with whatever concerned our country.

The Prince said that it was unfortunate that General Scott left without seeing the Emperor who told him (the P.) that he should have relied on the General's judgment and opinion.

The Prince thought that if Mr. Dayton, after seeing M. Thouvenel, had doubts or fears, he ought to see the Emperor; and I have just reported this to Mr. Dayton. He says that M. Thouvenel told him that he should to-morrow evening repeat their conversation to the Emperor. So here the matter rests. Mr. Dayton approves both of my seeing Count De Morny and the Prince, and of what I said.

Mr. Bigelow has acted upon a suggestion to me by Count De Morny, writing a good letter on the Charleston harbor question, which will appear in the *Moniteur*. * * *

We go back to London to-morrow. Were at the Tuilleries for presentation on Wednesday.

PARIS, *January* 26.

We are packing up for London, though the Archbishop, Mr. Dayton, and Mr. Bigelow are unwilling that I should leave. I do not see that any thing more can be done, while in England there is labor for many heads and hands.

There are two radical difficulties here. The Tariff is a stumbling block. It gave the Emperor decided offense. But this is not more, or perhaps *as* serious, as the slavery question. If ours was avowedly a war of Emancipation, this Government would sympathize with and aid us. My greatest difficulty with the Count DeMorny, Prince Napoleon, and other distinguished Frenchmen has been to explain our position in this respect. The Prince comprehends it, but the others do not. On this question the Emperor has decided views. In England, too, when I express surprise that we do not receive the moral support we expected from them, they answer, the North takes no ground on the slavery question. I ask them to watch the progress of events, with which they will be in the end satisfied.

I dread the labor and anxiety of the coming month, for I apprehend all sorts of trouble in Parliament. Mr. Lindsay will introduce the question the first night of the session, and Mr. Ayrton has been preparing himself for a great display.

I hope that your reply to Earl Russell's "Stone Blockade" will set that question at rest.

If we knew what the private intentions and expectations of the Government are in the expeditions on foot, it might help to stave off things in England. I hope Mr. Adams is informed.

LONDON, *January* 28.

Our enemies here are disappointed with the Emperor's speech. Their disappointment is not even concealed in the hostile press of London. They expected an attack upon our blockade, and upon the Charleston harbor obstruction. *And not without reason.* A week earlier, the spirit of the Emperor would have been hostile. Your private letter to Mr. Dayton was most timely; though I had almost failed to induce him to construe it as I thought you intended, for in the closing paragraph it says, "These views are confidential." I insisted that these referred to the views in that paragraph, and not to the directions to him "to lose no opportunity to say, etc., etc." He finally allowed me to use this with Count de Morny and Prince Napoleon; and on Friday he used it with M. Thouvenel.

Bancroft Davis arrived last night. He is popular here, and can do good. I have urged him to stay a month.

There is more trouble. Captain Craven has been ordered away from Southampton. Mr. Adams inquires to-day what such inhospitality means. I do not know what the pretext is. They protect the pirate, and expel a government vessel!

Your Charleston harbor letter, published this morning, ends *that* false pretense.

LONDON, *January* 31.

Slidell went to Paris day before yesterday. Mason is at Fenton's. They unite in propositions for recognition. *What* proposition I do not know, tho' it is reported ultimate emancipation is a feature. That, of course, is not true.

A member of the Government told me to-day, that up till Friday it was known here that Napoleon's views about America were entirely different from those in his message. I knew as much before I left Paris, and I know, but for the timely receipt of your letter, the speech would not have been modified.

Bishop McIlvaine is doing vast good, in and out of the city, and in influential quarters; but there is a broad field for other laborers.

We have just returned from a pleasant call at Argyle Lodge. The Duchess told us that her mother had received a letter from you.

Mr. Dayton wrote:

Since the disappointment experienced, by the friends of Secession, at the late opening speech of the Emperor, they seem to have quite "subsided." It is surprising how strongly they have been impressed with the conviction that a policy, in their favor, was to be foreshadowed by the Emperor, and followed by England. I am told, by one in the confidence of their representatives here, and in England, that they had what *they* considered assurances, from the most reliable sources, that such would be the case.

England and France have been coquetting a little with each other, on this question. We have had, what seemed to be the most reliable assurances, from England, that the Emperor was urging them to interfere. In the mean time, the British press was urging France to interfere. It was given out that the blockade was a "paper blockade," and the South should be recognized, thus working France and themselves up to the point of, at least, a joint interference. Then came the Emperor's address — it was not what they expected! They said that just before its delivery "the switch had been turned off," and forthwith the London *Times*, and other portions of the English press, ran off along with it. Now, all hands seem opposed to interference. How long this will last no human power can tell.

CHAPTER VII.

1862.

Parliamentary Debates. Earl Russell. M. Billault. The Emperor and the Blockade. Reaction of Feeling in England. The Army Moves. Union Victories at the West.

AT London excited debates over American affairs had now begun in both Houses of Parliament. Mr. Adams' dispatches had foreshadowed the line of attack, which was commenced in the House of Lords, by interpellations about arbitrary arrests of Englishmen; and in the Commons, by denunciations of the blockade. It was led by members having Southern sympathies or interests. The Ministry, thus put upon their defense, made effective answer. Earl Russell, whose sturdy persistence in behalf of arrested "British subjects," had sometimes seemed unreasonable at Washington; now when he was on his legs in debate, manifested an equally sturdy persistence for "fair play" toward the United States.

With regard to the particular acts (said he) which the Secretary of State, under the sanction of the President, has authorized, as to the arrest of British subjects, as well as American subjects, I am not here to defend those arrests. But I certainly do contend that it is an authority which must belong to some person, in the Government; if they believe that persons are engaged in treasonable conspiracies or as spies, or in furnishing arms against the Government. * * * In such circumstances, it is usual for all Governments to imprison, upon suspicion, persons who, they consider, are taking part in the war against them.

Not many years ago, viz.: in 1848, when there was a conspiracy for the purpose of overturning the authority of Her Majesty, the Secretary of State applied to the other House of Parliament, for authority to arrest persons on suspicion; and for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act; and in the papers presented to Parliament, at that date, there are two cases in which the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had ordered the arrest of Americans.

I do not find that there has been any refusal to allow British Consuls to hear the cases; or that the British Minister, Lord Lyons, has been slow in presenting the cases to Mr. Seward. Lord Lyons represented to me that these cases took up a very great part of his time; and he was anxious to investigate every one of them. Nor can I say that Mr. Seward has refused at any time to listen to those complaints. He has always stated that he had information upon which he could depend; that these persons were engaged in treasonable practices against the Government of the United States.

In one case that the Tories had especially dwelt upon, he said:

This gentleman who was arrested, made an appeal to the British Government; and the answer of Mr. Seward, to the remonstrances addressed to him,

was, "This gentleman has renounced all allegiance, especially to Her Majesty Queen Victoria." The matter was further inquired into, and it was found that he had given notice that he intended to become a citizen of the United States, and to forswear all allegiance to Her Majesty. He had thus placed himself in a position in which he could not claim the protection of either one Government or the other.

This was greeted with laughter; and Earl Russell's positions were sustained by the House.

In regard to the blockade, he remarked that "he hoped that any judgment upon this question, which was one of great importance, would be postponed till all the information was before the House. It was an evil, on the one hand, if the blockade was ineffective, and therefore invalid; and on the other hand, to run the risk of a dispute with the United States, without having strong ground for it, would be a greater evil." And, on that, the subject was dropped.

Mr. Adams, in commenting on the Parliamentary debates, said: "One noticeable point was the general sense of uneasiness at the changes brought about in the position of Great Britain as a maritime power." One such change had been effected in the *Trent* case, which at first appeared to be a triumph for England; but now was perceived to be a relinquishment of what she had hitherto claimed. Another such change, it was seen, would result from refusing to accept the adhesion of the United States to the declaration of Paris.

Both of these events, he said, have brought vividly to their observation the position of Great Britain in the contingency of a war on the ocean. Like the dog in the fable, in snatching at the shadow, they find they have lost the solid meat.

A conflict with the United States would, as things are now, at once transfer the whole carrying trade of Great Britain into the hands of the neutral nations of the continent of Europe. It would seem that the growing power of the United States, as one nation, is everywhere present to their imaginations, as the great obstacle in the way of their continued dominion of the sea. Can it be wondered at if, under these circumstances, the notion of a permanent separation of this power into two parts, one of which can be played off against the other, were not altogether unwelcome to their hearts?

In France, like debates had similar ending. Mr. Dayton wrote:

A speech just delivered, in the French Senate, by M. Billault, Minister without portfolio, is most satisfactory as respects American affairs. These Ministers represent the Emperor on the floor, and are understood to express his views and the views of the Government. This speech is regarded as closing, for the present, all hopes, on the part of the secessionists, of France's interfering to break the blockade.

Soon afterward, Mr. Dayton wrote:

The Emperor signified to me that he would receive me to-day at two o'clock, P. M. I have just returned from this personal interview. He said at once, that he had wished to have a talk with me about cotton, and the prospect of opening our ports. He spoke again of the great inconvenience connected with the existing condition of things; and feared it would not speedily come to an end; that the war might yet be a long one. He referred, too, to the probability of the South's destroying its cotton, etc. I told him we honestly believed that, if a proclamation by France and England, withdrawing belligerent rights from the insurrectionists, should be made, the insurrection would collapse at once.

The Emperor replied that he must frankly say, when the insurrection broke out, and this concession of belligerent rights was made, he did not suppose the North would succeed; that it was the general belief of statesmen, in Europe, that the two sections would never come together again. This belief, he intimated, was a principal reason why this concession of belligerent rights was then granted. * * * Finally, without expressing any opinion upon these matters, he said he would think of them; but hoped, in the mean time, that something would be done by us, to relieve the difficulties here, growing out of the want of cotton.

Mr. Weed's letters detailed the progress of affairs:

LONDON, *February* 8, 1862.

As you see, all went off well in Parliament. The only thing that occasioned emotion was the friendly word and manner of Lord Palmerston, for America, that was cheered.

The change of feeling in high quarters was apparent immediately after the Emperor's speech appeared. All after the first sentence, in the American paragraph, was unexpected. The Ministry knew from the French Minister, what the speech *was to have been.*

The opinion of Lord Lyons, of the Confederates, as published this morning, will do great good here. I kept Bancroft Davis here till to day. He did much good; Mr. Brown of Liverpool having addressed a letter to all their members of the Cabinet, asking them to see him.

I met a large number of religious people, at the Rev. Baptist Noel's, on Thursday evening, who were anxious to know, and willing to believe the truth about yourself. Mr. Noel had heard something about your defense of an "insane negro;" and I had to go over it.

The article of Mr. Mills in the *Fraser* is splendid. I shall have it printed as a tract. I send you one I had printed for Parliament.

LONDON, *February* 14.

You are, by this time, relieved from apprehensions in regard to England and France. That there was abundant reason for apprehension is certain; but while I knew what was intended, I learned, as the crisis in both Governments approached, of their changing views, and so kept you informed.

At present all is quiet; and this Government is acting and feeling right. But the adversary is at work; and they will attack the blockade for inefficiency, holding that when a Government undertakes to blockade, it is bound to make it effective. I am endeavoring to collect material for our friends in Parliament. Mr. Forster, our best friend, has just left me, ready to stand by us, but wants evidence and facts; and there is not time to send home for them.

I am making new Parliamentary acquaintances every day, and find it not difficult, in conversation, to remove most of their objections.

Mr. Cobden called on Sunday; but we were interrupted, and he is coming again.

If we *could* show that our immense army is producing results, all would be easy in Europe. The English feeling is quite willing to see us successful, but, almost everywhere, I am asked, "Why don't the Federals take Charleston, or Savannah, or New Orleans? What is your army of five hundred thousand doing"?

The *Times* refused to publish your letter offering to facilitate the British Army to Quebec. Fields promised me a copy of it to-morrow.

The feeling here in relation to yourself has greatly changed. Your massive diplomatic correspondence is immensely able; and yet its *spirit* toward England is not always conciliatory.

I don't know that you attach any importance to such editorials as the one I inclose; but it is through such, that things are improved and improving here.

February 18.

I keep hearing rumors of propositions to be made by Mason and Slidell, for intervention. They concede so much — ultimate emancipation, etc.—that I do not credit them.

What we most want, now, is evidence of the efficiency of the blockade. But, in this respect, we are very naked. I cannot even get the report of the Secretary of the Navy.

If nothing comes of Sherman's or Burnside's expeditions, it will be impossible to hold Europe from intervention. All is quiet now, in the expectation that an immense army and navy will show *results*.

Seward, on his return from a brief visit to Mrs. Seward at Philadelphia, wrote her:

February 1.

The tone of the British press is moderating, and a part of it is already appreciative. Earl Russell is pacific. The reaction in Great Britain is hopeful. On the continent we are confessed generally to have come off best. All looks hopeful now.

February 5.

The few indulgences I take cost me dearly. That last visit of mine to Philadelphia was one of them. On my return I found my table groaning under the weight of papers laid upon it in my absence. Then came two foreign mails, one close upon the other; the last the largest ever received in the department. I have at last, however, brought the bottom within sight.

We have designs and hopes; but of them I must not write. The European States have moderated. The rebels are evidently wearied and alarmed. I try to believe that these are indications of success to our cause, while, like others, I am impatient for victories.

February 9.

The Tennessee victory satisfies the people here for a day or two, but their impatience is enhanced by the predictions of evil abroad.

How strange it is to see a nation which, a year ago, was the most honored and loved of all, reduced to the condition of being without a friend, and that so soon. What a lesson to faction!

To Weed, he wrote:

February 5.

With Congress in session, and complaints incessant and multifarious, from within and from without, I confess my inability to keep up a correspondence as I would gladly do. Mr. Adams, in a dispatch of this date, will receive an explanation of my grounds for disbelieving what is so currently said in London about French designs. Please ask him to show it to you.

But the excitement of one day is chased off by a fresh excitement of another day. I never saw, until now, the force of "wars and *rumors* of wars."

Our Congress is moving slowly and becoming more wise.

I hope Mr. Adams shows you all I write to him, and I write him all that I *can* write.

February 7.

All parties here are satisfied with the *Trent* affair. All are confident of military success when this endless storm shall have ended.

I think the Mill Spring battle and Burnside's and Thomas' operations will check the secessionists and their sympathizers in Europe.

February 17.

At last the blows begin to tell on the side of the Union. I trust that they will reach Europe in time to produce consideration.

On the 26th of January you wrote that it would help in Europe if our Ministers could know our military plans and naval projects. The idea has often occurred to me. But there is some hazard of exposure to the public, and more hazard of delays and disappointments.

Happily you have now results, which I hope will be seasonable, and I am sure they are desired.

In his circular to the Ministers abroad, he said:

February 17.

The active campaign of our land and naval forces has begun. The great preparations made so diligently and so carefully, in defiance of popular impatience at home and political impatience abroad, are now followed by results.

The success of the Union Army in the West, having brought the whole of Missouri and a large part of Tennessee under the authority of the United States, and having already a passage opened for us into Alabama, Mississippi,

and Arkansas, it has been determined to-day to permit the restoration of trade upon our inland ways and waters, under certain limitations and restrictions.

You will have noticed our successful advance down the Mississippi and along its banks. Next week we shall ascertain the strength of the obstructions at Memphis. I suppose I hazard nothing of publicity here by informing you that General Butler, with an adequate land force, and Captains Farragut and Porter with a fleet, are already in motion to seize and hold New Orleans. The armies on the Potomac are also expected to try conclusions soon.

You will, I am sure, need no instructions to use this information in the way best calculated to free our unhappy domestic strife from the European elements of mischief.

To Weed, he wrote:

February 19.

I wish I had time to interpret the magnificent series of triumphs so auspicious of the restoration of the Union, but I cannot.

February 20.

All America is ablaze with bonfires, and regards the insurrection as practically a failure.

We celebrate Washington's birthday on the 22d, with delight.

We shall have new troubles at home. But I must not talk of these things.

March 7.

I thought I had as much industry as anybody around me, and with it, a little of versatility. But I know nobody, and never did know but one man, who could do all you seem to think that I neglect to do, as well as all the labor I actually perform.

You know, when you left here, how much I had to do, outside of my own proper department,—how little time official consultations and audiences leave me to work at all. But all this seems now forgotten; and you insist that I should have written private notes to Mr. Adams, when the *Trent* affair was pending. How unreasonable! Our first knowledge that the British Government proposed to make it a question of offense or insult, and so of war, reached me on Thursday. The Thursday following, I ascertained how this Government would act upon it, and the reply went from my hands the same day. I am under the necessity of consulting the temper of parties and people, on this side of the water, quite as much as the temper of parties and people in England.

If I had been as tame as you think would have been wise, in my treatment of affairs with that country, I should have had no standing in my own. I am willing to let my treatment of the British nation go on record, with the treatment of this nation by the British Ministry, and abide the world's judgment of the question, on which side justice, forbearance, and courtesy have been exercised.

I shall seem just as much reserved in this, as in other letters. I know of things intended to be done, and expected to be done; but I cannot certainly know that they will be successfully done, much less, how soon. If I promise

them, and promise them speedily, and the agents relied upon fail, I shall be reproached for false prophecies, as I was last summer.

I hope Harriet has recovered. Indeed, if things are half as well in England as it seems to me, here, that they ought to be, I trust that you have given her the benefit of the Italian spring.

Everybody writes me that you have done every thing well, and that your services have been exceedingly useful. I rejoice in your success, and congratulate you upon having deserved and gained the confidence of the wise and good, at home and abroad, by labors devoted to the salvation of the Union, with so much manifestly resting upon you.

To Mrs. Seward, he wrote:

February 22.

Mails with controversial dispatches from all parts of the world seemed to fall upon me, all at once, while there was much to do of domestic business. But all is finished now, and I am for the day at rest.

I cannot doubt that Fanny would be better here, and I hope you will come with her as soon as her health will permit. If it were not for the funeral of my young friend, Willie Lincoln, and the President's anxiety about his other sick child, I would have gone to you this afternoon.

To-day the insurgents organize, in form of a permanent government, the fading shadow of their little state. How swiftly their doom has followed the traitors; and how unreasonably impatient all of us have been!

An incident which occurred this morning will prove to you how right I have been all the while, in treating this insurrection as an explosion of passion, and not a permanent revolution. The Secretary of War, in his excellent zeal, had ordered that after the reading of the Farewell Address, to-day, the secession flags, captured in the late battles, should be presented to Congress. Congress had two days to think of it, and this morning declined to receive trophies of victory over their brethren, misled into sedition.

We have made a narrow escape from foreign intervention, but the danger is past.

I learn that the insurgents have withdrawn from their front, on the Potomac, above and below this city, and are breaking up their camps, and retreating before our Army toward Richmond. Thus ends the siege of Washington, and thus advances the cause of the Union.

CHAPTER VIII.

1862.

British Colonial Feeling. Blockade-Running Enterprises. Confederate Cruisers. Capture and Destruction of American Ships. Parliamentary Attacks. The Blockade "Inefficient." The Blockade "Too Efficient." Spain and the *Sumter*. Her Officers Arrested in Morocco. Brazil and the Confederate Flag. Costa Rica. China and Japan.

IN the seaports of the British colonies the Confederate flag now began to be a frequent and apparently welcome visitant. Apart from questions of sympathy with the American insurgents, the inhabitants of colonial ports found a direct interest in having the war go on. Its continuance, for them, meant thriving trade and active markets. Blockade-runners, Confederate cruisers and prizes, were good customers. Bankers, merchants, mechanics, and business men generally profited thereby, and some were amassing fortunes.

The Government and people of the United States had felt chafed at the announcement of the "neutrality" of Great Britain between them and the insurgents. But soon it began to appear as if even this "neutrality" was to be one-sided. Confederate vessels received more welcome than Federal ones. At Nassau, the United States steamer *Flambeau* was forbidden to take coal, while at Southampton the rebel steamers *Nashville* and *Adger* were allowed to coal, refit, and repair. When Seward called the attention of the Foreign Office to this inconsistency, the reply was that "those vessels were some thousands of miles distant from their respective homes, and to them, consequently, coal was an article of real necessity; whereas the *Flambeau* was within a very short distance of the ports of her own nation!"

So in like manner when a secession blockade-runner got supplies that were refused to a Union gun-boat, it was deemed at the Foreign Office a sufficient excuse to say that one "was a merchant vessel trading to the port of Nassau, and it was necessary to enable her to pursue her occupation as a trader," while "the other was an armed vessel, and to supply her with coal might, therefore, be to facilitate her belligerent operations."

Like indications of unfriendly feeling multiplied in other ports and along the Canadian frontier. There were many commercial temptations to unfairness. Nassau, as a convenient refuge for blockade-runners, became the seat of a brisk traffic. Liverpool merchants saw, or fancied they saw, openings for lucrative business in supplying the rebels.

Mr. Adams wrote:

There is a desire to interfere with the blockade in every possible manner. Not only have the newspapers in Great Britain contained advertisements of vessels about to depart with the declared intention of violating it, but I have reason to believe that respectable assurance companies in London have gone so far as to establish a specific rate of premium at which they are prepared to guarantee the property engaged in such unlawful ventures. Nearly all the aid which the rebels obtain to protract the war comes, either directly or indirectly, from people in Great Britain. The newspapers no longer pretend to conceal the fact of outfits constantly making of steamers from Liverpool with the intention to break the blockade. The *Bermuda* has just gone on her second trip filled with the heaviest cargo of cannon and military stores yet dispatched; whilst the nominal destination of the *Oreto* to Sicily is the only advantage which appears to have been derived from my attempts to procure the interference of the Government to stop her departure.

Seward made an earnest protest against this line of action.

Has not the policy of Great Britain, in regard to our internal troubles, been adhered to long enough? Is it asking too much of the British Government that they shall lend the protection of their courts to the enforcement of the neutrality which the Queen's proclamation commands? Will they stand by and see the *Bermuda* again fitted out with munitions and arms by British subjects to be employed in attempts to overthrow the Government of the United States? When Spain refuses shelter to the *Sumter*, is Great Britain willing that she shall repair in the harbor of Gibraltar?

Warning the British statesmen that the result of their policy would afterward return to plague them, he said:

Suppose the European States had been content to leave the insurrection unnoticed until now. Does any one suppose that a single vessel would have been found demanding entrance into an European port with trophies, spoils, or captives, taken from American merchantmen, sunk or burned in European waters? Does not every one see that, in that case, the unseemly scenes recently enacted in the ports of Cadiz and Southampton could never have occurred? Toward what end have these, and all other such unhappy occurrences led, but the prolongation of a strife, now only less injurious to European interests than to our own?

Weed wrote from London:

LONDON, *February* 19.

The arrangements for running our blockade are extensive and active. Those concerned in those enterprises obtained insurance on their vessels and cargo at Lloyd's, and other insurance offices, at fifteen per cent for running in and fifteen for coming out. This morning these facts were submitted to the directors of a strong company, and a suggestion made looking to a participation in such riches. Upon hearing a decided opinion against taking such risks, the Board declined; but inasmuch as it is done by other companies, you will

see what a stimulus is given to that description of commerce. And you will see, also, the importance of greater vigilance, for you will have fleets of contraband steamers on your coasts.

And thus, when protected from loss, some of their steamers work through, fresh arguments against the effectiveness of the blockade are furnished!

This information I have confidentially from Mr. Peabody, an old director in a strong company, who was present when the whole affair was ventilated.

LONDON, *February* 20.

Mr. Adams was half forced yesterday to believe the story about Mason and Slidell's offer of equivalents for recognition, etc., and asked me to make inquiry of personages he knew I was to meet. I did inquire of the Earl of Shaftsbury (Lord Palmerston's son-in-law), Lord Charles Russell, and Mr. Layard, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. They assured me that no propositions or suggestions of the kind had been made. The Earl had a conversation with Lord Palmerston the previous evening, on American affairs, when he is sure it would have been mentioned.

The sentiments attributed to the Earl of Shaftsbury desiring "the destruction of our Union and Republic," are wholly untrue.

I was glad to hear from a dozen persons at dinner yesterday, better feelings toward our country and yourself. I believe, now, that nine-tenths of the English people would rejoice to see us successful.

Oh, how anxiously we wait for victories! The little one on the Mississippi, telegraphed from Queenstown to-day, was very precious.

All we need now is evidence of the efficiency of the blockade. Mr. Forster is our staunch friend and best parliamentary tactician.

LONDON, *February* 22.

Mr. Forster, with whom I breakfasted this morning, gave me a copy of the "blockade papers" to be laid before Parliament this evening. They consist (in 126 pages) of letters from Consuls and Naval Officers, generally designed to establish the inefficiency of the blockade at Charleston, Savannah, etc., etc. The Consuls give lists of vessels (mostly coast-line) that have run the blockade. There is also a letter from Mr. Mason, which I send. There are also some fifty letters from Lord Lyons.

Most of the Consuls manifest in their letters strong "secession" sympathies. There will be an earnest effort in Parliament to make a case against us and against the Government.

LONDON, *February* 23.

On Friday, after dinner, Seymour Fitzgerald, a leading Tory M. P., went into the library with me and talked with me till nearly two o'clock. In the course of the evening he intimated that this Government had information that most of the maritime nations regarded our blockade as *inefficient*. He assumed, also, that you had the same information. I have not yet seen Mr. Adams about this, though I am going to him this evening.

Sir J. Emerson Tennant, of the Board of Trade, is our efficient and warm friend.

The blockade papers (letters from English Consuls and Admirals) will go to Parliament Tuesday. So Mr. Layard, Under Secretary, informs me, and we are miserably prepared to meet and answer objections. Members of Parliament beset me for materials.

One of the curious anomalies of the time was that, through the mails from England, were now pouring upon the Secretary of State two sorts of complaints exactly contradictory. In one dispatch, he found he was called to account because "the blockade was inefficient." In the next, by the same mail, he was called to account because it was too efficient, having interfered with some British ship or subject. In point of fact, it was growing more effective every day. The Navy was building, purchasing, and equipping new vessels every month for use on the Southern coasts. Most of them had discarded the old black and white hues, and were painted a dull bluish drab tint, which rendered it less easy for the blockade-runners to "sight" them, especially in thick weather.

In reference to the *Sumter*, Seward instructed Mr. Perry, the chargé at Madrid, to express the satisfaction of the United States Government, on learning that Spain had decided that the American prisoners carried into Cadiz by her, must be restored to the protection of their flag. He added:

I suspend further instructions concerning the admission of the *Sumter* into Cadiz, until the final decision of the Government concerning her demand to be allowed to repair shall be known. Meantime, I trust Mr. Calderon Collantes will not think it unreasonable on my part when I ask the Spanish Government whether the toleration shown to the insurgents has not already been proved injurious to the general interests of commerce and of civilization? Why should we be obliged to send ships of war to protect our commerce in European waters, against insurgents, who have neither possession of, nor control over, a single outlet from our own coast? Would Spain think herself justly treated, if we should harbor buccaneers escaped from Havana or Porto Rico? If this insurrection could prevail and become an independent maritime power, how long would those islands so dear to Spain be safe against the rapacity which we have rebuked, at the cost of attempted revolution?

An unexpected incident in the Mediterranean career of the *Sumter* was now reported. She had put into Gibraltar for repairs, and received not only immunity but hospitality from authorities and people. Two of the officers, wishing to have a look at the Moorish port of Tangier across the strait, went there in a French steamer. Hearing of their presence in the streets, Judge De Long, the American Consul, called upon Sidi Mohammed Bargash, the Prime Minister, and asked for their arrest and delivery to him. The treaty between Morocco and the United States gave him that right. They were promptly arrested and locked

up. Great indignation prevailed among the European Consuls, and a crowd, composed chiefly of the European residents of Tangier, gathered at the American Consulate with shouts and insults, drawing of knives, and threats of violence and death. The Moorish authorities closed the gates of the city, and tried to prevent a riot. The prisoners were held, and at night were marched down by their guards to the boats of the United States steamer *Tuscarora*, which happened to be in port. Shortly afterward she weighed anchor and proceeded on her voyage to the United States, where the prisoners were turned over to the authorities. Sharp correspondence between the Consuls, and a war of words among the populace, raged for some days in Tangier. It was denounced as "an unheard of outrage," that "would not be tolerated in any Christian country." But then Morocco was not a Christian country. The Moorish Government did not feel at all aggrieved. It had no high opinion of "rebels," and had not followed the English view of "neutrality." The imprisonment and delivery of the two men seemed to be entirely natural and proper, and in accord with treaty stipulations. Sidi Mohammed Bargash thought, on the whole, their treatment had been merciful, since no one had proposed to cut off their heads.

Long and circumstantial complaints were forwarded by the Consuls to their respective Governments, and thence came to Washington. By that time the prisoners had arrived. Seward said he would disavow any improper or offensive language of the United States Consul toward his colleagues, if such there were. But as the prisoners were citizens of the United States, and were now in the United States, as Morocco did not want them, and no other power had any claim to them — there the case rested and dropped.

To Mr. Riotti, the Minister to Costa Rica, he sent instructions, acknowledging with much satisfaction "the proceedings taken by that republic, in forbidding vessels of the insurgents to enter her ports."

The admission of rebel vessels into the Brazilian ports led to a long correspondence — Brazil taking the same ground as England and France — that the rebels were entitled to "belligerent rights." Seward, in one of his communications to General Webb, remarked:

> The Minister for Foreign Relations has intimated a disposition to argue the point as a question of fact, and to show that the insurgents are, *de facto*, a belligerent power. Other States have proposed to do the same. The United States must reply to Brazil as they have to those of other States, that is a question which they cannot permit themselves to debate. The nation that suffers itself to debate with other States a question vital to its own existence is no longer an independent nation. The United States have hitherto main-

tained, and they mean to maintain, their unity and their sovereignty, at whatever hazard, by all the means which Providence has placed at their disposal.

From the far East came information of troubles encountered by the Governments of China and Japan, growing, in part, out of the endeavors of the Western Powers to open relations with them, while strong anti-foreign prejudices existed among their people. Mr. Burlingame reported that the insurrection in China was becoming very formidable, making "it doubtful whether the British and French forces, now in China, are adequate to secure the inviolability of the persons and property of their subjects."

Seward wrote to Mr. Adams:

It would seem to be desirable for those two States to have our coöperation in China in preserving a commerce of vast importance to them, as well as to ourselves. That coöperation we could give if we were relieved from the necessity of maintaining a blockade and siege of our Southern ports.

Moreover, the question may well be asked, "Where is this tendency to insurrection, which Great Britain and France seem to us to be practically fostering, to end?"

Letters from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Japan to the Secretary of State and from the Tycoon to the President, asked for a delay in the time of opening the treaty ports to trade. Townsend Harris, the faithful Minister of the United States to that country, was now coming home, and Robert H. Pruyn of Albany had been appointed to succeed him. Mr. Pruyn went thither prepared to carry out Seward's policy of fair dealing and friendly intercourse. Good results, he believed, would inure to both sides, from closer relations and increase of trade. His instructions closed by saying:

You will seek no exclusive advantages, and will consult freely with them upon all subjects, insomuch as it is especially necessary at this time that the prestige of Western civilization be maintained in Yedo as completely as possible.

In short, you will need to leave behind you all memories of domestic or of European jealousies, or antipathies, and will, by an equal, just, and honorable conduct of your mission, make the people of Japan respect, not only the institutions of your own country, but the institutions of Christianity and of Western civilization.

When the bulky volume of the year's diplomatic correspondence came from the public printer, he remarked: "There seems to be a difference between this and the Confederate State Department. I see Toombs is reported as saying he can 'carry the whole business of his department in his hat.' It is as much as I can do to carry the business of mine in my head."

To Mrs. Seward, he wrote:

March 13.

At last, after incessant labor for three weeks, I have reached the bottom of the box containing my assorted tasks. I witnessed a review yesterday afternoon of the "Seward Infantry" (commanded by Colonel Egloffstein), a gallant body of Germans, and last night sat through two of the three comedies, enacted in private theatricals, at the British Legation.

We have now four land and naval expeditions, and twice as many armies in the field to re-establish the Union. Each one of them has its needs, its perils, and its full share of immense responsibilities. The Union is strained by its children's factious hands within, and foreign nations — indifferent, selfish, unjust and ambitious — wait only to see the breach, by domestic hands, opened wide enough for them to enter and lay the whole structure in ruins. I dare not, because I cannot, safely leave this post from which all supplies, all directions, all inquiries, must radiate, to armies and navies at home, and to legations abroad.

CHAPTER IX.

1862.

Secretary Stanton. A Military Commission to Dispose of Arrested Persons. The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*. Union Successes in Carolina and the Shenandoah Valley. Victories on the Mississippi. Movement of the "Army of the Potomac." Simultaneous Advances on all Lines. Opinions in England. Recognition Defeated in Parliament. President's Message on Slavery. Iron-Clad Steamers Building in Europe.

At the War Department, clerks, orderlies, and visitors were moving with alacrity under the keen eyes and quick, decisive utterances of Mr. Stanton. He made changes that promised new vigor in military operations. He acceded to Seward's suggestion, that all cases of spies and political prisoners should now be turned over to the War Department, as they properly belonged to the military rather than the civil branch of the Government. This transfer relieved Seward of some of his most vexatious and troublesome cares. It was deemed advisable to inaugurate the new order of things by appointing a military commission to examine into the case of every prisoner in the forts, and to hear the testimony for and against him.

General Dix and Judge Pierrepont, with secretaries and clerks, composed the commission. Its sessions occupied several weeks. Each of the arrested persons was brought before them. The result was the discharge of some, because the evidence against them was insufficient; and of others, because their opportunity for mischief was past. Some

were now quite ready to obtain their liberty by taking the oath of allegiance. The more important offenders were remanded for further detention, or for trial by courts-martial or civil tribunals.

One Sunday morning in March came the startling news of the coming out of the iron-clad *Merrimac* from Norfolk; and of the havoc she had inflicted upon the vessels in Hampton Roads. She had sunk the *Cumberland*, destroyed the *Congress*, seriously damaged the *Minnesota*, which being aground, could neither attack her nor fly from her, nor be destroyed by her; and had killed and wounded scores of men. Broadsides had been rained upon the strange monster, but she had seemed to be impervious to shot and shell. At dark she had withdrawn, but every one knew she would return in the morning to resume the work of destruction, and then, it was believed, she might go on out to sea and prove an invincible enemy to the Navy. Little had hitherto been known, as to the sea-going or fighting qualities of iron-clad vessels, but the ease with which the marine destroyer had accomplished her work in Hampton Roads made her huge beak, her great guns, and her invulnerable plates seem very formidable.

It was a gloomy day at Washington when the news was received. The Cabinet was hastily summoned, and the leading naval officers were called in for consultation. At this meeting a pathetic incident occurred. One of those present was Commodore Smith, whose son was the commander of the *Congress*. When the information was read that the *Congress* had surrendered, he said, with quiet grief, "Jo is dead." Those around tried to reassure him, saying, that perhaps the captain had escaped, or was lying wounded. "No," he said, "Jo would never haul down his flag. He's dead."

Twenty-four hours later, the alarm and dread excited by the *Merrimac* had given place to hearty congratulations and rejoicing. The little *Monitor* had appeared on the scene at the nick of time. Lieutenant Worden had engaged and discomfited the gigantic monster, with that "cheese-box on a raft." Washington was jubilant over this timely turn in the tide of affairs, congratulations were exchanged, encomiums bestowed on Ericsson who had invented, and Worden who had commanded this new and invincible form of naval power.

The Diplomatic Corps, who watched closely every phase in the war, were especially interested in learning the details of this naval combat, for they saw that every European Government must now study and adopt the most effective kind of iron-plated ships. The Swedish Minister, Count Piper, was congratulated, that two men of Scandinavian origin had enabled the Union to achieve this triumph — Ericsson who invented the *Monitor*, and Dahlgren who devised her guns.

In his chronicle of the military situation, Seward wrote·

March 25.

The events of the week have been striking and significant; the capture of Newbern by Burnside, with the consequent evacuation of Beaufort and Fort Macon by the insurgents, and the destruction by themselves of their own steamer *Nashville;* the rout of the insurgents on their retreat from Winchester to Strasburg by Shields; the victory of General Pope at New Madrid, and the bombardment of Island No. 10 in the Mississippi by Commodore Foote.

A movement of the main Army of the Potomac down the river to Fortress Monroe is quietly going on, and demonstrations will soon be made against Norfolk and Richmond.

We suppose our ocean expedition against New Orleans must, at this time, have reached the mouth of the Mississippi.

March 26.

We have already recaptured four of the great ports wrested from us by the insurgents, or betrayed into their hands. While doing this, we have effected a release of all our land and naval forces from the sieges in which they were held by the rebels.

Our Army of the Potomac, under General McClellan, to-day is descending that river an hundred thousand strong, to attack and carry Norfolk and Richmond. Another army is moving up Cumberland Gap. A third army, under General Halleck, is descending both banks of the Mississippi, flanking what has hitherto proved an irresistible naval force, which is making its way upon the river itself to New Orleans, while a fourth column of land and naval forces, under General Butler and Captains Farragut and Porter, is already believed to be ascending the river from the Belize to attack New Orleans.

To his daughter, he wrote:

March 8.

At home and abroad things have taken a favorable turn, and I am relieved from the very fearful difficulties with which I was struggling when you left me. But there is still need for watchfulness and labor. Next week there may be scenes near of great interest, exciting profound anxiety.

Not much later we may expect to hear of struggles in the West and of battles on the coast.

My condition is good; my conscience clear in these painful affairs, but my heart finds no delight in war — especially domestic, civil war. Even the insurgents seem still to be my brethren, and while I will not surrender, but will manfully contend with them, I pray that they may be turned from their dangerous ways, and relinquish their wrongful purposes. Truth and freedom can move fast enough in peace to satisfy me. I do not like to proselyte with the sword.

Weed's letters continued their narration of the progress of events abroad. He said:

LONDON, *March* 4.

You will see what Lord John says about the French Minister here. Other

members of the Cabinet here told me the same thing in much stronger language.

All is very right here now. The English people rejoice over our victories.

March 5.

The glorious Burnside and Goldsborough news of yesterday is this morning succeeded by the still more glorious news from Fort Donelson.

I was told last night that the French Minister had addressed a letter to Earl Russell on the subject of the blockade. But the successes will keep all right.

Seward wrote in reply:

March 24.

Perhaps it would be unwise just now to look too inquisitively into the French diplomacy, on the question you allude to. The French Government has had to meet complaints of its own manufacturers and others. It was a natural thing to reply to such complaints that Great Britain would not intervene with France, and France could not alone.

Our successes still continue. The Army of the Potomac is gathering at Fortress Monroe. It would seem now that the whole contest "must be brought to an end before long," everybody is saying. But I remember that prophets and false prophets are equally condemned by their own countrymen — therefore I wait.

Weed's letters continued:

LONDON, *March* 6.

I have your several letters along with the news which gladdens our hearts. How long and how anxiously have we awaited these truly auspicious results!

There is a fearful amount of labor and peril for you. God give you wisdom and strength to navigate through this sea of difficulties.

I anticipated the Union uprising in Tennessee. The same spirit, if it has not died out, belongs to North Carolina and Louisiana.

In the House of Commons, where I was two hours this evening, members came to congratulate me. The blockade debate opens to-morrow night. Your letter to Mr. Adams on the subject came seasonably.

It is hard to be abused for doing right. I chartered the vessels that took the first troops to Washington, leaving Grinnell and Comstock to fix the charter, and without a thought of interest, or receiving the value of a cigar. I helped Smith, of Ulster, get a powder order without the thought of a commission or even thanks, but I did not expect abuse! So it goes.

LONDON, *March* 8.

Though our adversaries made a determined effort yesterday, they broke down.

In the debate, the friends of secession appealed to grudges, old and new, and labored to revive the jealousies against you. These things provoked no reply, and though the Tory side endeavored to cheer, no effect was produced.

Mr. Forster used up all the *facts* and *figures* effectively. Monckton Milnes spoke to some other points, and the Solicitor-General made a beautiful and

irresistible speech. I hope you will get time to read it. We had many friends ready and anxious to speak, but it was not necessary. The speakers on the other side showed bitter hostility to the North and aroused stormy Southern sympathy.

None of the manufacturing districts are against us. Mr. Lindsay is a shipper, and is trying to run the blockade.

And, finally, they did not dare to divide!

On Tuesday, when the other question comes, Mr. Cobden will speak upon the whole question of neutral rights, blockade, and war.

Mr. Mason, who was on the Tory side of the House, did not at all like the way it went.

LONDON, *March* 9.

I share in all your apprehensions about the future. When the rebellion collapses radicalism will become rampant, and I suppose the Democrats will seek power in the old way. Some will *demand* too much, and others will want to *concede* too much, and, amid these difficulties, your task will be a hard one. It may be found easier to destroy than to reconstruct. I hope you are doing what you can to develop, as well as protect Union sentiment in the South.

Sir Roundell Palmer spoke for Lord Palmerston, whose hostility to slavery is earnest and unchangeable. Mr. Ellis, with whom I breakfasted this morning, offered to follow Mr. Gregory on our side, but Lord Palmerston told him Mr. Palmer was prepared to speak for the Government.

The English Parliament and people are opposed to the Mexican movement. It is supposed that the protracted visit of the King of Belgium had this for its object.

There will, I think, be trouble. I hope you can keep out of the melée. Earl Russell says that one object was to prevent filibustering for slavery in Mexico.

The Manchester people have urgently invited me there for a week or ten days. The members from manufacturing districts and from Scotland, are warmly our friends.

Members of Parliament who were near Mr. Mason say that he cheered when Mr. Lindsay attacked you. During the debate, only one or two members went to him, while dozens came to my seat, including such as Lord Charles Russell, Mr. Layard, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Seymour Fitzgerald, late Under Secretary, Sir David Dundas, etc.

LONDON, *March* 12.

Lord John showed his teeth in the House of Lords last night, much to the annoyance of the Commons. I hear that Lord Palmerston approved all that Sir Roundell Palmer said.

Your letter on court etiquette is greatly admired here. All the journals publish it conspicuously It is a capital hit.

Field brought over a map showing the degree of slavery in each county and State. Can you send Mr. Adams twenty-five or thirty copies for members of Parliament?

I remained till twelve o'clock in the House last night to hear Mr. Cobden on

the subject of neutrality and blockade, but he did not get the floor. He is all right. We go to Paris this afternoon.

PARIS, *March* 17.

How great is our cause for thankfulness! The day of triumph has come at last. And yet my rejoicings are mingled with solicitude. Rebellion is collapsing; but then fresh troubles come. This war was to vindicate the supremacy of law, and to preserve the Union. These projects can be accomplished. You will find Union men in the South as soon as you can give them protection. With these you can reconstruct, if no "malign influence" prevents it. If the Union is to be divided, why the war?

PARIS, *March* 20.

When results have justified the public expectation; when the strongholds of rebellion have been conquered, and the power of the Government demonstrated, how would a Proclamation from the President inviting the people of the South to return to their allegiance, answer? *Such a proclamation, showing the wickedness of the rebellion, and extending an amnesty to those who have been beguiled into it, would, if disregarded, justify whatever further steps the Government might find it necessary to take.*

On the 6th of March the President had sent in his message to Congress, recommending coöperation by the Federal Government with States, in the abolition of slavery within their limits.

Weed wrote:

March 21.

Since yesterday we have the mails, and I see that the President has opened the ball by a message to Congress. Good, so far! Perhaps after a time he will think favorably of a proclamation.

PARIS, *March* 20.

You did not make a mistake in your Consul to Paris. Mr. Bigelow has capacity and fitness for higher duties. I hope that you will give him permission to be absent, in his discretion, during the pendency of our troubles. He may be wanted elsewhere, and ought not to be restricted to ten days.

I gave Mr. Layard an extract from our treaty with Morocco, with which he answered the first inquiry about the arrested pirates. I see that it has been up in Parliament again. But it is no business of England's.

Why don't Congress hurry up the taxes?

I hope Maynard and others appeal to the Union men of the South.

PARIS, *March* 27.

Thanks, dear Seward, for your last very kind letter. I do not wonder that my complaints wearied you, though you cannot have misunderstood the spirit which prompted them. I had, before receiving your letters, begun to be reconciled, even to the *sharp* tone of your European correspondence. In all my conversation in London, as here, and in my heart, you had such a defense as truth and fidelity demanded.

I wrote you some time ago that the reaction had taken place, and that in circles where I had heard you assailed, you are commended.

The *Merrimac's* onslaught is appalling. The arrival of the *Monitor* was a merciful providence.

Indeed I have been fortunate in possessing the regard of Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton, each accepting my outside coöperation. Contrary, I suppose, to the expectations of some, I have friendly and confidential relations with Bishop McIlvaine.

PARIS, *March* 31.

I have been chasing up a disagreeable rumor with this result:

Mr. Harrison, an English ship-builder, says he has built two iron steamers for the Confederates, one of which has been iron-clad at Liverpool; and after some detention by the Government got off under British colors for Gibraltar, where she is to take the crew of the *Sumter* and depart for America, engaging the *Tuscarora*, if the latter chooses.

It seems impossible that an iron-clad vessel could have been completed at Liverpool without the knowledge of our Consul. And yet, nothing is impossible. I shall write Mr. Dudley to-day. This iron-clad demonstration startles the Old World. England and France have a vast expedition in view. In this description of ships, France is far ahead of England. The Emperor has three iron-clad steamers done, and has already started others.

Events rush so rapidly upon us, that I shall not go to Italy, and shall return earlier than I intended to England, *via* Brussels.

P. S.—I shall know to-morrow *when* this steamer is supposed to have left Liverpool.

CHAPTER X.

1862.

Mexico. France, England, and Spain in Alliance. Project of a Loan by the United States. Entrance of the Allied Troops. Collapse of the Alliance. England and Spain Withdraw. The French Army Remains. Map of the Territory Regained to the Union. Battles of Pea Ridge, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Island No. 10 and Pittsburg Landing. Missouri and Kentucky Liberated. Union Troops Advancing in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Alabama. The Navy off the Coast. Fort Pulaski Taken. 750,000 Men in the Field. Confederate Conscription. New Orleans Taken. Effect of the War on Slavery. The Seward-Lyons Treaty for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

MEXICO, like the United States, was torn by "the dogs of war," set on her by her sons. The "Church Party," defeated by the Liberals, had invoked foreign aid. France, England, and Spain, deeming the time a favorable one to compel Mexico to settle their claims, had made a triple alliance. A joint treaty was signed at London. Commissioners of the three powers were sent out, backed by a formidable military and naval force. Any interference with their plans, by the United States, was neither expected nor desired.

Seward, at the opening of the Administration, had sought to cultivate more friendly relations with the neighboring republic, and the appointment of Mr. Corwin as Minister was understood, in both countries, as an evidence of that spirit. An extradition treaty, which it was believed would tend to repress border raids and crimes, was concluded in December. Mr. Corwin was also instructed to ascertain whether a loan, or guaranty, by the United States to Mexico, for a specific amount, would not serve to extricate her from her embarrassments. The Senate, however, in executive session, adopted a resolution adverse to such a policy. Seward wrote to Mr. Corwin:

You have already been informed that the Senate advised the President adversely to the projected treaty with Mexico, in both of the forms in which it was submitted to them.

The House of Representatives has called for the papers relating to the case; and we may, perhaps, find some plan for rendering assistance, not incompatible with the rights of other parties.

Meanwhile, Mr. Corwin reported that he understood "both France and England have declined to accept our proffered guaranty, alleging as a reason, that they deem it improper to complicate their Mexican affairs with those of any other Government." He added:

The allies are encamped on the table-land, between Vera Cruz and Mexico. When the additional troops arrive, they will have from fifteen to twenty thousand. Thus far, not a hostile gun has been fired. The money demands of England are, in the main, if not altogether, just. I am not surprised that her patience is exhausted. Those of France are comparatively small, very small, so far as they arise out of previous treaties; and those dependent on claims of more recent date are, as presented, so enormously unjust, as to be inadmissible.

The treaty with Spain is said to be an outrageous fraud, but I know nothing of the facts, except from report — too vague to be relied on.

As to the outcome of the matter, he added:

These allies have said they came here to establish order. If the Church Party is not put down very soon, France, and, perhaps, Spain, will unite in restoring it to power, and their reason to the world will be, that peace must be given to disturbed Mexico.

The Mexican Government now proposed to Mr. Corwin to pledge part of their revenue and their public lands to secure the payment of a loan from the United States. A treaty was accordingly arranged at the city of Mexico, providing for a joint commission, to have custody of the funds and the lands until the loan should be paid.

But before the month (of April) was over, and before the draft of the proposed treaty reached Washington, came the sudden collapse of

the tripartite alliance. The allies differed as to the construction of a clause in the treaty of London, and finally agreed that each party should act without reference to that treaty. Discovering, then, that the Emperor of the French had ulterior designs, in which they were not prepared to embark, the Spanish and English Plenipotentiaries withdrew from the expedition, and from the country. The French reinforced their army, and undertook to carry out their enterprise alone. Mr. Corwin wrote on the 28th of April:

> At this moment the English and Spanish Commissioners are in conference at Puebla, with General Doblado, the present Minister of Foreign Relations, while the French now seem willing to give aid to Almonte.

He inclosed the proclamations of Almonte, and of the French Plenipotentiaries, declaring: "The French flag has been planted upon Mexican soil, and that flag shall not retrocede. Let the insensate dare to attack it!" — as well as a formal protest from them against "any treaty or convention whatever, which may have for its object, on the part of Mexico, to sell, yield, transfer, or hypothecate in favor of whomsoever it may be, all, or any part of the lands, properties, or rents of the State."

Seward wrote to Mr. Corwin:

> War, it appears, has been actually begun between France and Mexico. It is possible that it may result in an overthrow of the existing Government of the Republic; and the attempt at inauguration of some new system. It is not the interest of the United States to be hasty in recognizing revolutionary changes. You will suspend any act of recognition in case of a dynastic change in Mexico.

Referring to the proposed treaties, he said that while the uncertainty continued about the result of these hostilities, there would be little prospect of obtaining the approval of the Senate, adding:

> Just at this moment, also, the Government and the country are intently occupied with impending military events, which may decide the fate of an attempted revolution, pregnant with confusion, anarchy, and ruin to the whole continent.

In reference to the "Triple Alliance," and its expeditions to Mexico, he instructed the American chargé at Madrid to say, that:

> No monarchial government which could be founded in Mexico in the presence of foreign armies would have any prospect of security or permanence. Secondly, the instability of such a monarchy would be enhanced, if the throne should be assigned to any person not of Mexican nativity. Under such circumstances, the new Government would speedily fall, unless it could draw into its support European alliances; which would in fact make it the begin-

ning of a permanent policy of armed European monarchial intervention, practically hostile to the general system of government on the continent of America.

He wrote to Weed:

April 1.

We have had a fearful battle, and a brilliant victory at Winchester. I went up after it, to that place. Shields is badly wounded.

Faction in the North will coöperate with faction in the South. But we shall survive the combination.

Congress indicates a perseverance in its support of the Government, which is full of encouragement. I abate no hope or confidence in our success. The President is wise and practical.

April 7.

I have your letters of March 20 and 21. It is too early, or too late, for a proclamation. Proclamations in each State recovered, issued by Governors chosen from their own citizens, and sustained by the Army, are listened to. Colonel W. H. Polk has come in from Tennessee. He says that the State will soon be in the Union again.

Edward Stanley goes to North Carolina, as Military Governor.

Congress has called for the correspondence on Mexican affairs; and the clerks are preparing copies.

A map of the United States was prepared at Seward's request, by the officers of the Coast Survey, for transmission abroad. A blue line, carefully drawn across it, showed where the frontier between the Confederates and the Union forces was at the outset of the war. A red line showed where it was in April, 1862. The space between these lines indicated the territory actually regained, and held by the Union troops, within a year. He accompanied it by a *resumé* of the military situation, in which he recounted the movements in Missouri and Kentucky, the battle of Pea Ridge, the victories at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, the occupation of Bowling Green, Nashville, Murfreesboro, and Columbus, the capture of Island No. 10, the battle of Pittsburg Landing, the capture of Huntsville and Decatur, the advance upon Jacksonville and Knoxville, the advance of Fremont, Banks, and Blenker in the Shenandoah Valley, the occupation of the region between Washington and the Rappahannock by McDowell, and the relief of the "Eastern Shore" of Virginia. He continued:

General McClellan on the York river, and General Wool at Fortress Monroe, with the main body of the Army of the Potomac, lay siege upon Yorktown, which is defended by the insurgent leader Lee, J. E. Johnston, and Magruder.

General Burnside occupies the cities and sounds and coasts of Eastern North Carolina, and besieges Fort Macon. These forces have cleared all the insurgent bodies out of a slave territory once occupied by them, containing one hundred and fifty thousand square miles and a population of three millions.

One-half of the coast of South Carolina, the whole coast of Georgia, and

the harbors, cities, and coasts of East Florida, are occupied by the army under the command of General Hunter; and the fortress of the Florida reef, situate at Key West, the Tortugas Islands, and at the harbor of Tampa Bay and Cedar Keys; Fort Pickens, commanding the entrance to Pensacola; Ship Island, Biloxi, and Pass Christian on the coast of Mississippi, as well as the head of the delta of the Mississippi river, all are occupied and securely held by national forces.

Fort Pulaski, on the Savannah river, after a bombardment of several days, surrendered yesterday. There is scarce a harbor on the coast, from the Chesapeake to the Mississippi, which is not sealed by a force occupying some island or head-land, as well as by the blockading squadron. Charleston, St. Marks, Apalachicola, and Mobile are closely blockaded by our fleet. New Orleans is threatened by the bomb fleet of Captain Porter, who is ascending the Mississippi river, and by the iron-clad flotilla of Captain Foote, which has just sailed from the late stronghold of No. 10, and is now, with General Pope's Army under convoy, descending the river.

The national forces consist of seven hundred and fifty thousand men. They are amply provided with arms of precision, with artillery, with wagons, horses, tents, clothing, and all the provisions and apparel of war. An order from the Secretary of War to receive no more volunteers is bringing back upon him remonstrances and entreaties not only from individuals, but from States, from which he is constrained to accept regiments newly filled. Twenty-five thousand prisoners are astonished at finding themselves better fed, better clothed, and more humanely treated than when bearing arms against their country at the call of treasonable chiefs.

These chiefs have, for months past, been resorting to levies *en masse*, or to drafts, forcing the young and aged, loyal and disloyal — all alike and however unwilling — into their service.

Perhaps a million of men, thus variously brought into the field, are now in arms in a country, which, one year ago, had a military force of only twelve thousand men. * * * Missouri, Kentucky, a great part of Tennessee, Western Virginia, and Eastern Florida have been abandoned by the insurgent leaders. The national flag has been planted securely at one or more points in every State except Texas. The richest part of the territory claimed by the revolutionists for the seat of their pretended "Confederacy" has been reclaimed from their rule and their taxation. What cotton they now have on hand the insurgents threaten to burn, because they have no outlet for its exportation.

It is believed that this survey of the military position of the Government may serve to satisfy Great Britain that those statesmen here and abroad, who, a year ago, mistook a political syncope for national death and dissolution, altogether misunderstood the resources, the character, and the energies of the American Union.

A few days later, he wrote:

April 22.

M. Mercier proposed, in a very proper manner, that he would visit Richmond if we should not object. Of course, the President approved, being

satisfied that he would not in any way compromise the relations existing between the French Government and our own. I hope that M. Mercier may come back prepared with some plan to alleviate the inconveniences of his countrymen in the South. The real difficulty is that the Southern ports are, and even the whole Southern country is now actually in a state of siege.

The insurrectionary leaders have made a conscription of all between eighteen and thirty-five. They issue new paper, which sells for gold at the rate of $100 for $20.

April 26.

We hear, at last, through insurgent organs, of the beginning of the bombardment of the forts on the Mississippi below New Orleans by Captain Porter. We constantly expect the surrender of Fort Macon. But the exciting care of the hour is divided between Yorktown and Corinth. Battles there are imminent. The gain of either of these fields would have a decisive effect. The loss of both seems hardly possible, although calculations upon particular results in war are always uncertain.

April 28.

To-day the country is assuming that the fate of this unnatural war is determined by the great event of the capture of New Orleans, which was effected by the naval expedition on the 24th instant.

Captain Bullock of Georgia is understood to have written that he has five steamers built or bought, armed and supplied in England, which are about leaving, or are on their way, to aid the insurgents. We are prepared to meet them. But the reflection occurs, are the maritime powers of Europe willing that the suppression of this insurrection shall be forever associated, in the memory of mankind, with the conviction that the sympathies of Europe were lent to the abortive revolution?

Writing to Mrs. Seward, he said:

April 22.

The times are filled with great expectations, and, of course, possible disappointments. You can judge nothing from the incidents, or even the actions of individuals in such a crisis. Exaggeration and passion prevail around us, so that what each person does is more or less capricious. Nevertheless, the forces of the Union and of humanity are every day gaining new power.

Within a week the future course of the war is to be determined. The siege of Yorktown and the siege of Corinth are important transactions. It would be unsatisfactory to myself, as well as to the public, if I should be absent from the seat of Government. Possibly I may be wanted for advice. One must not count upon success in both cases; and if there should be disaster in either, my imperturbability will be in requisition.

Congressional debates continued over the various phases of the slavery question, — the differing and often conflicting orders of various commanders, — the execution or repeal of the laws about fugitives,

the questions of emancipation, compensation, and confiscation. Much bitterness of feeling was shown, and on both sides were some who seemed willing to throw the blame of all sins of omission or commission upon the Administration. Seward wrote on the 8th of April:

I have just signed, with Lord Lyons, a treaty, which I trust will be approved by the Senate, and by the British Government. If ratified, it will bring the African slave trade to an end, immediately and forever. Had such a treaty been made in 1808, there would now have been no sedition here; and no disagreement between the United States and foreign nations.

This treaty was an act to which Seward always referred with especial satisfaction. It established regulations for a joint naval force on the coast of Africa, and established three courts, with American and British judges, to sit at Sierra Leone, the Cape of Good Hope, and the city of New York, to pass upon the cases of captured slave traders. It was promptly ratified in both countries, and in a few years proved the death-blow of the nefarious traffic on the Atlantic.

A striking illustration of "Secession" audacity, and English credulity occurred at this period. Rebel emissaries were actually persuading people abroad that, if the South succeeded, it would emancipate the slaves, while if the Union prevailed, they would be doomed to continued bondage! Seward wrote confidentially to Mr. Adams:

It is represented to us that, equally in Great Britain and in France, the cause of the Union is prejudiced by the assumption that the Government which maintains it is favorable, or, at least, not unfavorable, to the perpetuation of slavery. This incident is one of the most curious and instructive that has occurred in the course of this controversy. The Administration was elected upon the ground of its declared opposition to the extension of slavery. The party of slavery, for this reason, arrayed itself against, not only the Administration, but the Union itself, and inaugurated a civil war, for the overthrow of the Union and the establishment of an exclusive slave-holding confederacy. * * * What is the operation of the war? We have entered Virginia, and already five thousand slaves, emancipated simply by the appearance of our forces, are upon the hands of the Federal Government there. We have landed on the coast of South Carolina, and, already, nine thousand similarly emancipated slaves hang upon our camps. Although the war has not been waged against slavery, yet the Army acts immediately as an emancipating crusade.

The tale that Mr. Cameron was required to give up his place because of his decided opposition to slavery is without foundation. His successor has no more sympathy with slavery than Mr. Cameron. These facts and thoughts are communicated to you confidentially, for such use in detail as may be practicable.

In a letter home, he said:

April 28.

This week, I sign, seal, and dispatch to Europe, our great treaty with Great Britain for the extirpation of the African slave trade. If I have done nothing else worthy of self-congratulation, I deem this treaty sufficient to have lived for.

CHAPTER XI.

1862.

Events Abroad. France and England Wanting Cotton. Count de Morny. Temper of Parties. Effect of the War on Slavery. Opening Southern Ports to Trade. A Visit to the Fleets. Cruising Between the two Armies. McClellan's Head-Quarters. Yorktown. The Pamunky. Commodore Goldsborough. Hampton Roads. Norfolk and Portsmouth. Southern Union Men. Shelling Hardy's Bluff. Jamestown. Escaping "Contrabands." Deserted Forts. Newport News. Up the Potomac.

MEANWHILE Weed's letters continued:

PARIS, *April* 4, 1862.

I see that you are anxious about iron-clad steamers, as I fear you have good reason to be, for I apprehend that you are to encounter them.

You know from Mr. Dayton how anxious the Emperor is about cotton. He fears popular outbreaks in the manufacturing districts.

Your dispatch on Mexican matters breaks no eggs. It makes a record, and there, I hope, you are at rest.

How much you have to do and to think about! It is bewildering.

Bishop McIlvaine is here; going in ten days to Italy. He is a good man and has done good service.

PARIS, *April* 11.

I have not, of course, said any thing here about the French movement in England concerning the blockade. But we shall have trouble *here* soon on that question — sooner and more severe than from England. So, if possible, open ports, and let the enemy refuse the cotton.

PARIS, *April* 15.

I have been an hour with the Count De Morny this morning. He sent for me to say that he relied on my assurances given in February, that we should, in three or four months, be in possession of Southern ports, and that so far as such ports were concerned, our Government would be enabled to modify the blockade. He added, that our success having been realized, he hoped you would soon meet the expectations and necessities of France, by removing, at Southern ports, the restrictions upon commerce — or, *in some other way, let them have cotton.*

I reminded him, in explanation, that England and France, by hasty recognition of the rebels, had protracted the war and deprived themselves of cotton. He replied that England was hasty and France followed, but, that

right or wrong, it could not be helped now. I inquired whether, now that our Government had virtually put down the rebellion, their Governments might not properly withdraw their recognition. He did not reply, but remarked that France needed cotton greatly, and desired that you should find some mode by which it could be obtained; that France was never more friendly with the United States than at this moment; and that the energy of our Government and the determination of its people and army was commanding the respect of Europe. But he said he wanted to be very frank with me in revealing the condition of France. The manufacturing districts were, from necessity, becoming importunate, and, he feared, would become desperate; that the present short supply would soon be entirely exhausted; that Europe was dependent upon America for an article which gave employment, and consequently food to the people; that *this* Government assumed to provide for workmen, etc,, and were held to its responsibilities, etc., etc.

He then said, "Surely, your Government can lessen this emergency. It has many Southern ports; why not open them and proclaim to Europe that cotton is free!"

I remarked that the Emperor had spoken with Mr. Dayton on this subject. He said he knew what that conversation was, but he desired that I should also impress you with the importance of the question, adding that he had been our friend in another crisis, and that he was equally so now in frankly saying, that I could not overestimate the importance of what he was saying.

PARIS, *April* 18.

I wish you could have said in your last dispatch to Mr. Dayton something about opening the ports you have taken. This, while but little cotton should come, would manifest your appreciation of the *necessity* of France, and this was what you authorized Mr. Dayton to assure the French Government they might expect.

The dispatch in reference to military movements is most encouraging, but it is silent upon the questions vital to this Government. The Prince Napoleon whom you know to be our friend, shares in the anxiety I feel on this subject.

The Easter adjournment of Parliament has brought many members over here. They are entertained by French Ministers, and hear the same story about cotton.

Nobody here believes in a re-union. I insist, as well as I can, that it is practicable; that our Government, at the proper time, will be wise and magnanimous; but that if the South remains besotted and refuses to return to the Union, the consequences will be terrible; that *if nothing but the destruction of the Government will satisfy slavery, nothing short of the destruction of slavery will satisfy the Northern people.*

4 o'clock.

I have seen Mr. Dayton and learn that he has asked the Emperor and M. Thouvenel whether they would not withdraw the recognition as belligerents, as preliminary to the raising of the blockade. He thinks that they have communicated with England, and that Mr. Ellis is here on that question; I did not know that Mr. Dayton had broached it; what I said was "on my own hook."

Depend upon it, this Government is in a "tight place." Help as far and as fast as you can.

PARIS, *April* 21.

You may depend upon an outbreak, ere long, from more than one Government, for cotton.

Europe, unfortunately, has a direct interest, which is injuriously affected by our war, and Europe will, most wrongfully it is true, hold the North responsible for what Europe suffers; at least until the North relaxes her policy. I suppose the sympathies of Governments follow their interests. It will not be difficult for France to obtain from other Governments using our cotton, a protest against a war which subjects them to inconvenience. England is quiet because she is developing her cotton resources in India. But France, and Belgium, and Germany have no such resource.

Baron Rothschild told Mr. Belmont yesterday that France was growing very impatient. Mr. Fould asked Mr. Ellis "how long England could stand it?" meaning the blockade.

Perhaps you will say that they will get no cotton "on compulsion." But how, or when can we hope to end the war, if the rebels have the moral support of Europe?

Mason has been here with Lindsay (M. P.) trying to get up a line of steamers between Bordeaux and New Orleans. I hope that New Orleans will ere long belong to the right Government. Southern (New Orleans) people, who all talk French, are constantly at the clubs, impressing the French with their side of the question.

Mr. Dayton is to see M. Thouvenel to-morrow.

LONDON, *May* 8.

Your last dispatch to Mr. Adams, with the map which accompanies it, affords great encouragement. But shippers and merchants, on speculation, are fitting out many vessels, with all sorts of cargoes for the enemy. If half of them get into Southern ports, they make money. I cannot see why you don't catch more of them.

There is much, and real suffering in the manufacturing districts; but they do not complain of us. The press of Manchester has done much to show the laborers that cotton cannot be had by siding with rebellion and slavery. The Secessionists have established a paper here, but I think it is too late to effect much.

A debate on American affairs was expected this evening, but, instead, I heard a sharp set to between Mr. D'Israeli and Lord Palmerston.

The visit of the French Minister to Richmond excited much interest here. Of course, you know all about it. A government man tells that Lord Lyons was asked to go with him.

Seward wrote him:

WASHINGTON, *April* 25.

I have not heretofore noticed your allusions to the positions of the two parties, — the Union and the opposition — at home. At least I do not remember that I have.

The former, the chief element of which is anti-slavery, is predominant in Congress; the latter is only small enough to annoy and excite, while the other is only too willing to exasperate. Somebody must be in a position to mollify and moderate. That is the task of the P. and the S. of S.

Notwithstanding our rapid and great successes, we have as yet been unable to break the reign of terror established by the insurgents. The chiefs are desperate, and resolved to destroy (they think they are ready to perish) rather than to make or to receive overtures for peace and Union.

There is nobody rising thus far to displace them. We wait the results of two battles imminent, one of Yorktown, the other of Corinth. Concerning them our Generals are sanguine, the enemy's Generals sanguinary. After them, look for some change, *according as they result.* I hope the best.

Great Britain and France could arrest the whole thing, by rescinding those unfortunate "belligerent" decrees. I am pressing it, and believe that I have the good wishes and the confidence of all the foreign legations. I want to relieve France, and I want to sustain the Liberal Ministry of Great Britain.

Mercier's visit at Richmond was on consultation with me, and it will produce fruits, I hope.

God be praised! we have got through the Senate a treaty that will destroy the slave trade! It is a work that ought to have been done fifty years ago. But the fears and prejudices of our people, and the opposition of the slave interest prevented.

While there is much waste of talk upon abstractions, and flaming speeches in Congress, we have really succeeded in carrying practical measures of lasting importance, and determining the character of the Administration, so as to challenge the sympathies of mankind.

1. Passports are granted, without inquiry as to color.
2. Slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia.
3. The African slave trade is suppressed.
4. Hayti and Liberia are recognized.
5. National aid to State emancipation is sanctioned.
6. The slave-holders, to be secured, must be loyal.

His next diplomatic circular said:

May 5.

I advised you by telegram, sent out by the last steamer, of the capture of New Orleans.

I have now to inform you that Fort Macon has surrendered to our siege, and that Yorktown has just been relinquished to our Army on the eve of the anticipated bombardment. General McClellan is marching up the Peninsula toward Richmond, and General McDowell is opening his way downward toward the same capital, from Fredericksburg. If our information is correct, the insurgent Army is evacuating Corinth. The spurious Congress of the insurgents has suddenly adjourned. Two of the British steamers, lately fitted out at Liverpool, with ammunition and arms for the insurgents, have been captured by our blockading fleet. Thus, the tide of success seems to be

THE FRENCH PRINCES.

REVIEW OF ARTILLERY.

flowing fur and strong. Acting upon the confidence which it has produced, we have opened New Orleans to correspondence, and we are taking measures for an early opening of that, and some other ports to trade.

In May, the river steamboat, *City of Baltimore*, which had been fitted up for naval patrol and blockade duty, left Washington, on a special cruise to visit the fleets in the waters lying between the Federal and the Rebel capitals. The Secretary of the Navy had invited his colleagues, the Secretary of State and the Attorney-General, to accompany him. Captain (afterward Admiral) Dahlgren took command of the vessel. She carried, for protection against attack, two field howitzers, with muskets and cutlasses.

A letter to Mrs. Seward (from F. W. S.) described the incidents of this trip:

You have doubtless seen in the papers our voyaging up and down the Virginia rivers. Our steamboat was one of the line which formerly ran between Washington and Acquia Creek, but now belonging to the Navy, and armed for service. Our party was Mr., Mrs., and Miss Welles, Mr. Bates, Mr. Faxon, Chief Clerk of the Navy Department, and his son, Dr. and Mrs. Whelan (Navy Department), and their son, Mrs. Goldsborough (wife of the Commodore) and her daughter, Captain Dahlgren and his daughter, and Mr. Goldsborough, the Commodore's brother — all Naval people, except Mr. Bates and ourselves. We had two pilots and thirteen sailors, Wormley and his cook and waiters, two howitzers, and two dozen muskets, coal and provisions for a week, field glasses and maps.

We went down the Potomac Tuesday night, looking at Fort Washington, Alexandria, Mount Vernon, White House Point, Shipping, Budd's and Matthias' Point, and Acquia, famous for their batteries, now deserted; woke up Wednesday morning in the York river, between the earthworks of Yorktown on one side and Gloucester on the other; passed on up the York river, full of transport and provision ships, and with the white flags waving from the houses of either shore — reached West Point at noon, found the gun-boats and Franklin's battle-ground, passed on up the Pamunky, a stream as large as the Hudson at Troy, and so winding that you go three miles to advance one — saw deserted houses, no whites, but many negroes, who bowed and grinned obsequiously when they saw the national flag; reached Cumberland at three o'clock — found a clearing in the woods containing two houses, suddenly transformed into a great city of a hundred thousand people, by the advent of McClellan's Army and its supporting fleet. The General and his Staff, with the French Princes, Major Palmer, and several other Washington acquaintances came on board, and then took us ashore — up and down the hills through the camps; the Secretaries reviewing ten or twelve thousand of Porter's and Franklin's men. At night the long lines of lights on the shore, the shipping and bustle in the river made it almost impossible to believe we were not in the harbor of Philadelphia or New York.

We passed safely down again through the sunken ships with which the Secessionists supposed they had obstructed the river; woke up again on Thursday off Yorktown — reached Fortress Monroe at noon, in a drizzling rain — ran alongside the flag-ship *Minnesota*, took Commodore Goldsborough and his Lieutenant, and Mr. Tucker, Assistant Secretary of War, on board; and steamed on, passing the *Vanderbilt*, *Arago*, *Ericsson*, the gun-boats, and the transports which crowd the Roads, and so past Sewall's Point and Craney Island and the sunken *Merrimac*, up the Elizabeth river to Norfolk. Wrecks of vessels destroyed by the Secessionists lay in the channel. The hulk of the old frigate, *United States*, lay moored ready to be sunk; but not sunk, because they left it in too much haste. We dined, and then as the rain had stopped, went to the wharf and sent for General Viele, the Military Governor, one of my old schoolmates in Albany. He and his Staff came on board, and after a little the crowd gathered on the wharf, sullen and sour and curious. The General pointed out one or two Union men, who had stood firm through the long night of Secession, and they were called up on board to be congratulated. One burst into tears on finding himself once more among loyal men, under the old flag, and all were almost demented with joy.

We went ashore and walked up and down the streets; all the shops shut, all the doors and windows of private houses closed, all the population idle, a sentry at each corner, a patrol in each street, no woman visible, and no man, except now and then some exultant Unionist, venturing to say a word.

"Do you see me," said one, taking off his hat, "they beat me and robbed me, and drove me from town six months ago, because I wouldn't hurrah for their cursed flag. I've just come back home to-day. They hate to see me in their streets, as much as they hate to see you. But the sight of the old flag and the sound of 'Hail Columbia' here pays me for all I have suffered."

Returning on board, we steamed up to the frigate *Susquehanna*, and cast anchor for the night. She manned her yards and fired a salute in compliment to the Secretaries, while Norfolk sunk into darkness like a city of the dead — a town vanished into nought, in strong contrast with the magic town, sprung from nought, where we slept the night before.

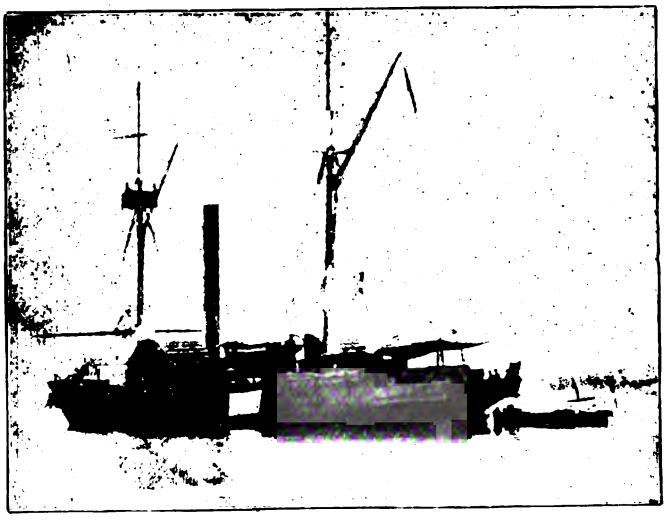
In the morning we steamed on up the river to the Navy Yard. Portsmouth, inhabited mostly by working people, is more loyal than Norfolk, and such as could get a Union flag hung it out from their trees or chimneys. The *Susquehanna's* band was on board, and not desiring to parade our triumph, or gall the people's feelings, they were told to play only airs without significance. But the people who ran along the shore and cheered, called out:

"Oh! play the Star Spangled Banner! Do let us hear the Star Spangled Banner once more."

And when they heard it, they shouted and cried, and waved their hats, handkerchiefs, and any thing they could get; and seemed to be willing to follow for any distance to hear it still. The colored folks were especially in their glory — such an amount of colored chuckling and laughing has not transpired in Portsmouth for a year at least.

We landed at what was the Navy Yard, and is now a mass of smoking ruins. Long rows of crumbling walls, and roofless, empty, charred brick buildings,

YORKTOWN HEAD-QUARTERS.



THE MARATANZA.

piles of still smoking ashes, docks and wharves torn up by gunpowder, wrecks of vessels burned to the water's edge, cover many acres.

A Massachusetts regiment was encamped among the ruins, and one man, with Yankee readiness, had contrived to establish a blacksmith shop out of the fragments, and was driving a successful business, mending guns and shoeing horses. A huge gun, burst in the middle, was recognized as one which a ball from the *Cumberland* destroyed on board the *Merrimac*, and Captain Dahlgren found it one of his own make. The soldier, who stood guard over it, asked me if I remembered, about eighteen months ago, reading in the newspapers of a Boston shoemaker, cruelly beaten and tarred and feathered, in Savannah, for supposed "abolitionism." I told him I remembered printing it in the Albany *Journal*.

"I am that shoemaker," said he. "I enlisted in the first Massachusetts regiment I could find; and I have got so far on my way back to Savannah, to see those gentlemen again."

Returning to our boat we found Captain Hewett of the British steamer *Rinaldo*, who had come to pay his respects to the Secretary of State. The *Rinaldo* took Slidell and Mason from Fort Warren, and is now returned to Norfolk. We steamed down the river again, stopping to look at the deserted rebel fortifications of Craney Island and Sewall's Point, and to get a piece of the wreck of the *Merrimac*, and so on to Fortress Monroe — landed again — were received by General Wool with a salute and all the honors — went on board the *Minnesota* — were received by the Commodore with a salute and all the honors there — examined her armament, her five hundred men, her depths of decks below decks, and machinery below them all — and returned to the wharf, where we slept quietly that night.

Saturday, Commodore Goldsborough had fixed upon for an expedition up the James river to attack and destroy the fortifications which the *Monitor* and *Galena* had run by without reducing. At seven in the morning the ships got under way in order of battle — a magnificent sight. A large steam tug-boat, under command of Lieutenant Selfridge, with one large gun, led the way to open the attack — then about an eighth of a mile behind came the *Dacotah;* an equal distance behind her the *Susquehanna*, with the blue pennant of the Commodore; then behind her the *Wachusett;* and behind her the *Maratanza*. Last of all, followed our boat.

We passed on up the river fifteen miles; found the first battery at Day Point; reconnoitered with the glass; found it deserted and passed on. A few miles further up the telescope showed a secession flag still waving over "Fort Huger," on Hardy's Bluff. We saw the signals hoisted on the flag-ship, heard the drums beat to quarters, and saw the guns run out, as the whole fleet slowly steamed up in line toward the fort. Presently a puff of white smoke from the tug, and then the dull report of her gun. No reply from the fort. Then the *Dacotah* veered slightly, and a larger puff of smoke from her followed by a louder report. A second after we saw the shell burst over the fort. Then the *Susquehanna* opened with her hundred-pounders, of which we could see the flash as well as the smoke. Then the *Maratanza*, just before us, and we saw the shells go tearing up the earth of the fort in a shower. Still no reply.

The flag-ship again signaled, the firing ceased, and a small boat filled with sailors and marines with cutlasses and muskets, pushed off from each vessel. They landed and ran up the bank like mad. Presently we saw the flag-staff and all come down with a crash and a hurrah. Then it went up again with the Stars and Stripes substituted — and then another cheer. Then the sailors returned and the tug came alongside, with an officer to report that the enemy had evacuated the battery, leaving all the guns, some shotted and ready for use, their stores, their dinner half eaten, and the flag nailed to the staff.

So the James river was opened. We started again up the river, but found nothing for some miles. At last two steamers carrying the Union flag came in sight around a point. They fired a gun when they saw us. We hailed them and sent for the commanding officer to come on board. He came — a young lieutenant, the commander having been wounded in a battle near Richmond. His boat was the *Port Royal*, the other the *Naugatuck*. He told us of the repulse at Fort Darling, of which you have read; and then went on down to report to the Commodore, who came on board for a consultation as to what next.

About dusk we started on again to try to go up as far as Jamestown, to see the ruins of historic interest. Three of the gun-boats went along to convoy us in safety. But the channel was crooked and shallow, and the pilot new. The *Wachusett* went aground, then the *Port Royal*. We left the *Maratanza* trying to draw her comrades off, and went on alone. The shores were dark and desolate, the river without a craft, and the night still and silent. Presently we went aground, but in a quarter of an hour we were off again. About eleven o'clock, Captain Dahlgren announced that we were off Jamestown, though the river and shore looked as dark and desolate there as anywhere else. To guard against surprise, the lights were all put out, the howitzers loaded, the muskets distributed to the crew, and the steam kept up ready for a start at a moment's notice. But nobody disturbed us.

At daylight we were up to see Jamestown. The whole of it consists of a ruined brick doorway of the old church where Captain John Smith worshiped. There was one house near by and an earthwork for a fort, from which smoke was ascending. We sent a boat ashore. They found the house and fort both empty — two dogs and two "contrabands" were the only living beings. The "contrabands" reported that the people in the house and in the earthwork, alarmed by our boat, had fled in the night. They (the "contrabands") asked to come on board; so the sailors brought them.

Soon after a large boat was seen pulling down from the direction of the rebel lines. Spy-glasses were brought into requisition. The boat was heading directly for the steamboat, but whether its occupants were armed, could not at first be ascertained. Presently an officer remarked, "I think they are all black, sir" — a welcome announcement; for, in that case, they were all friends. Sure enough, when it came nearer and drew alongside, the boat was seen to be filled with thirteen men, one woman, and two children, in shabby clothing, but having neither arms, provisions, nor plunder. Not a word was spoken as they pulled fearlessly up to the gangway, until the leader stood up and was preparing to climb on board.

"Ahoy, there!" called out the officer of the deck. "Who are you? Where are you going?"

The answer was respectful, but sententious, "Going along with yous, Massa!"

"But you don't know where we are going. Don't you see that we are headed toward Richmond? What made you come to us?"

The colored spokesman grinned and pointed upward,

"Ain't afraid to go nowhar' with you, Massa, under dat flag!"

So they set their boat adrift and confided their lives and fortunes to our charge. The woman was as white as Louisa, and the children whiter still. They said they were slaves of Colonel Millroy and Colonel Stratton of the Confederate Army; that their masters had carried off the corn to the mountains in North Carolina, and were going to take them there. So they took a boat out of a pond, carried it in the night on their shoulders, launched it on the James river, and met us. One of them said his master "swore up to his waist" when he told them he was going to take them to Carolina.

We turned our steamer down the river again — passed on without incident, except the discovery of plenty of Confederate barracks, sheds, and fortifications — all deserted — rejoined the fleet — stopped at Newport News to pay a visit to General Mansfield — were received with salutes, etc. — saw the wreck of the *Cumberland* and *Congress*, the hole made in General Mansfield's room by a shell from the *Merrimac*, and finally returned to Fortress Monroe at noon. Captain Gautier, of the French frigate *Gassendi*, came on board to pay us a visit. We landed our "contrabands" to go to work in the Navy Yard, except the woman and children, whom we brought to Washington. We came up the bay and the Potomac in the night, and arrived here safe and well, on Monday morning.

Seward himself wrote to his daughter:

Our excursion into Virginia was very interesting and very instructive. We saw war, not in its holiday garb, but in its stern and fearful aspect. We saw the desolation that follows, and the terror that precedes its march. We saw in the relaxation of African bondage and the flight of bondsmen and bondswomen with their children, how Providence brings relief to some, out of the crimes and sufferings of our common race.

The voyage was an easy one, yet I found its fatigue so great as to make rest desirable on my return.

All the hopes and fears and anxieties of this unhappy strife renew themselves at this moment, and cluster about the armies at Richmond and at Corinth.

The public mind, accustomed to successes, is little disturbed; but for one who has such responsibilities as mine, there is nothing but unwearied watchfulness.

I believe that the good cause will prevail, but I know very well that it must encounter occasional reverses. I prepare to meet them.

CHAPTER XII.

1862.

Progress of the War. The Army Emancipating as it Advances. Southern Loyalists. Seaports Regained and Reopened. More Friendly Feeling in England. Count Gasparin. Intervention. Foreign Residents in New Orleans. Withdrawal of the English and Spanish from Mexico. The Senate Refuses to Ratify the Proposed Treaty. Imperialist Projects. A Turn of the Tide. Secession Triumphs. Battles Before Richmond. The Floods of the Chickahominy. McClellan's Change of Base.

On returning to the department, Seward found his table loaded down with dispatches awaiting answer. One or two thoughts, suggested by his recent trip, found place in his next dispatch to Mr. Adams:

A writer upon war advises brave men never to nail their colors to the staff, remarking that if they shall be able, and find it desirable, they can maintain it there without nailing, while it will be more convenient to lower it, if they shall find themselves unable, or no longer desirous to keep it flying.

Loyalty reappears just so fast as the successes of the Government are deemed sufficient to afford a guaranty for protection. The disunionists, even in their strongest holds, are not a people, but only a faction, surpassing the loyal in numbers and silencing them by terrors and severities.

In the same dispatch, he remarked:

Everywhere the American general receives his most useful and reliable information from the negro, who hails his coming as a harbinger of freedom. Wherever the national army advances into the insurrectionary region, African bondsmen, escaping from their masters, come out to meet it and to offer their services. So many of these bondsmen have, even without the invitation, and often against the opposition of the Federal military and naval authorities, made their way from bondage to freedom, that the Government finds itself occupied with the consideration of measures to provide them with domiciles. Not less than a hundred such escape every day, and as the Army advances, the number increases.

He wrote to Mrs. Seward:

May 19.

I had need of a week's exposure to the air, with exercise. I hesitated between going home and going into Virginia. The latter would be a sea voyage, and it seemed possible that I could be useful to the Army and the Navy. I am satisfied that the choice I made was a wise one. I have come home in sound health, and I have learned much that it was important I should know. Virginia is sad to look upon; not merely the rebellion, but society itself, is falling into ruin. Slaves are deserting the homes intrusted to them by their masters, who have gone into the Southern armies or are fleeing before ours. There is universal stagnation, and sullenness prevails everywhere.

We are rapidly coming into possession of the whole sea-board.

Two battles are imminent. I hope for success, and I expect it. But I know that war is uncertain in its events.

In his record of the military situation, he wrote:

May 12.

The progress of the national armies continues auspiciously. Richmond is practically held in siege by General McClellan.

Norfolk, with all the coasts and tributaries of Hampton Roads, is cleared of insurrectionary land forces and naval forces. Our Navy, already large and effective, and daily increasing, is now released from two arduous and exhausting sieges.

I inclose a copy of a proclamation of the President, opening the ports of Beaufort, Port Royal, and New Orleans. The Treasury regulations to which it refers will immediately follow.

Weed's closing letters brought some encouraging information as to affairs abroad:

LONDON, *May* 13, 1862.

Your letter found us rejoicing at the capture of New Orleans. I read it last night to Mr. Cobden and Mr. Kinnaird, M. P., who were delighted, saying that if England knew you as you are, England would honor you and bless you.

So Cameron, Morgan, and Blatchford are on their way here! We return by the steamer in which they come. It is pleasant to know that I leave with the good wishes of many kind friends in England.

I sent the New Orleans *News* (it came at four o'clock on Sunday) to Lord Lyndhurst, Sir Henry Holland, Sir Emerson Tennant, and Mr. Bright, and received their thanks and congratulations.

Russell says everywhere, that the North is ennobled by its devotion, and that its Army is the best in the world.

The *Times* continues spiteful and vicious. Most of the London journals are right.

Governor Randall breakfasted with me this morning. He leaves to-morrow.

LONDON, *May* 15.

Your last letter is so important and interesting, that I felt it would be useful to read it to Lord Palmerston, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Lord Charles Russell, Mr. Forster, Mr. Kinnaird, etc., etc., all of whom were gratified, especially that so much had been accomplished for freedom.

There is *one* wise Southern man here. He leaves for Georgia immediately, and hopes to do good. He desires that his views shall be understood by Judge Wayne and yourself.

The Canadians are apprehending trouble, when our Army is released, and ask for reinforcements. I tell the Government people here that the Canadian journals are incendiary, and that Canada has been an asylum for rebels and sympathizers with treason.

LONDON, *May* 17.

I met Earl Russell at a party last evening, and informed him of the results at Yorktown and Williamsburg (received by telegram, just as I was leaving my hotel).

He seemed gratified, remarking that the *Government was fast reëstablishing its authority over the revolted States.* We conversed as long as I felt at liberty to occupy his attention. I then told the news to the Bishop of Oxford, who said he had been hoping to see me. Then the host, Mr. Monckton Milnes, came to inquire about the news, at which he rejoiced exceedingly; and it buzzed about the rooms.

General Cameron is to have apartments with us.

A cordial letter from Count Gasparin said:

Permit me to offer you a copy of the new pamphlet which I have just published in defense of the noble cause to which you have devoted your life. I would that it were better understood in Europe. Take good courage. You are upon the path of justice and of true success.

The present Administration can do more than that of Washington himself, for the permanent welfare of America. But nothing is assured as yet; and you have many obstacles before you. Perhaps it is not altogether useless that a voice should be raised on this side of the Atlantic, and to cause the truths to be heard, which are neither well understood, nor fully known here.

Of Gasparin's pamphlet, Seward said: "It contains the whole philosophy of the war."

Writing to Governor Morgan, he said in reference to foreign complications:

Only foreign intervention could in any case endanger this Union. Domestic insurrection is, and will be, ineffectual to divide it. Hence the insurgents began their intrigues for foreign intervention, even before they began their sham organization as a confederacy. On the other hand, foreign intervention is sure to come, just as soon as the American people make up their minds to submit to it; for what sovereign power, except the United States, ever had moderation enough to refuse to take new dominions, which could be seized without cost or danger? If we shall persevere in the war, so vigorously as to indicate that foreign intervention would be costly and dangerous, it will be avoided.

In New Orleans foreign residents with secession sympathies were giving the Union officers some trouble; and when called to account for it by the military authorities, complained to their Ministers at Washington, who in turn presented their complaints to the Secretary of State.

On the other hand, it was pleasant to find that old friends in New Orleans had retained their loyalty to the Union; and now that the way was opened, were renewing old intercourse.

In Baltimore, Union sentiment was growing stronger. Among the Union-loving inhabitants of that city, none had been more pronounced in their loyalty than the Bonapartes. Whenever Seward visited the city, he took occasion to call to see them; and occasionally, on their invitation, went over to spend a day with them, while holding conference with General Dix.

Mr. Corwin wrote in June, from Mexico, that the English Government had settled its dispute with Mexico by a treaty; that Spain had withdrawn its entire force, intending also to treat. He said there was much speculation and conjecture as to the objects and motives of the Emperor of the French; that Almonte was evidently the agent employed to subvert the republic, and establish in its stead a monarchy under some European Prince; and that the Archduke Maximilian was likely to be the man. The French force numbered about seven thousand, with auxiliaries headed by Marquez, making in all about ten thousand. He closed his dispatch by expressing his conviction that it was the obvious interest and duty of the United States to ratify at once the treaty with Mexico.

The United States Senate, however, took a different view, and declined to aid Seward's and Corwin's efforts. The former wrote that the vote upon the projected treaty was reported to be only eight in favor, with twenty-eight adverse.

> The opposition was said to combine three classes. One who think that Mexico ought never, either in whole or in part, to be brought into the Union; and who fear that a loan would result in annexation. Others who think that it was derogating from the national honor to treat at all with foreign nations concerning Mexico. There was said to be a third class, who feared the influence upon the public credit.

He remarked that it would be unwise and unavailing to take an appeal from a decision made by such a majority. He added:

> Notwithstanding the course adopted by the French agents and army in Mexico, the Government of France still assures us that it is their purpose to be content with an adjustment of grievances, leaving it exclusively to the people of Mexico to determine their own form of government, and in no case to put up any. We do not feel at liberty to anticipate a violation of these assurances. We shall, in the end, be the stronger for having acted directly, frankly, in good faith, and with reliance upon the good faith of all others.

Seward, in his circulars to Ministers, said:

May 19.

> The principal military event of the past week has been the recovery of the important port and town of Pensacola.
>
> Trade, resuming its legitimate character, will begin anew on the first of June,

at the several ports of Beaufort, Port Royal, and New Orleans, and we shall not be slow in extending the same benefits to other ports.

But the tide of success which had set in so auspiciously in the early spring was not destined to continue without intermission. Toward the close of May, disasters began to alternate with victories. He said:

June 2.

My dispatches of last week gave information of the surprise and capture of Colonel Kenley's small force at Front Royal, and of an attack by Jackson with a superior force, upon General Banks, and his well-conducted retreat from Winchester, across the Potomac, at Williamsport. General Banks' army, which was reduced to six thousand men, and so unfortunately put *hors de combat*, swelled in the course of the week to twenty thousand men, and it is now, in turn, pursuing the enemy who had driven it out of the valley of Virginia.

While these transactions of minor importance were engaging consideration, the attention of the nation was all the time fixed upon two points, Corinth and Richmond, where battles seemed imminent. The insurgents, demoralized and broken, on the 28th evacuated the former position, with all its advantages and its prestige. During the early part of the week, General McClellan fought battles, and won advantages. On Saturday, the insurgents, availing themselves of a severe storm, which, flooding the valley of the Chickahominy, seemed likely to divide our forces, attacked our left on the south side of that river, and caused it to break with some loss.

In Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana there are unmistakable signs of returning loyalty.

He wrote to his daughter:

June 4.

The last ten days have been a period of profound anxiety here. The surprise and expulsion of General Banks from Northern Virginia awakened alarm for the safety of that army, the possession of that country, the fate of General McClellan's expedition, and in some quarters even for the safety of this capital. I have devoted all the time I could reserve, from my proper duties, to the War Department, where, if I could do but little good, I could cheer and inspirit those upon whom the chief responsibility of the Government now rests.

To aggravate my cares, mischievous persons got in there, and tried to sow the seeds of disunion between members of the Cabinet and myself, and I have had to meet and counteract their intrigues. In a revolutionary period everybody is stimulated into activity. Those who are patriotic and magnanimous find occupation in promoting the necessary operations of the war, in harmony with the Government. Those who, having patriotism, are by nature or habit lacking in wisdom, embarrass, by passionate or prejudicial counsels; those who are suspicious, jealous or selfish, scatter discontent with a merciless, or rather a reckless hand. The public safety, which every one desires, or affects to desire, is endangered, through distraction of counsels.

His diplomatic circular continued:

June 6.

During the past week, General Pope has cut off the railroads on which Beauregard's army was retreating from Corinth; and has made capture of prisoners, arms, vehicles, etc.

Jackson, with the forces which expelled General Banks from the valley of Virginia, was met, and repulsed at Harper's Ferry; and is now in his turn harassed by the Union forces in his flight from Northern Virginia.

A fearful battle was fought at Fair Oaks, seven miles in front of Richmond, on Saturday and Sunday last (May 31 and June 1). The enemy was driven, and the Federal advance now rests within four miles of that city.

A final combat is expected to take place within a few days. I forbear to speculate upon its probable results or consequences.

June 9.

You will receive herewith information of a naval conflict at Memphis, resulting in the surrender of that city.

Of all the important ports and towns, only Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, and Richmond remain in the hands of the insurgents. The investment of the three former is going on.

June 27.

We learn that our generals, perhaps too impulsive, have, without instructions, made an attack, and have been repulsed at Charleston. The affair may serve to encourage the languishing hopes of the insurgents.

June 30.

The reports from the Army near Richmond concerning the events of the past few days are imperfect, owing to interruption of telegraphic communication. General McClellan, at the commencement of his operations in the vicinity of Richmond, used for his supplies and communications the line formed by the York and Pamunky rivers, and the railroad from the latter stream at White House to his camps. In carrying out his plan of operations, General McClellan has been transferring the greater portion of his force to the south side of the Chickahominy. This on the one hand left his line of communication by the way of White House more or less exposed; but on the other brought him nearer to the James river, and enabled him to open a new line of communication there. On Thursday and Friday of last week, the enemy assailed the force which still occupied the north side of the Chickahominy, thus precipitating the movement above described as in progress. A severe engagement ensued, with considerable loss. He succeeded, however, in completing the transfer of his troops and supplies, and in opening communication with our fleet on James river.

The news of the "seven days' fighting" before Richmond, and the unexpected "change of base" by the "Army of the Potomac," at first was regarded by the general public with bewilderment. Press and people divided in opinion, maintaining conflicting theories. One said it was a defeat and a retreat; another that it was a success, and a

master stroke of strategy. A witty newspaper correspondent summed up the feeling fairly enough, when he wrote: "We have had a great victory, my boy! And now, what we want to know is, who's to blame for it?"

One set of critics pointed to the gallant fighting of the Union troops, their repulse of every hostile attack, the incalculable damage they must have inflicted, and predicted a swift and easy march into Richmond. Another set maintained that it was practically the abandonment of the attack on Richmond; and that the rebels would march out and crush the Union Army, but for the protecting gun-boats. McClellan was denounced on one hand, and extolled on the other. There was a modicum of truth as well as of error in most of the theories; but it was, as yet, impossible to determine what would be the outcome.

CHAPTER XIII.

1862.

A Crisis in the Military Situation. A Journey to Raise Reinforcements. Congressmen Raising Regiments. The President's Letter. Correspondence by Telegraph. The Governors of the Loyal States. The Union Defense Committee. The Circular and Response to it. Call for 300,000 Men. More Offered. Recruiting Renewed. The Story of the Seven Days Battle on the Peninsula.

IN the Cabinet council it was realized that the situation had suddenly become grave and critical. Whatever the strategic advantages or disadvantages thus far reached, the Army itself was melting away under the casualties of battle, sickness, desertion, and discharge. There was danger it might prove inadequate to assume the offensive, or even to maintain the defensive.

The President spent many anxious hours at the War Department, where he could see at once the telegraph dispatches from the various commanders, and the replies of the Secretary of War. Frequent consultations by day were protracted far into the night. Seward was at many of these. When the news of the reverses on the Peninsula came, he proposed to go North to endeavor to rouse the popular feeling and raise troops to reinforce the wasting Army.

Before starting he sent word to the Republican members of the New York delegation in Congress, inviting them to come to his house. A hurried conference with several of them was held in the afternoon, at which he explained the condition of affairs, and suggested that they

could serve their country better in this crisis by going home to encourage the formation of regiments, than by remaining in their seats till the adjournment. All present agreed to this opinion; one or two said they had about reached the same conclusion themselves. Among those who hastened home for this patriotic work were William A. Wheeler, Theodore M. Pomeroy, A. S. Diven, and R. B. Van Valkenburg, and each of them sent one or more regiments forward from his district within a few weeks. Van Valkenburg and Diven appeared in Pennsylvania avenue as colonel and lieutenant-colonel at the head of the first one. They had organized it in Steuben, Chemung, and Schuyler counties; and they marched it up the Potomac, in time to participate in the closing battles of the summer campaign.

The President prepared a letter for Seward to use in his confidential intercourse with prominent men at the North, and Stanton promised to keep him advised of the progress of military events. The letter ran thus:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *June* 28, 1862.

Honorable W. H. SEWARD:

My Dear Sir — My view of the present condition of the war is about as follows:

The evacuation of Corinth and our delay by the flood in the Chickahominy has enabled the enemy to concentrate too much force in Richmond for McClellan to successfully attack. In fact, there soon will be no substantial rebel force anywhere else. But if we send all the force from here to McClellan the enemy will, before we can know of it, send a force from Richmond and take Washington. Or if a large part of the Western Army be brought here to McClellan, they will let us have Richmond, and retake Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, etc.

What should be done is to hold what we have in the West, open the Mississippi and take Chattanooga and East Tennessee without more; a reasonable force should, in every event, be kept about Washington for its protection. Then let the country give us a hundred thousand new troops in the shortest possible time, which, added to McClellan, directly or indirectly, will take Richmond without endangering any other place which we now hold, and will substantially end the war. I expect to maintain this contest until successful, or till I die, or am conquered, or my term expires, or Congress or the country forsakes me; and I would publicly appeal to the country for this new force, were it not that I fear a general panic and stampede would follow, so hard is it to have a thing understood as it really is.

I think the new force should be all, or nearly all, infantry, principally because such can be raised most cheaply and quickly. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Within the next few days, the following correspondence was flashing to and fro in cipher over the wires of the War Department:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *June* 29, 1862, 10 *P. M.*

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Astor House, N. Y.:

Not much more than when you left; Fulton, of the Baltimore *American*, is with us. He left the White House, at 11 A. M. yesterday.

Says Porter retired in perfect order, under the protection of guns arranged for the purpose, under orders, and not from necessity, and with all other of our forces, except what was left on purpose to go to the White House, was safely in position over the Chickahominy before morning, and that there was heavy firing on the Richmond side, begun at five, and ceased at seven A. M., on Saturday.

On the whole, I think we had the better of it, up to that point of time. What has happened since, we still know not, as we have no communication with General McClellan. A dispatch from Colonel Ingalls shows that he thinks General McClellan is fighting with the enemy at Richmond, to-day, and will be to-morrow. We have no means of knowing upon what Colonel Ingalls founds his opinion. All confirmed about our saving all property — not a single unwounded straggler came back to the White House from the field, and the number of wounded reaching there up to eleven A. M., Saturday, was not large.

A. LINCOLN.

To what the President has above stated, I will add one or two points that may be satisfactory for you to know:

FIRST — All the sick and wounded were safely removed from the White House — not a man left behind.

SECOND — A dispatch from General Burnside shows that he is in condition to afford efficient support, and is probably doing so.

THIRD — The dispatch of Colonel Ingalls impresses me with the conviction that the movement was made by General McClellan, to concentrate on Richmond, and was successful, to the latest point of which we have any information.

FOURTH — Mr. Fulton says that on Friday night, between twelve and one o'clock, McClellan telegraphed Commodore Goldsborough that the result of the movement was satisfactory to him.

FIFTH — From these, and other facts stated by the President, my inference is that McClellan will probably be in Richmond within two days.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

(Above came in cipher.)

ANSON STAGER.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June* 30, 1862, 8 *P. M.*

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Astor House, N. Y.:

General McClellan's line is established at Turkey Island, on the James river. Our gun-boats are there. Nothing disastrous has happened to him, since communication was broken off. The whole movement appears to be successful so far as we can judge, but it seems as if he meant to begin concentrating.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June* 30, 1862, 10 *P. M.*

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Astor House, N. Y.:

We have received nothing of consequence, since my last message, stating that General McClellan's communication with the gun-boats was yesterday established. His depot on the James river is at Turkey Island Point. Stoneman and Casey's forces are on the way to join him, from Fortress Monroe without losing a man. They were the last to leave White House. The enemy have not advanced beyond White House. Halleck promises to send the force asked from him, and I have sent Tucker to Corinth, to arrange the transportation.

We have news from Vicksburg. Farragut, and Ellett's Ram fleets are there, acting together. The Mississippi is clear, from Memphis to Vicksburg, and we shall soon have that.

Goldsborough gives a report that Stonewall Jackson was killed Friday. Pope is hard at work, organizing his force. Sigel takes Fremont's Corps, instead of King, who preferred to keep command of his own division.

You shall have all the reliable news as fast as it comes. Dix is at work to establish a new telegraph line between him and McClellan. Every thing is moving briskly and favorably. If the Governors will give us, promptly, one hundred thousand men, the war will be over.

Mark the hour your telegrams are sent.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

ASTOR HOUSE, NEW YORK, *June* 30.

To Hon. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War:*

Recruiting has ceased, and cannot be revived without an effective appeal from the President. I am surrounded by good men, including Governor of Pennsylvania.

They agree that if the President thinks it wise to send such a circular, in effect, to the Governors, as I submit herewith, they can inaugurate the movement and make it successful.

I have nothing later than your telegram of last night. You see that the course suggested avoids a proclamation, but saves its effect. Answer whether I am authorized to promise such a circular.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

(*Draft of Circular.*)

NEW YORK, *June* 30, 1862.

To the GOVERNORS OF THE SEVERAL STATES:

The capture of New Orleans, Norfolk and Corinth by the national forces has enabled the insurgents to concentrate a large force at and about Richmond, which place we must take with the least possible delay; in fact, there will soon be no formidable insurgent force except at Richmond. With so large an army there the enemy can threaten us on the Potomac and elsewhere until we have re-established the national authority. All these places must be held, and we must keep a respectable force in front of Washington; but this, from the dimin-

ished strength of our Army by sickness and casualties, renders an addition to it necessary, in order to close the struggle which has been prosecuted for the last three months with energy and success.

Rather than herald the misapprehension of our military condition and of groundless alarm by a call for troops by proclamation, I have deemed it best to address you in this form. To accomplish the object stated, we require, without delay, one hundred and fifty thousand men, including those recently called for by the Secretary of War. Thus reinforced, our gallant Army will be enabled to realize the hopes and expectations of the Government and the people.

(*Telegram.*)

WASHINGTON, *June* 30, 1862.

Hon. WM. H. SEWARD, Astor House:

Your programme just received, and I think it all right.

The President has gone to the country very tired. In the morning you shall have his answer. I will send it to him immediately.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

(*Telegram.*)

NEW YORK, *June* 30.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, *Sec'y of War*, Washington:

Am getting a foundation for an increase of one hundred and fifty thousand.

Shall have an important step to communicate to-night or to-morrow morning. Governors Morgan and Curtin here, and communicating with others by telegraph. Let me have reliable information when convenient, as it steadies my operations.

Your dispatch of this morning received.

W. H. SEWARD.

To the PRESIDENT:

If you approve of the substance of the circular to the Governors which I send, and will authorize me to say so, I am assured, by the good and great men around me, that the recruits can be raised through appeal to the country, which they are prepared to make immediately.

Please answer.

The papers which are sent to you are informal, and it is intended only to submit them to your inspection before the transaction is entered upon.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

(*Draft of Letter from the Governors.*)

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

Sir — The undersigned, Governors of States of the Union, impressed with the belief that the citizens of the States which they respectively represent are of one accord, in the hearty desire that the recent successes of the Federal arms may be followed up by measures which must insure the speedy restoration of the Union; and believing that, in view of the present state of the important military movements in progress, and the reduced condition of our effective forces in the field, resulting from the usual and unavoidable casualties of the

service, the time has arrived for prompt and vigorous measures to be adopted by the people in support of the great interests committed to your charge. We respectfully request (if it meets with your entire approval) that you at once call upon the several States, for such number of men as may be required to fill up all military organizations now in the field, and add to the armies heretofore organized such additional numbers of men as may, in your judgment, be necessary to garrison and hold all of the numerous cities and military positions that have been captured by our armies, and to speedily crush the rebellion that still exists in several of the Southern States, thus practically restoring to the civilized world our great and good Government.

We believe that the decisive moment is now near at hand, and to that end the people of the United States are desirous to aid promptly by furnishing all reinforcements that you may deem needful to sustain our Government.

(*Draft of Reply.*)

To the GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF :

Fully concurring in the wisdom of the views expressed to me in so patriotic a manner by the Governors of the State of and in their communication of this day, I have decided to call into the service an additional force of one hundred and fifty thousand men. I suggest and recommend that the troops should be chiefly of infantry. The quota of your State would be .

I trust that they may be enrolled without delay, so as to bring this unnecessary and injurious civil war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion.

Within the next two days Seward telegraphed that cordial responses had been received from the Governors of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Wisconsin, and Missouri, as follows:

(*Telegrams.*)

ORONO, VIA BANGOR, *July* 1, 1862.

Yes; use my name.

I. WASHBURN, JR.

CONCORD, *June* 30.

Your telegram of to-day is received and approved. Please use my name.

N. S. BERRY,
Governor of New Hampshire.

NEW HAVEN, *June* 30.

If the call from the Government shall be such as to show the people the necessity of immediate and decisive action, it will be highly beneficial — otherwise not. Add my name to the memorial.

WM. J. BUCKINGHAM,
Gov. of Conn.

TRENTON, *June* 30.

I think more troops are needed. They should be enlisted for the war. No larger number can be enlisted for such period without provision for advanced

pay — for a short term any number could be raised without such inducement. In my opinion, any memorial to the President should express these views. While I doubt the propriety of volunteering advice to the President, yet viewing your proposed memorial as an expression of the strong desire of the loyal States, to do all in their power to suppress this wicked rebellion, I am willing to unite with you.

CHAS. S. OLDEN,
Gov. of N. J.

TRENTON, *June* 30, 4:20 *P. M.*

I will come on the first train this evening. Where shall I meet you?

CHAS. S. OLDEN.

DETROIT, *June* 30.

You may add my name to the memorial.

AUSTIN BLAIR,
Gov. of Mich.

NASHVILLE, *June* 30.

Your dispatch has just been received. The objects therein indicated are more than approbated, and you can add my name without hesitaney.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
Gov. of Tenn.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, *June* 30.

Your telegram of this date just received. Ohio has, within the last thirty days, raised and sent four regiments to the field. I am also authorized to raise five additional regiments, and also to fill up the regiments now in the field, most of which are greatly reduced. This, in the absence of disastrous news from Richmond, is all I dare promise to do. Should McClellan be defeated, Ohio can raise any further additional force called for.

DAVID TOD,
Gov. of Ohio.

INDIANAPOLIS, *June* 30.

Governor Morton is at Louisville, Ky., but is expected home this evening. I have no doubt of his concurrence, but will telegraph to-night with certainty.

W. H. H. TERRILL,
Military Secretary.

WHEELING, *June* 30.

I fully concur in object of the memorial. Add my name.

F. H. PIERPONT,
Governor of Va.

ST. LOUIS, *June* 30.

I am willing to join in any measure necessary for making our armies efficient and strong enough to crush the rebellion.

H. R. GAMBLE,
Gov. of Mo.

FRANKFORT, KY., *June* 30.

In the absence of General Fennell, we take the liberty to authorize your proposed use of his name, and ours if desired.

J. B. TEMPLE,
President Military Board, etc.
G. F. WOOD,
Commissioner.

ANNAPOLIS, *July* 1.

Gov. MORGAN — I approve the object apparently contemplated by your dispatch, and though I would prefer seeing the memorial before signing, yet assuming your telegram to embrace substantially its contents, will unite with the others referred to in subscribing it.

A. W. BRADFORD,
Gov. of Md.

MADISON, *July* 1, 2¼ *P. M.*

Your dispatch received. Wisconsin has sent four thousand more men than her quota. This is a strictly agricultural State and labor is scarce. I doubt whether we could raise more regiments speedily, unless in a great emergency. But if the President makes a further call upon this State, I will use every possible endeavor to respond.

E. SOLOMON,
Governor of Wisconsin.

Another telegram from Seward said:

NEW YORK, *June* 30.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, *Sec. of War*, Washington:

Will you authorize me to promise an advance to recruits of $25 of the $100 bounty?

It is thought here and in Massachusetts, that without such payment, recruiting will be very difficult; and with it, entirely successful.

W. H. SEWARD.

Stanton answered:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *July* 1, 10 *A. M.*

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Astor House, N. Y.:

The existing law does not authorize an advance of the bounty money, and the department ought not to promise it. I think the measure is wise and judicious, and have heretofore urged it. I will have a conference with the Military Committee this morning; and if they sanction it, the preliminary measures might proceed on that basis. Discreet persons here suggest that the call should be for three hundred thousand men; double the number you propose, as the waste will be large. Consider the matter. The President has not come into town yet. When he arrives, you will receive his answer.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

Seward replied:

ASTOR HOUSE, *July* 1.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Washington:

The $25 is of vital importance. We fail without it. Can't you pay it out of the nine millions, if Congress fail to alter law? We can't wait for debate. The iron is getting hot — must strike immediately. We can get number up to high figure. President's reply is needed. If I get this completed here to-day, I go to Boston to-night.

W. H. SEWARD.

Three hours later, came another telegram:

WASHINGTON, *July* 1, 1:15 *P. M.*

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Astor House, N. Y.:

The President approves your plan, but suggests two hundred thousand, if it can be done as well as the number you mention.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

Seward replied to this:

ASTOR HOUSE, *July* 1.

The Governors respond, and the Union Committee approve earnestly and unanimously. Put the following names as subscribers to the letter addressed to the President, sent to you last evening:

I. Washburn, Jr.	Maine.
N. S. Berry.	New Hampshire.
Frederick Holbrook.	Vermont.
W. A. Buckingham.	Connecticut.
E. D. Morgan.	New York.
Chas. S. Olden.	New Jersey.
A. G. Curtin.	Pennsylvania.
A. W. Bradford.	Maryland.
F. H. Pierpont.	Virginia.
Austin Blair.	Michigan.
J. B. Temple, Pres. Military Board.	Kentucky.
Andrew Johnson.	Tennessee.
H. R. Gamble.	Missouri.
O. P. Morton.	Indiana.
David Tod.	Ohio.
Alexander Ramsey.	Minnesota.
Richard Yates.	Illinois.
E. Solomon.	Wisconsin.

Add names of other Governors as you receive them.

Let the President make the order, and let both papers come out, in to-morrow morning's newspapers, if possible. The number of troops to be called for is left to the President to fix. No one proposes less than two hundred thousand. Make it three hundred thousand, if you wish. They say it may be five hundred thousand, if the President desires. Get the $25 advance fixed, and let the terms be made known.

With this came the proceedings of the Union Defense Committees:

ASTOR HOUSE,
NEW YORK, *July* 1, 1862.

Governor Seward, Secretary of State, having requested an interview with the Union Defense Committee of the city of New York, twelve members of that body waited upon him at his rooms, at two o'clock, P. M., this day.

After a statement by the Secretary, in reference to the present condition of the Army, and the existing necessity for an additional military force to be furnished by the loyal States of the Union:

Governor Hamilton Fish, chairman of the Committee, replied in its behalf, and stated that a meeting of the members had been called for this day, with a view to close the transactions of the Committee, and to dissolve its organization. In the absence of a quorum the present assemblage was an informal one.

But, with the knowledge he had of the sentiments of the members present, as well as of those who were absent, he felt confident that, after the remarks submitted by the Secretary of State, no member of the Committee could entertain a thought of terminating its labors; but that the proposed action of the State and National authorities would meet the cordial approval of the entire body, and that in the future, as in the past, every means within its control would be freely given in furtherance of this, and every other effort of the Government, for the speedy suppression of the rebellion.

Half an hour later, Stanton telegraphed:

WASHINGTON, *July* 1, 2 *P. M.*

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Astor House. N. Y.:

Your telegram received. I will take the responsibility of ordering the $25 bounty out of the nine million, at all hazards, and you may go on that basis. I will make and telegraph the order in an hour. The President's answer has already gone.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

WASHINGTON, *July* 1, 2:40 *P. M.*

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Astor House, N. Y.:

Ordered—That out of the appropriation for collecting, organizing, and drilling volunteers, there shall be paid in advance to each recruit for three years, or during the war, the sum of $25, being one-fourth of the amount of the bounty allowed by law. Such payment to be made upon the mustering of the regiment, to which such recruits belong, into the service of the United States.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

Stanton inquired by telegraph:

WASHINGTON, *July* 1.

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Parker House:

Do not the Governors of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Iowa respond favorably, and should not their names be subscribed to the letter?

EDWIN M. STANTON.

To which Seward answered from Boston:

BOSTON, *July* 2.

Hon. E. M. STANTON:

Governor Andrews sends you his earnest and satisfactory response. Governor Sprague is at Washington, and must have failed to receive the telegram addressed to him at Providence by the Governors. The Governor of Iowa was not reached; the Senators from that State might authorize you to append his name.

W. H. SEWARD.

BOSTON, *July* 2, 11 *A. M.*

Hon. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War*, Washington:

Finished business here satisfactorily, and start for Cleveland at two o'clock, P. M., where I will meet the Governors of the several States.

Shall Stager go with me?

W. H. SEWARD.

Meanwhile he had telegraphed to each Governor, as follows:

Hon. David Tod, Governor of Ohio.

Hon. Austin Blair, Governor of Michigan.

Hon. O. P. Morton, Governor of Indiana.

Hon. Richard Yates, Springfield, Illinois, Governor of Illinois.

Hon. Edward Solomon, Madison, Wisconsin, Governor of Wisconsin.

Hon. J. P. Temple, Chairman of Military Board of Kentucky, Frankfort, Kentucky.

(*Confidential.*)

Please meet me at Cleveland, on Friday evening next.

W. H. SEWARD.

And in order to forestall any wrong or imperfect statement of the matter abroad, he sent this:

BOSTON, *July* 2.

Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, *United States Minister*, London, England:

The Governors of the loyal States unanimously demand a speedy close of the war and offer all the forces required, at the President's discretion.

The President promptly calls for three hundred thousand men. They will be furnished with alacrity.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

Returning to Washington after this successful inauguration of the movement to replenish the armies, he telegraphed Weed:

Every man that goes into the service now counts more than twenty men ever did before, and more than he could at any future time. It is not enough to be safe on the James, it is necessary to be immediately strong. Let the move be quick, decisive, and strong.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

It was not an easy task this week to prepare the statement of the "Military Situation" to be sent to Ministers abroad. Excitement was so great and reports were so conflicting, that it seemed impossible to ascertain the exact facts. He said in his circular:

July 7.

I fear that the press, speaking, as it does, under the influence of a hundred various forms of excitement, arising out of the incidents of the last ten days, will bewilder, if it does not, for the moment, confound our representatives abroad. * * * From the *Mississippi* we learn that, after a long and vigorous bombardment of Vicksburg, Commodore Farragut passed the batteries at that place from below, and joined himself to the fleet which lay above it. White river and the Yazoo have been cleared of all the hostile armaments.

The fleet under Commodore Goldsborough have been efficient in seizing, and bringing into port many British vessels, carrying contraband, and insured at Lloyd's against the perils of the blockade. On the coast, all is safe and well.

In the West, General Halleck is pushing a force from Corinth eastward, to capture Chattanooga, and close railroad communication between Richmond and the valley of the Mississippi. This achievement will effect deliverance of Eastern Tennessee.

But it is the vicinity of Richmond that is the scene of military events of intense interest during the last two weeks, and it is that quarter that now chiefly engages the attention of the Government. General McClellan's original design for the capture of Richmond embraced a march up the Peninsula, from Fortress Monroe and Yorktown, supported by naval forces on both the York and the James river. The sudden appearance of the *Merrimac*, with her terrible power for mischief, obliged him to confine his march to the bank of the York river, with the aid of a fleet in that river alone. He had, then, the Chickahominy, with its variable flow, and its almost impassable swamps, between him and Richmond. The Pamunky, the chief tributary of the York, afforded him navigation only to the White House, where he held his forces, twenty miles from Richmond, without any other coöperation from our naval force on both rivers there, than the protection they afforded to his rear.

A large force that was intended to be auxiliary to the Army of the Potomac was retained in front of Washington, necessarily, as it was thought, with a view to the safety of the capital against forces sent to menace it from Richmond. While General McClellan was thus obtaining a foothold on the Peninsula, north of the Chickahominy, the insurgents succeeded in obstructing the James river, a distance of seven miles below Richmond, and in constructing fortifications at Fort Darling, upon a precipitous elevation on the south bank of the James river, which rendered it impossible for the fleet on that river to remove the obstructions without the aid of a land force to carry that fort. General McClellan was steadily, and, as it seemed, successfully, moving his army across the Chickahominy, to change his base to the James river, below Fort Darling, on Wednesday last, when the insurgents concentrated large forces upon what was yet the front of the moving column, and a series of

battles began which filled up seven successive days, at the end of which the General with his army, and substantially all his material, had reached and established himself at Harrison's Bar, upon the bank of the James river, in full coöperation with a fleet of seventeen gun-boats.

This movement, which was a meditated, prepared one, undoubtedly became a retreat when the enemy pressed upon the withdrawing forces. The change of base involved a loss of communication for a time between the Army and the Government and the country. During this suspense, which lasted seven days, extravagant reports of disaster and losses, and the wildest alarm for even the Army itself, obtained currency, and oppressed the public mind.

At length, we have the results, so far as they affect the military situation. There have been immense losses, but more severe on the part of the insurgents. Every one of the battles was a repulse of the insurgents, and the two last, which closed the series, were decided victories. The Army of the Potomac is rapidly receiving reinforcements from several sources, while the fleet is thought already equal in effect to an additional army. General Pope, having taken command of all the troops in Virginia, is pushing them forward from the north, to cut off the railroad communication beyond the Rappahannock.

At the same time, the President, upon the invitation of the Governors of twenty of the thirty-four States, has called out three hundred thousand men. The Government, and popular bodies, who have heretofore been so efficient in filling up the armies, are already in activity. The destruction of human life which has occurred is a sad and painful theme. But it brings its compensation in a military, and in a political view, aspects in which it is now our stern duty to contemplate it. The delusion that the soldiers of the Union would not fight for it, with as much courage and resolution as its enemies will fight against it, has been one of the chief elements of the insurrection. It has now been effectually dispelled.

The insurgents, and the world abroad, will see that the virtue of the people is adequate to the responsibilities which Providence has cast upon them.

CHAPTER XIV.

1862.

A Time of Perplexities and Dangers. An "Interview" for the *Intelligencer*. Private Notes to Weed. Letters to Wife and Daughter. Lincoln Conferring with McClellan. Halleck Called to Washington. Pope Assigned to a Command. Congress and the Finances. The National Debt. The Legal Tender Note. Discussing a Proclamation of Emancipation. Departure of the French Princes.

DURING this gloomy period rumors were rife in the air of Washington. In streets, hotels, lobbies, and committee rooms there was a ceaseless flow of talk about Cabinet changes and quarrels, disputes

AFTER THE BATTLE.

"WHERE BURIED THOUSANDS SLEEP."

over generals, and all manner of innuendoes, misrepresentations, and false reports. One morning the white head and genial face of the editor of the *Intelligencer* appeared in Seward's room with the remark, "Now really, Governor, this is a time to say something."

Something was said, and Mr. Seaton thus reported the interview:

The honorable Secretary freely admitted that he felt, perhaps more sensibly than others, the importance of avoiding misapprehensions in public affairs, because it devolves upon him daily to counteract the effect abroad, of publications which often are not more inconsiderately made than they are speedily corrected, at home. The armies of the Government, which are strong as they are brave, need reinforcements, and the world needs to know that they are promptly coming in response to the call of the Government. Every rumor of division of counsels, and of conflict among or about generals; every private jealousy, and even the utterance of every private grief, however unavoidable, tends to defeat these important objects.

The Secretary, therefore, felt fully authorized and at liberty to say that he never exercised nor assumed a power or a duty in the progress of this war with which he was not specially charged by the President, and in the performance of which he was not always in free communication with him. That neither to the President, nor to any other person, has he ever expressed distrust of the President, or of any of his associates in the Government; but, on the contrary, has uniformly supported and defended them all. That he has not been quick or willing to entertain complaints against any general, whether Scott or McDowell, Fremont or McClellan, or Halleck, or Grant, or Buell, or Dix, or Sigel, or Shields, or Banks, or Blencker, but has exerted his best endeavors to sustain them all; more when they encountered defeats than when they achieved victories.

That he has neither introduced nor encouraged any test question in the Cabinet concerning men or measures, or ever said or thought of insisting on the appointment or approval or rejection of any man; or the adoption or rejection of any measure as a condition of adherence to the Administration, to the war, or to the cause of the country. He has never seen any intemperance in debate in the Cabinet, and has discouraged it in public bodies and journals, equally whether it appeared in favor of his own views or against them. That he never proposed, or even thought of requiring the removal or the overruling of the propositions of any member of the Cabinet, nor has he proposed or thought of resigning his own place in it, nor has ever one word of unkindness or distrust passed between the President or any of his official advisers and himself. He is content, as he hitherto has been, to remain where he is so long as this causeless and iniquitous war continues; and so long as the chosen chief magistrate of the country requires it, even though his advice should be overruled, which happens very rarely; and then in cases which his own judgment, better informed, sometimes approves. At the same time he would not, if he could for any reason, prolong his stay in the place he now holds one hour beyond the time when the President should think it wise to relieve him. And when he shall retire from it, it will be with the determination he has more than

once heretofore expressed, under no circumstances whatever to be a place-holder in the service of his country, even although, as he most confidently expects, it shall emerge in its full strength and greatness from its present troubles. He hopes no one of his fellow-citizens thinks so unkindly of him as to suppose that he would be content to exercise power in a fraction of it, if it should consent to be divided.

He wrote to his daughter:

My visit at home was very gratifying to me. I was weary, and it refreshed me. I was anxious, and it comforted me. Here, however, I am back again to meet and repel new discouragements; to endure and surmount new difficulties. Impulsive men, who need a new victory every day, are predicting disaster at Richmond. Confused minds, which cannot see that the life of the nation includes its accidents, are demanding edicts of confiscation.

Some persons like our General so much as to insist that he cannot fail; and others so little that they seem desirous for his defeat at the cost of their country's liberty and honor.

Mr. Adams writes that the British people want signs of the restoration of the Union, although three-fourths of the country is already acquiescing in the national authority. Mr. Dayton writes that the Emperor is skeptical, and wants cotton. France insists on conquering Mexico, and Mexico and all Spanish America insist that we shall save, not only ourselves, but the whole continent besides. Then who does not want an office, or a pardon, or something else?

In this confusion of nations and of men I must be calm, undisturbed, hopeful of all things, and gracious in every way. Well, I try. I will not say what comes of it; only this, that I am not unhappy or uncomfortable.

In his notes to Weed, he said:

(*Private and very confidential.*)

Notwithstanding the light thrown upon the position of our Army on the James river, most painful doubts come up from there now upon the question whether it can, in any case, however reinforced, make a successful or hopeful attack upon Richmond. If that is impossible, reinforcements sent there will only aggravate the impotence of its position. Meantime the suggestion comes up, of course, that the insurgents, holding McClellan in his present position with a small force, will immediately organize a new and vigorous campaign against Washington.

Do not let this discourage you. In these military perplexities, I can only be useful by avoiding the vortex of party debate. You will do well to act thus, and labor henceforth as if nothing less than the safety of Washington is at stake upon success.

Time will, fast enough, bring to the public knowledge, the facts now communicated to you in confidence.

July 7.

WASHINGTON, *July* 8, 1862.

Gradually good men in Congress are coming to apprehend the crisis. I have all along feared a draft might be found indispensable. But we must first prove that it is so, by trying the old way. Secondly, as it must be ordered here, while it is to be carried out by the States; and the case may differ in different States, it is important that *the States* make known the necessity to the President.

WASHINGTON, *July* 9.

There is, perhaps, no harm in my saying, that the P. has gone down to confer with McC. at his camp, or at Fortress Monroe.

Congress will to-day, I think, pass a law making drafting practicable and easy. We shall need to know early whether the Governors of States think it necessary.

It is, indeed, a sad thing to see faction rampant at such a time. But will not the flagrancy of its work disgust?

I see that the *Times* talks wisely, and the *Evening Post* carefully. Besides, Congress is going home this week, and the bellows of faction will have rest.

The appointments will not be made until after adjournment. General Sigel has arrived and I suppose he will go to New York to-day.

You must cheer up others. I see that strong men are becoming disturbed around me. For myself, I shall try to do my duty, and I am not at all disposed to distrust the American people. Their apprehensions of danger from abroad will serve to steady their action.

To Mrs. Seward, he wrote:

WASHINGTON, *July* 12.

Your letters to me have been received. If it were not painful to reflect that you are misled, when you have a right to know accurately, the condition of the country, I should almost be glad that you escape the painful anxieties that oppress me, and so are able to occupy yourself with more pleasant matters.

On my return here, I found these questions demanding our immediate attention: Is it safe to leave McClellan's army on the James river, or must it be brought away? If so, how shall it be effected? Is this city in danger of an immediate attack by a conquering army from Richmond? The answer to both questions exacts large reinforcements of our armies, and immediate ones.

Defeat at Richmond, or here, would probably bring on recognition of the Southern States, to be either acquiesced in, or met by war. In such a case, what practical thing could I do but examine the strength of our armies and ascertain the strength and probable strategy of the rebels? While doing this, to push every available and effective person into the country to recruit men; or, failing that, to provide for a draft of the militia?

I go to Congress and implore and conjure them. They give me debates upon the errors of the past, and quarrels about who is to blame. These disputes involve policies about dealing with slaves, upon which Congress angers itself and the country, and the Governors of States write, "you can get no recruits." I ask Congress to authorize a draft. They fall into altercation about letting slaves fight and work. Every day is a day lost, and every day

lost is a hazard to the whole country. What if I should say, that I concede all they want about negroes? Does it settle their disputes, or does it quiet the public mind? Not a particle. One party has gained another partisan; the country has lost one advocate. Do not, I pray you, be content with my being "wiser or more practicable." If not wiser or more practicable than Congress, I cannot do so much harm as Congress can.

On the same day, he wrote to the Ministers abroad:

July 12.

We have carefully ascertained the character and the results of the recent battles before Richmond, and have considered and adopted such measures as the new exigencies seem to require. What I have before written to you is, in the main, confirmed. The seven days battles were accepted by our Army upon a compulsory change of base. Our losses were large, but much less than the first reports represented.

Each battle was, in fact, a victory of our Army, although the movement from the field toward the new base gave the whole series the character of a retreat. The result is, that the new position is an impregnable one. The Federal Army, with General McClellan, now thus safely lodged on the north bank of the James river, twenty-five miles below Richmond, numbers eighty thousand to ninety thousand. The Army has the coöperation of a large naval force. The Federal Army in front of this city is now under command of Major-General Pope, who has achieved success in the Western States, and is esteemed an officer of great ability. A general military command over all the land forces of the United States will be given to Major-General Halleck, who will come from the Western Department to this capital.

Congress sat until the middle of July. Its chief and most exciting debates were over slavery; but it did not wholly neglect other subjects where legislation was needed to strengthen the Government. Duties on imports were increased. The Pacific Railway, and Telegraph were sanctioned. Agricultural colleges endowed with lands; the surrender of fugitive slaves by the Army forbidden, and the "Iron Clad" oath prescribed for all Government officials. A financial system was perfected, under which the war was to be prosecuted, and the rapidly accumulating national debt provided for. Enormous loans were authorized, of dimensions that, a few years before, would have seemed appalling; but which now bankers stood ready to take at par. The national banking and currency system was gradually developed into the form it has since maintained. Mr. Spaulding, of the House Committee, correctly interpreted the popular expectation and requirement, when he said:

They ask for the legal tender note bills, pure and simple. They ask for a national currency which shall be of equal value in all parts of the country. They want a currency that shall pass from hand to hand among all the people,

in every state, county, city, town, and village in the United States. They want a currency secured by adequate taxation upon the whole property of the country, which will pay the soldier, the farmer, the mechanic, and the banker alike for all debts due. They ask that the Government shall stand upon its own responsibility; exert its vast powers; preserve its own credit, and carry us safely through this gigantic rebellion in the shortest time, and with the least possible sacrifice. *They intend to foot all the bills; and ultimately pay the whole amount, principal and interest, in gold and silver.*

A letter to Mrs. Seward said:

WASHINGTON, *July* 26.

The agitations and discussions of a vast republic are unintelligible to us all. The waves chase each other, rebound and break against each other. They seem to render it impossible for Government to adhere to, and persevere in, any policy. Theories, new and attractive, embody masses; and opposing masses are organized, upon opposing prejudices. These masses occupy the field; and one or the other will, if possible, engross all the men, upon whom the nation depends to conduct it through dangers unknown to the excited disputants. But the nation is recovering its equanimity; naturally enough shaken by the sight and sounds of adverse results, in a painful war. You will see the *National Intelligencer* article.

The question of proclaiming freedom to the slaves of rebels had again become the subject of Cabinet conferences. Union Generals, in the border States, who had essayed such proclamations, had been told that the question belonged to the Executive, who would choose the proper time to act upon it. Ardent advocates of anti-slavery policy confidently asserted, and no doubt believed, that if such a proclamation were issued, the rebellion would immediately collapse. "Border State" Union men prayed that nothing might be done that would strengthen the rebel element in their midst. "Such a proclamation would reinforce the Army," said the Radicals. "It would make reinforcements impossible," said the Conservatives. "It will enroll black soldiers," said the one. "It will stop the enlistment of white ones," said the other. "It will unite the South and divide the North." President Lincoln, charged on one side with being a "bloody-minded Abolitionist," and on the other with being a "pro-slavery demagogue," was solicitous to do whatever would promote the national safety. He would issue it, or withhold it, as might best conduce to that end. As he himself tersely stated his position: "My paramount object is to save the Union; and not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it — if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it, and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

Seward, who had all his life advocated the freeing, not only the

slaves of rebels, but all other slaves, agreed that now, when the question had become one of military exigency, the effect of such a proclamation would largely depend upon the circumstances in which it was issued. He thought such a proclamation ought to be "borne on the bayonets of an advancing army, not dragged in the dust behind a retreating one."

Writing to Mrs. Seward, he said:

July 29.

We have five armies. One is in Arizona or New Mexico, on the border of Texas, where there are no slaves, while lower Texas is full of them. It cannot enter that region for want of reinforcements. A proclamation of freedom to slaves would not bring one out of Texas, because they see that they could not protect them. Another at New Orleans, three thousand in all, wanting reinforcements. The slaves are free, and practically invited to come in. Every one is received, and his family as well as himself supported. A proclamation to those in that country would not bring them across the lines, because they fear that they could not be protected. Another on the coast of North Carolina and South Carolina, where twelve thousand slaves are already emancipated. We cannot bring them away, and we have to withdraw a part of our forces; so that it is doubtful whether we do not have to leave them to be reduced again to slavery. Another army in Virginia besieged. It has given freedom to many slaves, and to-day's paper shows that, for want of reinforcements, these freedmen (at Gloucester) are carried back into bondage. Without reinforcements we cannot advance, nor can we see that we can bring off our own forces safely. It is so in the West, where every slave is received, and where our Army cannot yet clear out the Mississippi. Proclamations are *paper*, without the support of armies.

It is mournful to see that a great nation shrinks from a war it has accepted, and insists on adopting proclamations, when it is asked for force. The Chinese do it without success.

Mr. Lincoln had listened patiently to the delegations, committees, and Congressmen who had come to urge such a proclamation, but had steadfastly refused to give them any assurance that it would be issued. He had, however, with his own hand, prepared a draft of one for consideration. He read it aloud at a Cabinet meeting: Various suggestions were made. Seward approved the tone and purpose, but thought the time was not opportune for issuing it. He said that in view of the recent reverses, it might "be regarded as the last measure of an exhausted Government — a cry for help — this Government stretching its hand to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the Government."

This Cabinet meeting is the scene portrayed in Carpenter's Historical picture, entitled "The Emancipation Proclamation"—a picture that hangs on one of the stair-cases of the Capitol. It represents the

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

President sitting at the head of the long green table, with the draft, just read, in his hand. Seward is sitting in his usual place at the President's right hand, and is making his suggestion "to wait until after a victory." Mr. Welles and Mr. Bates are in their accustomed seats at the side and end of the table. Messrs. Smith and Blair have risen and are standing by the fire-place. Mr. Chase, with folded arms, stands near the President. Mr. Stanton has drawn away his chair, and sits facing the Secretary of State, to whom he is listening.

The suggestion was adopted, and the measure awaited the more favorable turn in the national fortunes, which came a few weeks later.

Meanwhile, at the same meeting of the Cabinet, orders were agreed upon authorizing military commanders to receive the "contrabands," and employ them as laborers. The question of arming them as soldiers, and also that of colonizing them in foreign countries were discussed at some length.

Continuing his record of the military situation, Seward wrote to the Ministers abroad:

July 28.

Our assault upon Richmond is for the moment suspended. The tone of the insurgents has been suddenly emboldened, while recent expressions of grief and sorrow, which naturally and justly follow battles, attended by great losses of cherished lives, for the moment, have seemed to indicate that the friends of the Union are less resolute and hopeful than heretofore.

Cotton, the great want of Europe, has not flowed out of the ports which we have opened, as freely as was expected by the manufacturers; and their disappointment seems ripening into despondency.

It is not upon isolated events, much less upon transitory popular impulses, that governments are expected to build policies, in regard to foreign countries.

To Weed, he wrote:

I have told the President what you think of the expediency of drafting.

I have submitted Belmont's letter to him.*

The dangers you speak of must be met. We are doing all we can to that end.

The French Princes had now been called home by news from France, and were on the eve of their departure. The Prince de Joinville wrote from Newport:

I regret very much to leave this country without seeing you, and again thanking you for your constant kindness for me and mine. I called upon you at the Astor House, on Friday evening, but you were just gone.

*This patriotic letter, from a leading Democrat, will be found in the Memoirs of Thurlow Weed, p. 420.

Be good enough to assure your sons and daughters of my best regard, and believe me, etc., etc.

Adverting to the recent disasters, and deploring the state of affairs, the Prince added: "But still I remain hopeful."

Seward wrote in reply:

All through the summer, I was oppressed by the conviction that we were needing troops, to supply the waste of our armies, and give them the efficiency required for such vast operations.

When the first indication of the danger of the force at Richmond reached me, I seized the occasion, and went Northward. The result is highly satisfactory. We shall, within twenty or thirty days, make the Army stronger than ever. The journey carried me along so rapidly, that I missed you at New York, just as I had done at this capital. I wanted, personally, to thank you, and your gallant kinsmen, in the name of my afflicted country, and of humanity, for the chivalrous aid you and they have rendered us. The gratitude is none the less sincere, because I am sure that their history and your own will be ennobled by it. I shall not willingly believe, my dear Prince, that I am never to see yourself and those noble young men again.

Do not entertain a single misgiving. Slavery has found allies and sympathizers in this contest, which I did not foresee. But it is, nevertheless, not to prevail. Those three hundred thousand men we are raising will swell in number to five hundred thousand. All the contingencies of the war are in our thoughts. Our Navy is ripening for them.

We shall not be divided, and we shall neither compromise ourselves, nor accept mediation, nor submit to forcible intervention.

I have been careful to treasure all your letters. I pray you, and the young gentlemen, to give me, from time to time, the benefit of what information you may have, and of your always candid opinions.

On the 2d of August, he wrote his daughter:

Blessed, my dear child, is the cheerfulness of the young. Your letters are pleasing to me, because they bring no alarm, no remonstrances, no complaints, and no reproaches. They are the only letters which come to me, free from excitement.

It is a startling sight to see the mind of a great people, saddened, angered, soured, all at once, and it is a painful thing to have all its anger, its fear, its uncharitableness poured, without reserve, into your own heart. If General McClellan had taken Richmond, few would have thought to congratulate, none would have thought to thank me for it. Heaven knows that I did all I could to enable him to do it, as I have spared no pains, since his failure, to retrieve and restore the fortunes of the country.

If there is, in the whole country, outside of my own family, one person who is content to aid me in this, with equanimity and cheerfulness, without expressedly or impliedly censuring me, for assumed delinquency, he does not write me. My table groans, and my heart sinks, under the weight of complaints that I can put to no practicable use. If I should let a shade of this

popular despondency fall upon a dispatch, or even rest upon my own countenance, there would be black despair throughout the whole country.

Write to me then cheerfully, as you are wont to do, of boys and girls and dogs and horses, and birds that sing, and stars that shine and never weep, and be blessed for all your days, for thus helping to sustain a spirit that loves to contend with crime, and yet is sensitive to distrust and unkindness.

He wrote to Mrs. Seward:

August 7.

We are having dreadfully hot weather. It is comfortable only at night. I went with the President to inspect the fortifications, and review the troops on the opposite side of the river, on Tuesday, and knocked up my horses. I fear that I shall lose the best one, and the loss of one involves the giving up of both, since they are matched.

Augustus has gone to Harrison's Landing. He left on Monday, expecting to remain absent at least two weeks.

The period, now five weeks, since the battles at Richmond, has been one of anxiety and perplexity. Before that time we knew and felt the need of troops for reinforcements, everywhere. But the armies were demoralized by the sympathies and interference of visitors, Congressmen and relatives. A strong tide flowed out from them all, and it seemed impossible to check it. Contrary to what the public thinks, we were appealing for recruits, but none came. The people assumed that all was safe, and forgot that they had more to do. The repulse of General McClellan awakened them to the discovery of the danger. We appealed to them for instant reinforcements. But the appeal fell upon a disturbed, confused, wrangling, impatient, and impracticable mass. We have been five weeks at the mercy of the enemy, if they are, indeed, half as strong and half as bold as they are represented. We called for soldiers. Committees came to advise, to complain, to reproach. We asked soldiers. The public fell to wrangling about whether we should not call upon negroes in regions where we could not enter, and whether, if we should call upon them, the soldiers already in the field in the border States should not march out of our ranks and join the rebels in expelling us from all the ground we have won.

At last, the waves of popular commotion seem to be beginning to subside. The troops are going to come. Will they come soon enough? I hope so, but I am very anxious. For want of them, McClellan's magnificent Army is left in danger. Washington is exposed, Vicksburg is left and abandoned to the enemy. Even the contrabands, who were taken from the plantations and employed there in digging the canal, are left to fall back into slavery.

The public mind seizes quickly upon theoretical schemes for relief, but is slow in the adoption of the practical means necessary to give them effect. But this is Government; this is Government in war — in civil war. Many persons, I might say most persons, think, that success is obtained by the indulgence of passionate and revengeful utterances in laws and proclamations, without bayonets to enforce them. It is the common mistake of men loving authority, but ignorant how to exercise it. It is the schoolmaster with his ferule. It is the noisy, scolding housewife in her distracted family.

You will think me sad. I am not. I am now as always hopeful: more hopeful than any around me. But it is because I see that the people cannot be long withheld from practical ways in great emergencies.

CHAPTER XV.

1862.

[illegible] Removal of the "Army of the Potomac" from the Peninsula [illegible] A Difficult and Hazardous Movement. The Battles in [illegible] the Potomac and Invade Maryland. McClellan Moves [illegible] Confederate Advances in the West. Naval Enterprises. New [illegible] a Great Army. Battle of South Mountain.

[illegible] breakfast table, Seward read aloud some lines [illegible]

"[illegible] Abraham, three hundred thousand more,
[illegible] stream, and from New England's shore.
[illegible] our Union to restore,
[illegible] Abraham, three hundred thousand more!"

[illegible] the various regions where regi-[illegible] down the paper with a pleased ex-[illegible] go on as long as poets can sing [illegible] would praise a draft. We shall [illegible]

[illegible] and with subseqnent alter-[illegible] the well-known lyrics of the [illegible]

[illegible] Administration was unremitting [illegible] counteract the renewed [illegible] Seward said in his diplomatic [illegible]

August 13, 1862.

Exaggeration of [illegible] and depreciation of our own, have been [illegible] among us since the disappointment of [illegible] It was unavoidable, because it is natural for men [illegible] disturbed and demoralized, for a time, by the [illegible] You are entitled, however, to the information [illegible] in the field, although not demonstrative, are [illegible] the vast territories we have recovered.

The new volunteers, three hundred thousand in number, are beginning to move to-day for the places of rendezvous, to reinforce the Army in the field; and forty days will suffice to bring forward also the three hundred thousand militia which have been called for.

General Halleck evinces great skill, activity, and grasp in reorganizing our forces for renewing military operations. General Pope had on Saturday, the 9th, a successful engagement with a portion of the insurgent army.

To his own department he addressed this circular:

There are thirty-two of us now employed in this department; of whom fifteen are between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. I think we should furnish at least that number of volunteers for the military service, either personally, or by volunteers enrolled through our exertions respectively. I propose to furnish three such volunteers; and I invite your immediate consideration of the means of finding the others. The places of those who personally volunteer will be retained for them until the expiration of their term of service.

A city newspaper, a few days later, remarked:

The clerks responded to the proposition with enthusiasm; twelve of them have already been enrolled, and the others will be promptly forthcoming. A little incident which occurred yesterday still further illustrates Secretary Seward's patriotism. During the morning he sent a note to Captain Harrover (who is engaged in recruiting District soldiers), requesting him to send to his office eight recruits. They were sent, and as soon as they appeared before the Secretary, he handed one of them a neat little package, upon which they retired and opened the mysterious envelope, when, to their surprise, they discovered a fifty-dollar treasury note for each one of them.

His circular continued:

August 18.

General Halleck, upon taking command of the Army, made a careful survey of the entire military position; and concluded thereupon to withdraw the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula, and to combine all our forces in front of Richmond. The measure was a difficult and delicate one. It is believed to have been substantially accomplished.

The disturbed condition of affairs in New Orleans is giving away slowly; and commerce is reviving there.

He wrote to his daughter:

We are having a very warm time, and suffering in more than one way by the heat. My best horse was sunstruck on Tuesday; and he died to-day.

The preparation for the war is beginning anew; and now, with even more vigor than heretofore.

The British nation sympathizes with the insurgents. The British Government either sympathizes, or allows itself to seem to sympathize, with them. Vessels are continually sent out from British ports; and many of them are even built there for the insurgent service. The Government neglects to en-

force the neutrality it has proclaimed. Our cruisers seize those vessels, and British cruisers are on the watch, to see that the seizure is made in conformity with the Law of Nations. This begets disputes, and most of my time is occupied in settling them, with a view to avoid foreign war.

It is a sad, as well as a perplexing duty, this of mine. Almost all American citizens think passion is energy. Some one has to exert an influence to prevent the war from running into social conflict; and battles being given up for indiscriminate butchery. I hope and trust that I may succeed in doing this; and we may see an end of this fratricidal strife.

On the 21st, he wrote:

If this were not a period of deep anxiety, I should now have been with you at Auburn. But at present this indulgence may not be had.

General McClellan, with a large army on the bank of the James river, threatened Richmond, without having force enough to capture it. He thus held the enemy's main army at Richmond. General Pope, with a much smaller army than McClellan's or the enemy's, has been near the Rappahannock, covering this city and threatening the enemy's communication with Richmond. General Halleck, on surveying the condition of affairs, decided that the two Union armies must be combined, on this side of Richmond. But how to *do* it? The enemy might strike McClellan, on his retreat down the Peninsula; or finding that he was gone, might hasten to the Rappahannock and destroy Pope.

The first part of the programme has been successfully executed, McClellan has safely withdrawn from the presence of the enemy to Yorktown and Fortress Monroe; and is now moving his army up the Potomac to the Rappahannock. The enemy is in front of, and marching against Pope, with all his forces. Will the enemy be able to deliver battle to Pope before he is adequately reinforced by McClellan? If so, it must be done within two days.

What is the stake? They say that it is nothing less than this capital; and, as many think, the *cause* also.

Behold, now, the military position; and learn from it, why we are impatient of the delay of our volunteers. If all goes well for us, you will understand how it was done. If you hear of disaster, before this letter reaches you, or soon after, you will understand how and why it came.

This information is forbidden to the public at present; but you will not publish it.

His circular continued:

August 22.

The country, for a time unaccustomed to reverses, seemed at first to be confounded by their disappointment. Disputes about responsibilities for the failure, apprehensions, multifarious and passionate counsels, succeeded, encouraging the insurgents, and their agents and sympathizers abroad.

Our condition may be summed up in the few words, that we are reorganizing and preparing for a new campaign. Rumors of intrigues abroad for foreign intervention reach the Government continually, but they do not at present produce uneasiness.

August 23.

It is a day of uncertainty and suspense, but not altogether unmingled with apprehension. General McClellan has safely retired his great army from the James river, and is rapidly moving it around to reinforce the small force with which General Pope is holding the Rappahannock midway between this capital and Richmond.

The insurgents have brought their main force from Richmond up to confront General Pope with a purpose of attacking him before he can be joined by General McClellan, and by the new levies now coming into the field. The telegraph reports skirmishes, but as yet no battle.

You will read of guerilla demonstrations and partial successes in the West. But the disturbers will find themselves obliged to encounter the volunteers now pouring into that region from the loyal Western States; and it may be expected that the Union arms will again be assuming the offensive.

Our naval force has destroyed all the insurgents' iron-clad vessels which have thus far appeared, and it has just now been augmented by the addition of the *Ironsides*.

Soon after this, several days were devoted to another journey to various points in the North, to stimulate recruiting and hasten reinforcements. Gratifying signs of activity were now visible. New York was once more resounding with the din of military preparations. The excitement of volunteering and the bustle of regimental organization were again occupying the public mind. A hasty visit home showed him that town and country shared in the enthusiasm. Every county town was becoming a recruiting office and a camp. The drum was heard in every village street. The wounded were the heroes of the hour. Returning veterans were eagerly besought to take the command of companies. The press was filled with accounts of drills, parades, and enrollments. The clergy were preaching sermons on patriotic duty. The ladies were putting up lint and bandages for the wounded, and delicacies for the hospitals. War was the absorbing theme.

At Auburn he found his neighbors, friends, and family all busy in the work. His youngest son (William H.) was associated with E. B. Morgan, Dr. Willard, and Major W. C. Beardsley as the committee to raise and forward troops. Under their management three regiments were raised and dispatched to the front. Young Seward had, with his friend McDougall, established a banking-house three years before; but, in the first year of the war, his partner had gone off with a regiment. Now, in the second year, the remaining partner was chosen lieutenant-colonel of another. It would end the bank; but he was going.

James Seymour, the president of the Bank of Auburn, was a wealthy

man advanced in years, and of feeble health. Appearing one morning at six o'clock at young Seward's door, he said:

"After a sleepless night's consideration, I have concluded that, as I am too old to go to the war, and as you are young and can go, I ought to do my share. I will assume the responsibility of the care of your bank while you are away. Make your arrangements, and have your papers drawn as soon as you like; only, be it understood, that enabling you to go is my sole compensation; I want no pecuniary reward."

And he performed this labor of love, for a rival institution, with the same fidelity as for his own.

Meanwhile, the series of engagements in the vicinity of Gainesville and Manassas had begun, which resulted in the advance of the Confederates, the falling back of the Union Army, and the subsequent placing of McClellan again in command for the defense of Washington. The untoward news of the military disasters reached Seward while at the North. Letters from his son, whom he had left as Acting Secretary of State, described the state of affairs in the city. Two of them will suffice here:

WASHINGTON, *September* 1, 1862.

The volunteer surgeons and nurses come back to-day, having been unable to reach the field. Of course they come back fatigued, alarmed and bewildered, and are spreading panic rumors, like those of the returned soldiers after the first Bull Run, and these will find their way into the newspapers. No apprehension is felt by the General, however, of further disaster, and confidence is expressed in the safety of the Army, by all who are best qualified to judge.

John came in this morning, with his arm in a sling. He was struck by a minie-bullet and a piece of shell in the battle of Saturday. I have been anxious about him ever since I heard his corps was in the action; for I knew the regulars would be sent to the front. He is at our home to-day.

September 3.

There is a crisis in military events, just now, which a few days will determine. I doubt if the enemy will attack the fortifications. They may try to cut our communications through Maryland; but even then we have the Potomac, with ample naval defenses, and transports to bring supplies. The enemy, I am confident, are numerically weaker than we are, and we have the advantage of position. On the other hand, the enemy will suffer by delay, almost as much as by defeat.

I wrote you that H. went out with the volunteer nurses to the battle-field. I hear to-day that he was taken prisoner. One who escaped, saw him in the hands of the Confederates. It is not unlikely they will release him on parole, in a day or two, as they do most of their prisoners, whom they take now, for lack of ability to guard and feed them.

I saw Colonel Lansing yesterday at Willard's. He is sick in bed, though he was in the battle, having been carried to the field in a wagon, and brought

back in the same way. General King is at the Kirkwood, not wounded. Robert Potter is said to be wounded again. Clarkson is here to look after him. General Stahl is reported wounded and missing, uncertain whether killed or not. John Wilkes, with several others of his artillery company, were taken prisoners at Manassas last week, but have been released on parole.

The streets are full of ambulances and carriages, coming in with the wounded. All carriages were taken for this purpose. Baron Gerolt was somewhat unceremoniously deprived of his in the street; so to-day I have obtained from General Wadsworth a safeguard for each of the foreign Ministers, to prevent mistakes hereafter.

The department clerks are organizing again. Ours resume organization where we left it off a year ago, having the muskets still on hand.

General McClellan is reëstablished in his old quarters, on the corner of the Avenue next to our house. The troops of the Peninsular Army receive the intelligence of his command with much satisfaction.

The news of the battles hastened Seward's return. Arriving in the evening he drove out to the Soldiers' Home to see the President. But there were visitors, whose presence prevented private talk, and Mr. Lincoln said: "Governor, I'll get in and ride with you a while." The carriage passed slowly up and down the winding roads, and under the shady groves, for an hour or more, while Seward detailed what he had found at the North, and the President in turn narrated the military events and Cabinet conferences during his absence. The next day a letter to Mrs. Seward said:

September 4.

I am here again. The enemy has escaped the chastisement which he ought to have received last week, and our Army has fallen back to the Heights in front of the Potomac. There is much dispute about the responsibility for this untoward stage of things. I refrain from that, and all such questions, because it is my duty to look forward, not backward.

There is much that I could say, which I cannot profitably write. I speak now only of the actual situation. The enemy is *shelling* Edwards Ferry to-day. I suppose they are intending to cross into Maryland, although they may only be making a feint. This news, added to what passed before, has produced much panic here, as it will through the country.

I do not fear for the safety of the city, nor for the reorganization of the Army. But in this respect, as usual, when I am hopeful, I shall be singular. I am sure that General Halleck is able, and that McClellan is competent to make that reorganization.

The Army is increasing, and the enemy must be becoming weary with fatigue and suffering. You must expect to hear alarms, and bear up against them.

September 6.

I received, last night, information of the death of Aunt Clara. It was not unexpected. For all of us, it is fortunate that the event came when this la-

mentable war has made us familiar with sorrow, and hardened us against the fears incident to scenes of trial. I cannot say half of what I feel when I recall her long and affectionate kindness to myself and all of us. I should not try to put aside the memory of it, if I did not hourly see the evidences of public demoralization, which require to be counteracted, for the safety of the State and of freedom.

To Weed, he wrote.

September 6.

I have found out here, what can't be learned where you are — *how* all these disasters came about. I cannot write it.

I don't believe that Mr. Mercier has written such a dispatch as you say. I don't believe that it would produce effect if he has.

However the fact may be, it is especially necessary, now, to be firm, calm, collected, and look all emergencies fully in the face. If you think that you can be spared at home for more work abroad, you had better slip away carelessly to Paris.

But of this you must judge. I will try to send Edward Everett over, if I can do so without letting the world know of it.

I think we may expect the rebels, now, to break from extreme terrorism soon. We are not paralyzed, nor idle here. But I cannot write.

And again, to Mrs. Seward:

September 10.

It would seem as if a crisis in our affairs is at hand. It would be easy to predict a favorable result, but the old armies are fearfully reduced. The new regiments come in very slowly, and, of course, they will be quite unreliable at first. I think that the enemy's strength is exaggerated, and I cannot see that any thing which could be done is omitted. We must, therefore, await the issue of the conflict, with cheerfulness and confidence.

His communications to the Ministers continued the record of military events:

September 8.

You will have learned, before this dispatch shall reach you, that our late campaign in Virginia has failed; that the insurgent forces, escaping our armies, have returned to the occupation of Northern Virginia, and have even crossed the upper Potomac, and taken up a position at Frederick, in Maryland, where they seem to be threatening alike Washington, Baltimore, and Harrisburg.

In a correspondence like this, which, however confidential in its character, still wears an aspect of being addressed to foreign Governments, it would be indiscreet and injudicious to attempt to explain the causes of this very serious reverse. I must be content, therefore, with saying, that it seems to have resulted from the fact that our two reunited armies in Virginia were only partially combined, and not at all consolidated.

There has been, at least, military error somewhere.

Our information from the West is, that the insurgents are equally bold and adventurous in that quarter, and that, although no great disaster has occurred there, new energies of the Government are necessary to save the States of Tennessee and Kentucky for the Union, if not to prevent inroads into Ohio.

It is not necessary, or even practicable, in an emergency where every hour may bring reasons for changes of measures, to give you a programme of intended military operations.

The three hundred thousand volunteers called for by the President have already been mustered in the service, and near half of them are in the field. Recruiting still goes on with spirit, and a considerable portion of the three hundred thousand men expected to be raised by draft are already coming forward as volunteers.

We hear officially, and unofficially, of great naval preparations which are on foot in British, and other foreign ports, under cover of "neutrality," to give the insurgents a naval force. Among these reports is one, that a naval armament is fitting out in England, to lay New York under contribution. I think that the vigor of our Naval Department, in building a navy upon a sudden emergency, can hardly be surpassed; nevertheless its progress seems slow to us, under the circumstances. In addition to the *Monitor* and other iron vessels, we have the *Ironsides*, now ready for duty; and a new monitor is expected to be put into service within the next ten days. Others will soon follow, and we are doing what we can to be prepared for every possible adverse contingency.

We cannot but regret that the course of the Administration in Great Britain is such as to render our relations with that country a source of constant and serious apprehension. But it is not perceived here what more can be done than we are doing to preserve international peace.

Both the Army of the Potomac and that of the Confederates were now moving northward; one on the eastern and the other on the western side of the river. On the afternoon of the day when McClellan's march began, Seward drove out in his carriage on Georgetown Heights to observe the passing of the troops. A great army cannot go by a single road. Long columns were marching out of the city by all the parallel or converging roads — up Seventh street, up Fourteenth street, out by the Kalorama, and out through Georgetown. Pausing by the roadside near Tenallytown, he was struck with the evidence that an army on its march gives of the varying disposition and discipline of those who compose it. As the head of a brigade approached, marching in a brisk route step to the tap of a single drum, would be seen ranks filled with the young, the strong, the energetic, pushing steadily forward with eyes fixed on the road ahead. Occasionally an officer, recognizing Seward, would take off his hat and wave it, perhaps calling out, "Three cheers for the Secretary of State." The men would give them heartily, but not stop an instant in their onward movement.

After several hundreds of this sort had passed, there would come squads, lounging forward with more lazy or disorderly pace, ready to stop and talk, to gather in knots, or to rest by the roadside. Later still would come straggling soldiers with no pretense of orderly progress, shambling along and casting furtive glances over the fences and down the road behind them. When a good opportunity seemed to offer, these would be seen scrambling over the ditches into the fields, lying down to sleep or eat, or prowling off in the direction of the farm houses. Last of all, an hour or two later, would come the sharp, quick tread of a well-disciplined force, acting as provost guard to pick up the stragglers and stop the possible deserters, and return them all to their commands.

"Those first soldiers are the ones the country must depend on for its victories," said Seward. "These later ones are those that only turn up on pay-day."

His circular for the week continued the story of the military situation:

September 13.

Military affairs here have taken an unfavorable direction during the last three weeks. The Army of Virginia, under General Pope, which was advanced to the Rappahannock, was flanked by the insurgents in large force, and retired to Manassas. Here it became involved in a series of severe engagements, in which it was not supported by the Army of the Potomac, as it is supposed it might have been. Both armies thereupon returned to this city. An inquiry has been instituted to ascertain where the responsibility for these unnecessary reverses belongs.

In the meantime the insurgents, executing a long-cherished design, advanced on the upper Potomac, which, at this season, is fordable at many places, and crossing it at and above Edwards Ferry, occupied Frederick. When there, menacing equally Washington, Baltimore, and Harrisburg, they put forth an appeal, on Wednesday last, to the people of Maryland to rise and join the insurrection.

Our troops having recovered from a temporary disorganization, an army was immediately organized and dispatched, under General McClellan, to meet the insurgents at Frederick. The last information that we have is that they have evacuated Frederick, and advanced westward to Hagerstown.

Acting upon the same general aggressive policy, the insurgents are advancing toward and threatening Cincinnati. These bold movements very naturally produce much excitement and considerable alarm. On the other hand, our forces are being largely augmented, and our generals are confident of their ability to retrieve our losses and restore the former fortunes of the war.

September 18, *P. M.*

Just at this moment, when the mail is about to close, authentic information reaches the Government that the insurgent forces, which have been approach-

ing and menacing Cincinnati and Louisville, have receded, and are retreating in Kentucky. The alarm in that quarter is passed.

Now came the news of the loss of Harper's Ferry, but coupled with the cheering intelligence of victory at South Mountain and Crampton's Gap.

September 15.

Yesterday we had information that the insurgents in the West were retreating, and to-day we have General McClellan's report of a decisive battle fought by him with the insurgent army in Maryland, with the result of their retreat. It is especially cheering to know that the new volunteers which had been incorporated into McClellan's Army, without having previously been under fire, exhibited courage and steadiness in the conflict.

On the morning of the 17th a messenger was sent over to the War Department for the day's news. Returning, he handed the Secretary a single line in Stanton's firm handwriting.

Heavy battle now going on.

CHAPTER XVI.

1862.

Battle of Antietam. Confederates Evacuating Maryland, and Retreating in Kentucky. The Preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation. Hayti and Liberia. The Auburn Regiments. Rosecrans. Schofield. Building Iron-Clads to Meet British Ships. "The Nineteenth Month of the War." Condition of the National and Insurgent Armies.

ALL day and all the ensuing night, dispatches were coming over the wires to the War Department, reporting the progress of the battle and its results.

On the following day, Seward wrote to the Ministers abroad:

Since my previous dispatches were put into the mail General McClellan reports that the battle yesterday proves to have been a complete victory.

September 19.

On the 6th, Lee claiming to be General commanding all the insurgent armies, startled the country by appearing in Frederick with a force, as he alleged, of two hundred thousand men. He immediately proclaimed "deliverance" to the people of Maryland and invited them to join the "Confederacy." To-day, without having gained a hundred adherents in the State, and after being defeated in two pitched battles, he is recrossing, under the fire of the Federal troops, into Virginia. This result is indicative of the moral soundness of the

Union cause, as well as of the physical strength it commands. A republican education has, indeed, made all of us politicians; but, it must now be confessed, that the same education has also made us soldiers. I think no nation has ever exhibited such voluntary armies.

Writing home on the following day, he said to Mrs. Seward:

September 20.

We are at an end of an anxious and eventful week. General McClellan's victory was complete, but its results are not entirely satisfactory. We hoped that the enemy might be more effectually disabled. But perhaps this was expecting too much. The insurgents, wisely exposing their capital, concentrated all their forces in Virginia in the battle at Sharpsburg. We wisely retained nearly half our forces here and along our lines to the Susquehanna, and so sent only half to McClellan. It was, however, a noble army.

This is a fearful war, but I am more hopeful than ever since we have had a sufficient success to cheer the public mind and stay it against the inclination it was taking, through despondency, toward faction. How much magnanimity, how much virtue, how much charity, as well as how much prudence and wisdom, it requires to carry a nation safely through the sea of revolution!

Writing to Mr. Cameron, now Minister at St. Petersburg, he gave his former colleague in the Cabinet a more extended survey of the state of affairs:

The efficiency of our armies had been impaired. It soon became probable, and more lately, it unhappily was proved, that we must fail in the pending movement upon Richmond. Such a disappointment was not unlikely to be followed by disaster. That failure was sure to encourage the emissaries of insurrection in Europe, and the public mind too readily yielded to apprehensions of intervention in some form. At the same moment, a change, long clamored for in insurgent councils, was adopted, namely, that of rapidly throwing their armies forward upon the loyal States of Maryland, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. For the moment, the war on our part was to be one of defense. The President, in this emergency, decided to bring together the Armies of the Potomac and Virginia, and to reinforce not only that consolidated army, but all the other forces, with six hundred thousand men to be raised as volunteers, with a draft if necessary, and thus roll back the tide of invasion.

The disasters threatened in Virginia actually occurred. The insurgents drove the Army of Virginia back upon the line of fortifications and the capital. They then advanced from Manassas to the fordable passes of the Potomac, crossed that river, entered Frederick, and invited Maryland to rise up, and join the treasonable Confederacy. There they threatened equally Washington, Baltimore, and Pennsylvania.

In like manner they gathered forces in Kentucky, in the rear of the army of General Buell, and advanced toward the Ohio river, thus threatening Ohio and Indiana.

The insurrectionary Congress approved these aggressive movements, and

solemnly proclaimed a purpose to carry the war into the loyal States, and inflict upon them all the rigors of desolating warfare.

Having thus related the military events culminating in the invasion, it is only just that I should bring the narrative down to this point. The volunteers are coming in freely. More than seventy thousand have reached this city; ten thousand or more are in Baltimore and its vicinity; sixty thousand have joined the Army of the West, and the whole proposed augmentation will be rapidly effected. The insurgents are retiring from their late advance toward the Ohio. General McClellan has just met the invaders of Maryland, and driven them back toward the Potomac. The loyalty of Maryland has not been disturbed, and Pennsylvania is free from apprehensions of danger.

On Monday morning, of the week following these victories, President Lincoln told Seward that he wished a special Cabinet meeting to be called. The department messenger was sent out with the notices, and the Cabinet assembled at noon. All were present. Secretary Chase has noted in his diary the substance of what was said and done:

The President remarked: "You all remember that, several weeks ago, I read to you an order I had prepared, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been much occupied with this subject, and I have thought all along that the time for acting upon it might probably come. I think the time has come now. I wish it was a better time. I wish that we were in a better condition. The action of the Army against the rebels has not been quite what I should have best liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland, and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion. When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of Emancipation, such as I thought likely to be most useful. I said nothing to any one, but I made the promise to myself,—and to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfill that promise."

After referring to the past discussions of the question, and the details of the proposed proclamation, he read the draft aloud, commenting on each paragraph as he went on.

When he had finished, Seward said: "The general question having been decided, nothing can be said further about that. Would it not, however, make the proclamation more clear and decided, to leave out all reference to the act being sustained during the incumbency of the present President, and not merely say that the Government 'recognizes,' but that it will *maintain* the freedom it proclaims?"

Chase followed, saying, "The proclamation does not indeed mark out exactly the course I would myself prefer, but I am ready to take it just as it is written, and to stand by it with all my heart. I think, however, the suggestions of Governor Seward very judicious, and shall be glad to have them adopted."

Each of the other members was asked by the President for his opinion. All approved the suggested changes, and the draft was modified accordingly.

Seward also suggested that "in the passage relating to colonization, some language should be introduced, to show that the colonization proposed was to be only with the consent of the colonists, and the consent of the States in which colonies might be attempted."

This was also adopted.

Mr. Blair, while in favor of Emancipation, was apprehensive of the effect of the proclamation upon the border States and the Army, but said, "the question having been decided, he would make no objection to issuing the proclamation; but he would ask to have his paper, presented some days since, against the policy, filed with the proclamation." *

So the preliminary proclamation of Emancipation was decided upon. Allowing a three months interval, for those who desired to exempt themselves from its provisions, by returning to loyalty, it declared that "all persons held as slaves on the 1st of January, 1863, in any States or parts of States then in rebellion, should be then, henceforward and forever, free;" and that the Government "will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons;" that "the Executive will, on the 1st of January, by proclamation designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof shall be in rebellion."

The meeting broke up. The draft was handed to Seward, who had it duly engrossed in official form, bearing the signature of the President and his own, with the great seal of the United States, and placed it on file in the Department of State. Copies were given to the press.

Before the week was out, the great and unexpected step taken by the Government was the theme of anxious debate, joyful exultation, and stormy criticism throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Hayti and Liberia had now been recognized, though not without some bitter and contemptuous debates in Congress over the Appropriation Bill. A Commissioner and Consul-General to Hayti was appointed in July; and one to Liberia, a few months later. Seward also instructed Mr. Adams to negotiate a treaty of commerce with President Benson of Liberia, who was in London. This treaty was duly signed in October. Besides the usual provisions of commercial treaties, there was a paragraph pledging the United States not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Liberian Republic, unless solicited by the Government.

* Life of Salmon P. Chase, by Robert B. Warden, Cincinnati, 1874.

In his dispatches, Seward said in regard to the proclamation:

The emancipation of the slaves could be effected only by executive authority, and on the ground of military necessity. As a preliminary to the exercise of that great power, the President must have, not only the exigency, but the general consent of the loyal people of the Union, in the border slave States, where the war was raging, as well as in the free States, which have escaped the scourge. This could only be obtained through clear conviction, on their part, that the military exigency had actually occurred. It is thus seen that what has been discussed so earnestly, at home and abroad, as a question of morals or of humanity, has, all the while, been practically only a military question, depending on time and circumstances. The order for emancipation, to take effect on the 1st of January, in the States then still remaining in rebellion against the Union, was issued upon due deliberation and conscientious consideration.

The interests of humanity have now become identified with the cause of our country.

His letters to his daughter in September said:

Your letter is not too long. You cannot write letters too long for me to read and enjoy.

We have had a victory over the insurgents; but it was not a decisive one, and our military councils are anxious concerning the next conflict. But I need not try to give you information. Events occur while I write; and victories or defeats are on the wing. The telegraph tells you, and the whole world, all it tells me.

I was sorry to hear that the regiment of General Segoine was among those captured at Harper's Ferry. But such are the chances of war. No one knows where the calamities which impend over the whole scene will fall. Let us be thankful that so many of our friends and neighbors escaped unharmed.

Colonel Welling called on me this morning. I shall be looking for William before long. He is a noble man. We have reason to be proud of him, and his country has reason to be grateful to him. The members of his regiment are busy, cheerful, happy fellows, almost seeming enamored of a soldier's life. Heaven give them safety, amid its perils and privations!

Since the great battle of Antietam, we have had no fresh alarms. The enemy are still in front of General McClellan, gathering reinforcements. We are sending considerable additions to his army.

The President's proclamation, so long and importunately clamored for by a portion of our people, has been issued at last. It is now evident that the proceeding has not been delayed too long. In a short time we shall know whether it has come too soon. I hope that this may not prove to be the case. I was fearful of prematurely giving to a people prone to divide, occasion for organizing parties, in a crisis which demands union and harmony, in order to save the country from destruction.

Having for twenty years warned the people of the coming of this crisis, and suffered all the punishment they could inflict upon me for my foresight and

fidelity, I am not displeased with the position in which I find myself now — of one who has not put forth a violent hand to verify my own predictions.

In his record of the military situation, he remarked:

October 13.

No country in the world has ever poured out, in an equal period, so much of its treasure and its blood to save its integrity and its independence. Our cause is now, as it was in the time of the great Revolution, the cause of human nature. It deserves, and it yet will win the favor of all nations, and of all classes and conditions of men.

October 21.

Our armies are now renewed, our naval force increasing.

The insurgents excited in European capitals, the most sanguine hopes of the success of their invasion, promising nothing less than the capture and capitulation of Washington, with the occupation of Cincinnati, Louisville, New Orleans, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. They built high hopes of recognition upon this magnificent, though precarious, foundation. From Europe we hear little that is definite, but there is manifestly some difficulty there in digesting disappointments.

The abuses of neutrality daily committed by British subjects, in British ports, and on the high seas, have become, not merely annoying, but deeply injurious. We are doing every thing possible to prevent a ripening of these disturbances into a war upon the ocean, which would probably leave no nation free from its desolating effects.

October 25.

Kentucky and Missouri, like Maryland, are free again. The war retires into Tennessee, as it has into Virginia. Expeditions up and down the Mississippi are nearly in readiness.

October 27.

General Rosecrans, a very vigorous and accomplished officer, assumes the vacated command in Kentucky. General Schofield has defeated the insurgents in Arkansas. Reinforcements are going to our forces in North Carolina, South Carolina, and New Orleans. There are various political manifestations in North Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana, which are not destitute of significance.

It is a mistake to assume (as seems to be so freely assumed in Europe) that the President's proclamation of warning will be either unfruitful, or even unheeded.

In his letters to Mrs. Seward, he said:

October 1.

We are entering on another month, practically the nineteenth of the war. From one of hesitation and uncertainty of purpose on both sides, especially on ours, it has become one of the most determined and sanguinary that has ever occurred. The conflict, like all such, has had alternate phases. First one party has been pressed, then the other. A superficial observer would think that it could never come to an end; while impatient men (usually of little value

for service or for counsel, and moved by a merely morbid curiosity and desire for change) are apprehending what they think would be an end, from mere collapse or disappointment of the expectations or hopes of loyal men. I think I can see far enough to justify the opinion that we are at the beginning of the end. We have given the insurgents an appeal to the last motive for resistance, and pledged ourselves to overcome it.

We have suffered many losses and disasters through the waste of our armies, which could not be speedily enough renewed. But we have at last the renewal, and the insurgents are recoiling before the national forces. They are now to make one more desperate effort to renew their armies. They have wasted all the material, except the conscription between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five. It is not enough. The present Federal forces will, perhaps, be enough. Certainly a second draft will be. The rebel resources are being exhausted. They are now obliged to take one-fifth of all income and production. Income and production, under such taxation, must cease. The insurgents are building ships of war in Europe, but it is probable that our Navy will grow fast enough to conquer them.

We want nothing now, to go through safely, but unanimity in council and among the people. If we have that, the South will be exhausted.

CHAPTER XVII.

1862.

Military Movements. Opposition in the North. New Orleans Troubles. Establishing a Provisional Court. General Butler's Order. Confederate Cruisers in British Ship-Yards. The *Oreto*. The *Bull-Dog*. The *Alabama*. Spanish-American Republics. November Elections. Reaction of Public Feeling. Administration Defeats. Burnside, Grant, Rosecrans, and Banks. Newspaper Attacks. Garibaldi. Napoleon Proposing Joint Intervention to Russia and England. Advice to a Minister.

In October Seward was writing home:

October 9.

With ferocious war at many points, turbulence in other places, and popular commotion everywhere, we are living here in tolerable quiet; the result, perhaps, of constrained equanimity.

Last week William's regiment was removed from Fort Bunker Hill to Fort Kearney. On Saturday Frederick, Anna, and I drove to Ellicott's Mills, thirty-two miles, dined and slept at Mr. Kennedy's, and returned on Sunday, visiting the Chemung regiment on the way at Laurel, half-way between this place and Baltimore.

The foreign Ministers, with their amenities, soften somewhat the rigor of my rough course of life. Almost unremitting studies of political principles and international law subdue the impatience to which otherwise, like some of my associates and contemporaries, I should, perhaps, be giving away.

I see and hear of political campaigns going on in the North, and mourn over so many evidences that faction cannot be kept down, even by the presence of armed enemies besieging the capital and inviting foreign intervention. The Democrats are falling into the error which ruined the Federalists fifty years ago, and I trust they will receive the same punishment.

If I looked only upon the more manifest and obvious circumstances of the times, I should despair of peace and harmony. But I think I perceive signs of lassitude and debility in the insurrection, and of returning loyalty in the region it has blighted.

October 14.

I do very much want to make a visit at home before the temperate weather shall end. But I see little hope of it. Whenever the condition of my own department seems to tolerate absence, the anxieties about war and naval affairs forbid. For although I can do or advise little on these subjects, even if action or advice on my part were needed, yet the public themselves seem to suppose that the responsibility for the war, in some measure, rests upon me.

I cannot give up the idea that we are to have some decisive proceedings in Virginia soon, but the impatience we feel at having the enemy so near us, and so impudent, may be hurrying us faster than military prudence requires.

October 23.

I have just received your letter of Sunday last. It reads strangely that you find the Sabbath a day of rest. The course of the mails is such that I receive dispatches from all over the world on Saturday, which, perhaps at the hazard of even a nation's life, must be answered on Monday, or at farthest on Tuesday. The reading alone occupies Saturday. The answers must be written on Sunday, copied and submitted to the President on Monday. Here, in the middle of the week, comes my Sunday, if a thousand important affairs will allow me any such day.

Discontents, alarms, impatience, vexations; then the train of disappointments, as disappointments are sure followers of unreasoning, passionate expectations, have been my food and drink ever since this ill-starred series of battles at Manassas. But this is not the worst of the case. The manifestation of despondency and discontent by the people here, produces insults, menaces, and conspiracies for foreign intervention abroad. I can well enough understand my perils and responsibilities arising from this last class of evils. But it is not so clear to me why I, personally, should be visited with clamors and accusations arising from the first class; I, who have no army or navy or control over them; I, who try so carefully to prevent unreasoning expectations and rash enterprises, while strengthening all the powers, forces, and departments of the State.

New Orleans had now been for six months under control of the Union forces. While it was not probable they would be dislodged, they were confronted with the problem of governing a great city having a peculiar population, a majority of whom were disaffected to the Government. A large number were of foreign birth — French, Spanish, Italians, Germans, and English.

This foreign element was a difficult one to deal with. Most of them were engaged in commercial enterprises, and deemed themselves hampered and oppressed by the military and naval restrictions which the Government found necessary for safety. Owing no allegiance to that Government, they were ready to evade its requirements and to aid its enemies. Claims and complaints, based on interruptions and losses in trade, were numerous. These were, at first, presented through their Consuls to the military authorities, and afterward through their Ministers at Washington to the General Government. Some were intricate and delicate, and even threatened to endanger friendly relations with European powers. The Secretary of State found half his time engrossed with these questions.

He determined that it would be wise to establish some tribunal at New Orleans to examine and decide upon them. Such a tribunal was accordingly constituted by an Executive order, reciting that the insurrection "having temporarily subverted, and swept away the civil institutions, and judicial authorities, "it had become necessary to constitute a Provisional Court. Charles A. Peabody of New York was appointed the Provisional Judge, and vested with full jurisdiction, "his judgment to be final and conclusive." All causes, civil and criminal, including cases in law, equity, revenue, and admiralty, were within the powers of this court, and no review of its judgments by any other court was allowed. Its authority and the validity of its acts were considered in the Supreme Court of the United States, and fully sustained, when, in subsequent years, they came before it.

While General Butler was the military commander, he had enforced order, maintained quiet, and adopted praiseworthy sanitary regulations, regardless of protests or resistance. He ruled with a firm hand, and in return encountered a storm of vituperation. One of his orders was the subject of wide comment, and came up before the department, on an appeal through the British Government. Seward wrote to Mr. Adams:

> Mr. Stewart, in a very courteous manner, verbally expressed to me the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that General Butler's order concerning the females in New Orleans, who gave offense to the Union soldiers, was an improper one, in respect to the expressions employed in it.
>
> I answered him that we must ask his Government, in reading that proclamation, to adopt a rule of construction which the British nation had elevated to the dignity of a principle, and made the motto of their national arms — "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*"
>
> I explained, also, to Mr. Stewart, the ground of sensibility of our Army to female discourtesy. Our soldiers are mainly young American citizens, of education and respectability. Chivalrous respect to the sex is a national senti-

[illegible] whom the homage [illegible] the Govern- [illegible] manners.

[illegible] now reached its [illegible] prey upon [illegible] newspapers [illegible] English ship- [illegible] American Govern- [illegible] before the [illegible] slow to act. [illegible] preserve

[illegible] Earl Russell about the [illegible]

[illegible] Commissioner of Cus- [illegible] believe that [illegible] later, he [illegible] under pretense of

[illegible] the Foreign [illegible] better to con- [illegible] on the United [illegible]

[illegible] was shown [illegible] have persons called [illegible] all over [illegible] the course taken by [illegible] an inference most [illegible]

[illegible] at Nassau as a "Con-

[illegible]

[illegible] vessels for that ser- [illegible] Captain [illegible] there with men to bring

[illegible]

[illegible] the information respecting the Laird gun-boat, No. 290, [illegible] It only remains for me to continue the narration of that [illegible] to this date. In spite of all my efforts and remonstrances, [illegible] the opinion of the law-officers of the Crown, I received on [illegible] from Mr. Dudley, the Consul at Liverpool, the news that she [illegible] register, or clearance, from that port, on that day.

Soon after, Seward communicated to the British Government "information of a breach of international obligations, by the commander of Her Britannic Majesty's gun-boat, *Bull Dog*, in July last, by transporting from Nassau to Bermuda, persons, who were proceeding from this country to England, to take commands in the gun-boat '290,' a steam vessel, then being built, manned, and equipped in, and dispatched from, a British port; and since engaged in committing depredations on American commerce on the high seas, equally in violation of treaties, the law of nations, and the laws of Great Britain."

So, the "290" became the *Alabama*, and began her career of devastation.

Finding his protests and complaints treated with such indifference, Seward directed the evidence to be carefully preserved for future use, and gave notice that the case was one that would not be allowed to rest. Expressing regret that "Her Majesty's Government has not more favorably considered our complaints against the violations of municipal and international law, committed by British subjects, under the British flag, in the case of the steamer "290," or *Alabama*, he added, "attempts by the same and similar vessels, to repeat the same injuries, will ultimately require a more deliberate consideration of the subject than the Government now seems willing to accord." From that time forward the evidence in each case was obtained, authenticated, and duly presented at the Foreign Office. Its receipt there having been acknowledged with more or less of courtesy or curtness, it was carefully filed away.

In November, he again wrote to Mr. Adams:

> The telegraph announces the destruction of another half dozen American vessels on the high seas, by the steamer "290." The legal proofs in support of a claim for indemnity will be collected, and transmitted to you as speedily as possible.

There were also long discussions over the refusal of the British authorities to permit American vessels of war to take in coal at Nassau, and the systematic attempts of British merchants to violate the blockade, as well as the recapture of vessels which had been seized in attempting to run it.

One of his letters to his daughter, in October, said:

> It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. I have just cleared my table and fortified myself for a croaking, litigious, foreign mail, when the messenger announces that the trains between New York and Philadelphia have failed to connect. So I get time to acknowledge your letter.
>
> I was hurried away from home at Auburn, six weeks ago, by the apparent necessity for being here to be captured, with the rest of the Administration,

by the rebels. Despondency, despair, and of course altercations and cross impeachments have been the interesting attendants wherever I went, and whatever I was doing, during all that period. At last a change comes over the public temper. It has become calm, and is beginning to be hopeful, after having betrayed a discouraging want of magnanimity. Chiefly it seems to have complained of me, because I refused to be terrified, with so many others.

From Guatemala, this fall, came an expression of apprehension that the great American armies, after the close of the war, might be used in "filibustering" enterprises.

To this, Seward replied, that these apprehensions seemed to him "quite imaginary." While nobody could predict, in advance, the action of Presidents, or popular masses in future years, yet the fact remained that "the true policy of this country is, to favor the growth and stability of republican institutions, in Spanish America; and that when this unhappy war shall have passed by, the motives which have heretofore brought adventurers from the United States into collision with those republics will have ceased to operate."

A treaty with Ecuador establishing a joint commission for the settlement of claims, and one with Peru, for the same purpose, and another, referring cases of seizure of steamers to the arbitration of a friendly power, were made in the closing months of this year.

In a private letter to Mr. Dayton, about newspaper attacks, he said:

I cannot explain, either the object or motive of the representations of the press in regard to yourself, to which you allude. We are in a revolutionary crisis. Every journal seeks advantage, by getting up new sensations, for which the public have a peculiar susceptibility, in such a season. The press takes just such liberties with me, as it does with yourself; and with as little reason. If editors had as much serious occupation as you and I have, they would, perhaps, be content with the stern realities of our time.

November came, and with it the elections in the various States. The returns were ominous, and disheartening enough. Everywhere there was reaction of feeling, adverse to the Administration. In the strong Republican States, majorities were reduced. In all the others, the opposition were triumphant, and the Administration party defeated. All the popular weariness of inaction, and impatience for victories, all the discontents, growing out of disputes over generals, all the bitterness engendered by military arrests, all the dissatisfaction with Congress, and all desires for all changes, found expression in this verdict at the polls. Among the causes of the revulsion was opposition to the Government's Anti-Slavery policy. The proclamation of warning had roused violent antagonism, and it looked as if the prediction was to be verified, that such a proclamation would "unite

the South and divide the North." Even "War Democrats" claimed that the defeat was a rebuke to the Administration, for their "perversion of the war for the Union into a war for the negro;" and Anti-War Democrats began to clamor for "peace."

Seward, writing home, said:

WASHINGTON, *November* 15.

If I could allow myself to be disturbed by any thing, I certainly should grieve over the elections. They come, however, like our other national disasters, not unlooked for, and of course they do not confound me, or deprive me of hope. I will not even say that I studied and labored to prevent them. What any one of us do, or fails to do, is of little moment, in these sad times.

Revolutions have their periods, beyond which they cannot continue; and short of which they cannot be arrested. Party spirit has resumed its sway over the people. If, as I hope, the revolutionary elements are becoming exhausted, party spirit cannot now effect the national ruin. If, on the contrary, the madness of the day is not subsiding, the party spirit may be expected to drive the nation to dissolution. Dissolution cannot come without civil war in our own streets, and in our own dwellings at the North.

It was this last apprehension that made me, when the crisis came in Congress two years ago, try to soothe and pacify. It was the same apprehension that, all last winter and summer, made me strive so hard to confine the public mind to the consideration of the struggle, as one for the preservation of the Union.

Continuing the record of the military situation, he said:

November 3.

The Navy have reduced to occupation, two new positions on the Southern coast — Sabine Pass and Galveston. The blockading fleet has captured three of the steamers fitted out in England, and dispatched with arms and supplies for the insurgents.

November 10.

Our Army in Virginia is approaching the Rapidan without having encountered any serious opposition. Expeditions by land and water, greater in force than any preceding one, will soon be on their way to the Southern coast.

November 18.

General Burnside, now in command of the Army of the Potomac, has put it in motion. A part of General Banks' expedition is already afloat. Some successful movements have been made in North Carolina and Louisiana. General Grant is advancing, with apparent success, in Mississippi, and additional columns are proceeding toward the Gulf from Cairo and St. Louis. General Rosecrans is advancing in East Tennessee, and an iron navy is nearly ready to reduce the remaining insurrectionary ports. Of all the insurgent menaces which lowered upon us so thickly in September and October, there is only one that now gives us anxiety, and that is the invasion by iron-clad vessels, which are being built for the insurgents, by their sympathizers in England.

November 28.

More iron-clads are necessary. The building of them has seemed slow; but they are now beginning to move to their proper field of duty. The *Ironsides* and the *Passaic* have gone, and eight more, I think, will reach Charleston in time to anticipate the fleets now fitting out in Europe.

November 30.

General Burnside's preparations are ready, and a movement is imminent. He has a large and fine army.

Writing to his daughter, he said:

It is foggy and wet and renders our rides to William's camp less frequent than we like. It is pleasant to see how he grows in his new profession. He is now in command of a separate battalion, and in charge of Fort Gaines, with, I don't know, how many great guns. He drills his men constantly, and they all are greatly attached to him.

Uneasiness and discontent are gathering upon us again, heralds of Congress, which is only ten days off. It is not enough that three or four armies, and as many fleets, are moving. There is no battle, and the war is, therefore, "a failure." The President's proclamation is issued, but it is not to take effect until January. The "delay is intolerable." To the Administration, and to the Army and the Navy, the war is a sad, painful, fearful, reality, exciting always to activity, but as certainly imposing caution and prudence. To the public, who are not directly engaged in it, it is a novel, a play. They demand at once the Hero. When a general assumes that character, they cry him off the stage if he hesitates or rests, or hides his plans; and, incontinently, they call out another. They weary and grow restive, if the action of the war drags, or loses its intensity. They pronounce the piece a failure, and propose to drive the manager out of the theater. Who could believe that nations could be made or saved in civil war, when the people act like this? Nevertheless they are; and I do not doubt that this is the most magnanimous people that has ever lived.

In another letter to her, he said:

It is a good thing to read up the Revolutionary war. It is history that gives me all my resources, and enables me to cherish and preserve hopefulness, even to the point of offending desponding patriots, and disloyal or blinded partisans. Selfishness crops out in every thing, everywhere. It offends, and alarms us constantly; but we learn from history, that selfishness always existed, and always was more flagrant than now.

Writing to Mr. Dayton, in November, he said:

I have, by the aid of the telegraph, the substance of the communication which was addressed by the Emperor of France to the Emperor of Russia, and the Queen of Great Britain, to join in recommending an armistice in our civil war, together with the answers of those two sovereigns declining the invitation.

In regard to the subject, my instructions will be very simple and short. An inconclusive conference concerning the United States has been held between

three powers, all of whom avow themselves as friends of the United States, and yet the United States were carefully excluded from the conference. Neither party in the conference proposed any combination to coerce the will or control the policy of the United States. Under these circumstances, the United States are not called upon to say what they would have done if the proposition of France, which was declined by Russia and Great Britain, had been adopted and carried into effect. * * * The United States have constantly said to all Europe, that they know that the saving of the American Union depends on the American people themselves, and not at all on the policies of foreign States, severally or combined. Such States may, as they have heretofore done, prolong and aggravate our national and lamented strife by exciting or maintaining the hopes of our disloyal citizens; but they cannot change our purpose to maintain the integrity of the Union, or defeat its accomplishment. * * * The emissaries of treason, who now remain in European capitals, will very soon disappear, and the whole American people will, forever afterward, be asking who, among the foreign nations, were most just and forbearing to their country in its hour of trial.

To one of the American Ministers who took a gloomy view of the outlook, he wrote:

Your dispatch was written under feelings of despondency concerning our country, which were not unnaturally produced by the news of the reverses. Since that time, all that was then lost has been regained. The United States must demand, under all circumstances, of their representatives in foreign countries, what the old Romans required of their generals, even when defeated, "Never to despair of the Republic."

CHAPTER XVIII.

1862.

Congress Again. The Great Problem. Emancipation Gradual, and Compensated, or How? The Fredericksburg Battle and Defeat. A Senatorial Caucus. Preston King. Demand for Seward's Removal. His Resignation. Lincoln with Committee and Cabinet. Chase's Resignation. The President's Decision. Returning to Duty. Drafting Law. The National Debt Becoming Gigantic. Neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama. Banks Going to New Orleans. Grant Descending the Mississippi. Southern Members of Congress. The Iron-Clad Fleet. The Coming Proclamation.

AGAIN the flags were hoisted on the Capitol. On the 1st of December, the Thirty-seventh Congress reassembled for its second session. Seward wrote:

Congress has come together in, I think, a practical and patriotic temper. The President's message grasps the subject of slavery earnestly and confi-

dently. The great problem of the civil war maintains importance. While the people hesitate, doubt, and divide upon each new suggestion that is made for the solution of the problem, they no longer shrink from contemplating and studying it. If they seem to be slow in reaching it, the world ought to be assured by the reflection that no nation ever advanced faster, in a task so complicated and so difficult.

On the 15th, came news from the "Army of the Potomac" of its movement on Fredericksburg:

The Army, under General Burnside, crossed the Rappahannock on Friday and Saturday last. The insurgents were dislodged from the town and retired to their defenses upon the hills beyond it.

At the moment when I am writing, however, General Burnside, for reasons not yet explained, has withdrawn his forces to the north side of the river, and the two armies are now separated from each other by its shores.

In this battle heavy losses were suffered on both sides. The Union troops failed of success, and both armies retired to their old encampments. A few days later, General Burnside, like a frank, loyal-hearted soldier as he was, presented himself at Washington and asked that the chief command be assigned to some other general in his stead.

Coming in a period of gloom and disaffection, this defeat increased party bitterness and stimulated factional feeling. One evening, as Seward was sitting in his library, his old senatorial colleague, Preston King, came hurriedly in from the Capitol. The Republican Senators had just been holding a caucus. All were not present, but those who were, acting under the spur of excitement and disappointment, had resolved that some change must be made, to appease the supposed popular "thirst for a victim." Resolutions had been hastily adopted advising the President to change the chief member of his Cabinet, and a committee was appointed to lay the resolutions before him.

"Seeing how things were going, I did not stay for the last vote," said Mr. King, "but just slipped out of the Chamber and came down to tell you, for I thought you ought to know. They were pledging each other to keep the proceedings secret, but I told them I wasn't going to be bound."

Seward listened to the narration, and said, "They may do as they please about me, but they shall not put the President in a false position on my account."

Without a moment's hesitation, he called for a pen and paper and dictated a note to the President:

"Sir, I hereby resign the office of Secretary of State, and beg that my resignation may be accepted immediately."

Five minutes later it was placed in the hands of the President, who,

after reading it, looked up with a face full of pain and surprise, saying, "What does this mean?"

"That, Mr. President, is just what I have come over to tell you," said Senator King, who entered at the same moment.

He proceeded to recount the story to the sorely-badgered Chief Magistrate, whose friends seemed to be emulating his foes in plans for his annoyance.

Later in the evening the President came to Seward's house to talk the matter over. He expressed his regret at the untoward state of affairs. When Seward remarked that it would be a relief to be freed from official cares, he said, "Ah, yes, Governor, that will do very well for you, but I am like the starling in Sterne's story, 'I can't get out.'"

Mr. Lincoln had more shrewdness and sagacity than his senatorial advisers. He chose his own plan for dealing with them. When the caucus committee came to the Executive Mansion at the appointed hour, they were somewhat taken aback by finding the whole Cabinet, except the Secretary of State, calmly sitting around the President, prepared to hear their grievances and discuss the remedy. When the Senators had presented their resolutions, they were informed that if they proposed to take the untenable ground that Cabinet appointments or changes were to be dictated by congressional caucuses, it would be making a radical change in the national system, in which the Cabinet were not prepared to acquiesce. The action of the caucus was the more unreasonable in this case, because the Secretary of State was in nowise responsible for the military disasters.

Rather than consent to the proposed change the Cabinet were prepared to resign their seats. The Secretary of the Treasury would place his resignation in the President's hands, and the others would follow his example. "This Cabinet, gentlemen," said the Secretary of War, "is like yonder window. Suppose you allowed it to be understood that passers-by might knock out one pane of glass — just one at a time — how long do you think any panes would be left in it?"

In the meantime Seward had withdrawn from the Department of State, and visitors to his house found him engaged in packing up his books and papers for Auburn. Postmaster-General Blair looked in at the door, and finding him so employed, said, "On my way to the Cabinet, I thought I would just stop in to say, I object."

As the news got abroad, protests and animadversions, upon the uncalled-for action of the caucus, began to pour in, through the press and the mails. More sober counsels then prevailed. Those who had taken part in the caucus began to explain, and modify their course. The following letters show the result:

mentable war has made us familiar with sorrow, and hardened us against the fears incident to scenes of trial. I cannot say half of what I feel when I recall her long and affectionate kindness to myself and all of us. I should not try to put aside the memory of it, if I did not hourly see the evidences of public demoralization, which require to be counteracted, for the safety of the State and of freedom.

To Weed, he wrote.

September 6.

I have found out here, what can't be learned where you are — *how* all these disasters came about. I cannot write it.

I don't believe that Mr. Mercier has written such a dispatch as you say. I don't believe that it would produce effect if he has.

However the fact may be, it is especially necessary, now, to be firm, calm, collected, and look all emergencies fully in the face. If you think that you can be spared at home for more work abroad, you had better slip away carelessly to Paris.

But of this you must judge. I will try to send Edward Everett over, if I can do so without letting the world know of it.

I think we may expect the rebels, now, to break from extreme terrorism soon. We are not paralyzed, nor idle here. But I cannot write.

And again, to Mrs. Seward:

September 10.

It would seem as if a crisis in our affairs is at hand. It would be easy to predict a favorable result, but the old armies are fearfully reduced. The new regiments come in very slowly, and, of course, they will be quite unreliable at first. I think that the enemy's strength is exaggerated, and I cannot see that any thing which could be done is omitted. We must, therefore, await the issue of the conflict, with cheerfulness and confidence.

His communications to the Ministers continued the record of military events:

September 8.

You will have learned, before this dispatch shall reach you, that our late campaign in Virginia has failed; that the insurgent forces, escaping our armies, have returned to the occupation of Northern Virginia, and have even crossed the upper Potomac, and taken up a position at Frederick, in Maryland, where they seem to be threatening alike Washington, Baltimore, and Harrisburg.

In a correspondence like this, which, however confidential in its character, still wears an aspect of being addressed to foreign Governments, it would be indiscreet and injudicious to attempt to explain the causes of this very serious reverse. I must be content, therefore, with saying, that it seems to have re-
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was in the bat[illegible]been, at least, military error somewhere.

Our information from the West is, that the insurgents are equally bold and adventurous in that quarter, and that, although no great disaster has occurred there, new energies of the Government are necessary to save the States of Tennessee and Kentucky for the Union, if not to prevent inroads into Ohio.

It is not necessary, or even practicable, in an emergency where every hour may bring reasons for changes of measures, to give you a programme of intended military operations.

The three hundred thousand volunteers called for by the President have already been mustered in the service, and near half of them are in the field. Recruiting still goes on with spirit, and a considerable portion of the three hundred thousand men expected to be raised by draft are already coming forward as volunteers.

We hear officially, and unofficially, of great naval preparations which are on foot in British, and other foreign ports, under cover of "neutrality," to give the insurgents a naval force. Among these reports is one, that a naval armament is fitting out in England, to lay New York under contribution. I think that the vigor of our Naval Department, in building a navy upon a sudden emergency, can hardly be surpassed; nevertheless its progress seems slow to us, under the circumstances. In addition to the *Monitor* and other iron vessels, we have the *Ironsides*, now ready for duty; and a new monitor is expected to be put into service within the next ten days. Others will soon follow, and we are doing what we can to be prepared for every possible adverse contingency.

We cannot but regret that the course of the Administration in Great Britain is such as to render our relations with that country a source of constant and serious apprehension. But it is not perceived here what more can be done than we are doing to preserve international peace.

Both the Army of the Potomac and that of the Confederates were now moving northward; one on the eastern and the other on the western side of the river. On the afternoon of the day when McClellan's march began, Seward drove out in his carriage on Georgetown Heights to observe the passing of the troops. A great army cannot go by a single road. Long columns were marching out of the city by all the parallel or converging roads — up Seventh street, up Fourteenth street, out by the Kalorama, and out through Georgetown. Pausing by the roadside near Tenallytown, he was struck with the evidence that an army on its march gives of the varying disposition and discipline of those who compose it. As the head of a brigade approached, marching in a brisk route step to the tap of a single drum, would be seen ranks filled with the young, the strong, the energetic, pushing steadily forward with eyes fixed on the road ahead. Occasionally an officer, recognizing Seward, would take off his hat and wave it, perhaps calling out, "Three cheers for the Secretary of State." The men would give them heartily, but not stop an instant in their onward movement.

members of Congress from Louisiana, and the holding of elections for the same purpose in North Carolina and Virginia, have, nevertheless, an undoubted significance.

The intended demonstration of iron-clad steamers is yet withheld, for want of sufficient vessels. We continually see new vessels launched, and the workmen engage in preparing them. But we do not find ourselves in possession of the overawing force of that kind, which is necessary for watching at Hampton Roads, and reaching at the same time Mobile and Charleston. The *Passaic* will go out in good condition to-day. The *Montauk* goes to sea to-day or to-morrow. The "290" still escapes us, but the Navy redoubles its exertions for her capture.

December 26.

The Secretary of War still retains under consideration the offer of General Garibaldi. It involves some considerations upon which the convenience of that department must necessarily be consulted. It is a source of high satisfaction to know that the General has been so far relieved of his painful wound as to justify a hope of his convalescence.

December 29.

The proclamation of freedom will be promptly issued on the 1st day of January, and it seems probable that a state of things will arise in the Gulf States, calculated to undermine the hopes that have been built there, upon foreign intervention.

We are inaugurating a system of administration in New Orleans, under General Banks, which will relieve the condition there of much of the uneasiness which it is supposed affected the disposition of foreign powers.

At this session, the bill was finally passed admitting West Virginia into the Union as a State. It became a law on the closing day of the year.

CHAPTER XIX.

1863.

The Proclamation of Emancipation. The Two Armies on the Rappahannock. The Iron-Clad Fleet. Loss of the "*Monitor*." Murfreesboro'. Siege of Vicksburg. Grant in Command There. Galveston. Arkansas Post. Emancipation Laws for the Border States. Hooker in Command of the "Army of the Potomac." Popular Demand for Taxation. "Arbitrary Arrests." A Bill of Indemnity. Colonizing or Arming Freedmen? Proposed French Intervention Rejected. "A Better Form of Conference."

NEW YEAR'S DAY is always a busy one at the Executive Mansion. The Diplomatic Corps, in official uniform, are presented to the President by the Secretary of State. Civil, military, and naval officers are then received in due succession. Meanwhile the porch, carriage-

ways, and sidewalks are gradually filling with a gathering throng, awaiting the hour of two o'clock, when the doors are thrown open to the general public.

Thursday, the 1st of January, 1863, was marked by an event that will always be memorable in history. Slaves in all the regions remaining in rebellion were to be on that day declared entitled to freedom. The Emancipation Proclamation had been duly engrossed at the State Department. Seward, accompanied by his son, took it over to the White House, for signature and authentication.

They found the President alone in his room. The broad sheet was spread out before him on the Cabinet table. Mr. Lincoln dipped his pen in the ink, and then, holding it a moment above the paper, seemed to hesitate. Looking around he said:

"I never, in my life, felt more certain that I was doing right, than I do in signing this paper. But I have been receiving calls, and shaking hands since nine o'clock this morning, till my arm is stiff and numb. Now, this signature is one that will be closely examined, and if they find my hand trembled, they will say 'he had some compunctions.' But, any way, it is going to be done!"

So saying, he slowly and carefully wrote his name at the bottom of the Proclamation. The signature proved to be unusually bold, clear, and firm, even for him; and a laugh followed, at his apprehensions. Seward, after appending his own name, and causing the great seal to be affixed, had the important document placed among the archives. Copies were at once given to the press.

On the following day he wrote:

The Proclamation of the President adds a new and important element to the war. Assuming, as I believe, its policy to be an unchangeable one, it is not to be doubted that, sooner or later, it will find and reach a weakness in every nook and corner of the insurrectionary region. The very violence with which it will be met, probably will, after a little, increase its efficiency.

Continuing his record of the military situation, he said:

January 5.

Our iron-clad steamers are now gathering upon the Southern coast. We have lost the *Monitor*, by her foundering at sea, and the accident justly produced a profound national regret. Her achievements had made her an object of pride, — I might almost say an object of affection.

We are yet in a state of suspense about the result of a series of battles which occurred on the 31st of December, and 1st, 2d and 3d of January, in the neighborhood of Murfreesboro. The telegraph tells us of great loss of life, on both sides.

The forces of General Sherman, belonging to the army of General Grant, having descended the Mississippi, are besieging Vicksburg.

The rigor of the blockade, already experienced at Charleston and Mobile, is likely to be increased to such a degree as to defeat the aids proceeding to those ports from Europe.

January 12.

General Rosecrans obtained a decisive and profitable victory at Murfreesboro. General Sherman, on the other hand, was repulsed at Vicksburg. You will find the information of the press in the result of the affair confused and unsatisfactory. Directions have been given to General Grant to reorganize and renew the expedition.

Our small force at Galveston seems to have been surprised and dislodged, at the moment when reinforcements were about to enter the harbor.

Large land forces and an iron-clad fleet are advancing toward Charleston.

January 13.

Financial measures of Congress excite the utmost anxiety. There is, however, good ground to expect a settlement of the subject upon a practical basis. Our advance in the great transaction in which we are engaged is seen in the fact that Congress is, for the first time, found seriously engaged with the proposition to aid some of the slave-holding States in their efforts for emancipation. A bill of that character affecting the State of Missouri has passed the House, and is now in the Senate.

January 19.

General McClernand has attained an important success in Arkansas. An official dispatch confirms this information.

January 26.

General Burnside was prevented, by a severe storm, from renewing hostilities last week on the Potomac. The hindrance will continue until the roads near the Rappahannock shall have mended.

Meantime General Burnside has tendered his resignation, and he is now replaced by General Hooker.

The expedition against Charleston was delayed by the storm, but the forces are now being put in motion.

It is understood here that General McClernand's forces, with Commodore Porter's fleet, after their brilliant achievements in Arkansas, have returned to the siege of Vicksburg, and have been adequately reinforced by General Grant.

Congress was confronted with the need of greatly increasing taxation to meet the interest on the enormous debt. Many loyally disposed members were yet reluctant to give votes, which they feared might bring swift rebuke from their constituents. When they said they wanted to wait till the necessity was imminent, Seward told them "It is imminent, now." Before long, letters and newspapers began to come with queries why there was delay? Popular impatience was unexpectedly manifested, not at their action, but at their hesitation.

One of the foreign Ministers remarked that he was learning something

new about the strength of popular government. "I was not surprised," he said, "to see your young men rushing enthusiastically to fight for their flag. I have seen that in other countries. But I have never before seen a country where the people were clamorous for taxes!"

In February, Seward wrote:

February 4.

The result of military operations during the last three months are sufficiently manifest to have a determinate value. The reverses were the repulse at Fredericksburg and the repulse at Vicksburg. Each of these reverses was practically fruitless to the insurgents.

The successes were the battle of Murfreesboro and the capture of the post of Arkansas. Each of these not only weakened the insurgents, but enlarged the field of Federal authority.

There has been a season of deep anxiety since the reverse at Fredericksburg. However, it is certainly cheering to perceive that the idle speculations upon "mediation," and the spasmodic demands of certain impulsive politicians for "armistices" and "concessions," have failed to pervert the public mind, and that there remains the same firm determination to maintain the Union.

February 10.

Details of the recent surprise of the *Mercedita* at Charleston show that the idea of the insurgents that they had raised the blockade at that port was illusory.

There is good reason to expect that the important bills designed to enable the President to prosecute the war with vigor will pass the Congress by decisive majorities.

In both Houses exhaustive debates over financial and military measures were varied by the occasional acrimonious discussions over "arbitrary arrests" and "slavery." In regard to the arrests, the opponents of the Administration had urged resolutions condemning and denouncing them in the strongest terms. This brought a counter movement in their defense. A bill was introduced declaring the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* to have been required by the public safety, confirming and declaring valid all arrests and imprisonments by whomsoever made, or caused to be made, under the authority of the President, and indemnifying the President, Secretaries, heads of departments, and all persons who had been concerned in making such arrests, or in doing or advising any such acts, and making void all prosecutions and proceedings against them in relation to the matters in question. It also authorized the President, during the existence of the war, to declare the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* "at such times and in such places, and with regard to such persons as, in his judgment, the public safety may require." After protracted debate it became a law.

mentable war has made us familiar with sorrow, and hardened us against the fears incident to scenes of trial. I cannot say half of what I feel when I recall her long and affectionate kindness to myself and all of us. I should not try to put aside the memory of it, if I did not hourly see the evidences of public demoralization, which require to be counteracted, for the safety of the State and of freedom.

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spondence with the French Government; but the effect seems to be not unwholesome.

You will give no credit to rumors of alienation between M. Mercier and this Government.

March 2.

It has been impossible to conform the policy of the Government to the views and wishes of European statesmen, who, reasoning from present European interests, regard a peace, however obtained, and at whatever cost, preferable to a prosecution of the war at all; and who see only the difficulties and disappointments of the nation, and take no notice of the contraction and exhaustion of the insurgents.

March 16.

A hopeful view of European opinions, concerning our affairs, is happily coincident with returning confidence at home. Nothing was ever more preposterous than the idea engendered here, and sent abroad to perplex Europe, that an American Secretary of State would employ a Plenipotentiary of the Emperor of France to negotiate with American insurgents.

CHAPTER XX.

1863.

The Spanish-American Republics. Their Friendly Feeling. Their Wars and Revolutions. Consuls and Confederate Cruisers. Improving the Consular Service. English Response to the Proclamation. Better Understanding of the War. Gradual Exhaustion of Southern Resources. Business Activity and Prosperity at the North. "Union Leagues" and "Loyal Leagues." Mr. Evarts in London. Enforcing the Neutrality Laws.

FROM the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, there was now a growing feeling, in the Spanish-American republics, of friendship for the United States. Their elder sister at the North was undergoing trials like their own. They looked with scant favor upon Confederate agents, or cruisers in their ports. They sent Ministers to Washington, with whom Seward's intercourse was frank, cordial, and unrestrained. But while they could give their sympathies, they were powerless to render aid, or even to keep the peace within their own borders.

To one of the Ministers to a South-American republic Seward wrote, in explanation of his refusal to hastily recognize a new Provisional Government:

The United States observe with regret, an unquiet and revolutionary spirit pervading the Republican States on this continent, involving them continually

in desolating and exhausting wars; subversive not only of national independence, but even of liberty itself. The United States deem it their duty to all those States, to discourage that spirit so far as it can be done, by standing aloof from all such domestic controversies, until, in each case, the State immediately concerned shall unmistakably prove, that the Government which claims to represent it is fully accepted, and peacefully maintained by the people.

To Mr. Culver, he wrote:

It is high time that the demon of civil war should be driven from this continent. Our own experience of the evils it inflicts could not fail to make us sympathize with the like sufferings, when they fall upon neighbors and friends, whose prosperity and welfare are so closely identified with our own.

Early in 1861, finding that there was a suspension of diplomatic intercourse between the United States and Peru, Seward had bridged over the difficulties, and restored friendly relations. A Minister was sent out to Lima; and Mr. Barreda, Peru's representative, was received at Washington. In 1863, Spain and Peru were drifting into hostilities, and Seward made proffer of the good offices of the United States toward reconciling their dispute.

The war was now leading to an enormous governmental expenditure, a great volume of paper money, and increased activity in every branch of trade. The increase of foreign importations, and the higher tariff of duties, made it necessary to create new officers, and adopt new safeguards for the collection of the revenues. The system of triplicate invoices had been inaugurated, and many new consular officers were appointed. Besides their ordinary duties, these Consuls were required to be on the alert in regard to Confederate vessels. The Secretary enjoined especial vigilance and prompt reports, in regard to rebel cruisers and blockade-runners. Some very useful information was thus obtained, at Havana, Nassau, Halifax, Liverpool, and other points, and communicated to the Navy and Treasury Departments.

Another improvement in the consular service was that of making the system self-sustaining. Instead of being a drain upon the Treasury, the Consuls now returned, in the fees collected by them, an amount sufficient to meet all the expenditures for consular service, and even, in part, to defray those of the diplomatic officers.

From London, Mr. Adams wrote:

The issue of the President's proclamation has had a decided effect, in concentrating the friendly party here, whilst it has, to a corresponding extent, provoked the anger of the abettors of the rebellion. The lines are becoming more and more clearly drawn.

Now popular demonstrations of sympathy with the Union began to manifest themselves in England. The Emancipation Society led off

with a tender of congratulations and good wishes. A few weeks later, came public meetings at Chesterfield, at Cross Hills, at Salford, at Cobham, Ersham, and Weybridge, at Manchester, Edinburgh, Paisley, Birmingham, at Leeds, at Galashiels, at Bath, Bromley, South London, at Bradford, at Middleton, at Aberdane, at York, and at Exeter Hall. Before long, Mr. Adams was every week receiving resolutions and proceedings, to be transmitted with his dispatches to Washington.

He wrote:

There can be no doubt that these manifestations are the genuine expressions of the feelings of the religious, and of the working classes of Great Britain. The political effect of them is not unimportant. Spurgeon, at an assemblage of many thousand people, awoke a heartfelt response by saying: "God bless and strengthen the North! Give victory to their arms, and a speedy end to fearful strife."

Seward transmitted suitable replies, in the President's behalf, to these various communications. He said:

The British nation is coming to understand better the true nature of the question. When our unhappy domestic disturbances began, the position assumed by European States seemed to be that this Government must either suppress the insurrection instantly, or must altogether forego the attempt at self-preservation. Time has brought wholesome instructions to all parties, and it is now beginning to be understood that the real question is, whether a needless, causeless, and ruinous revolution, injurious to all human society, has been effected. When the public mind on both continents comes to consider, it perceives that revolution has been going backward, and the Union going forward, from the very beginning of the civil war.

As to the military situation, he wrote:

March 25.

It is undeniable that the revolutionary paper has depreciated to the standard of five or six dollars for one; that the revolutionary agents are reduced to the necessity of impressing their supplies; and that want and destitution have begun among the people. While these changes have occurred there, the loyal regions are exhibiting an equal change. The Government paper has improved at the rate of forty per cent, and is now being so rapidly absorbed, by the permanent funds, as to leave us no apprehensions of a failure of money, for all needful military and naval operations. The appeals of political parties, in the elections of last autumn, awakened all the doubts, fears, and disloyal passions that were existing in the country; and the display was so great as, for a time, to alarm patriotic men here, while it encouraged the enemies of the country abroad. There is a manifest reaction. It is apparent that the war is devastating and exhausting the insurrectionary regions; while it has not yet affected the resources, or impaired the prosperity of the country.

"Loyal Leagues," and "Union Leagues," were organizing now in the Northern cities. To one in Brooklyn, Seward wrote:

Write out the bond in a bold, broad, unmistakable hand. Let whomsoever will, be they old or young, of either sex, of whatever nation, religion, or race, sign it.

Let each subscriber take a certificate of membership, preserve it with care, and bequeath it, at his death, to whomsoever he loves best. The diploma will grow in value, as years roll away.

To the one in New York, he said:

I pray that my name may be enrolled in that league. I would prefer that distinction to any honors my fellow-citizens could bestow upon me. If the country lives, as I trust it will, let me be remembered among those who labored to save it. If Providence could disappoint the dearest hopes of mankind, let not my name be found among those who proved unfaithful.

In another letter, he wrote:

When Governor Wright of Indiana told me that he was going to Philadelphia to attend a Union League, and asked what he should say to the League for me: "Tell them," I said, "to put my name down on their roll." He replied: "But there are two Union Leagues there; the one thinks this, and is gotten up under such and such auspices; the other thinks that, and is organized by so-and-so. In which of the two will you be enrolled?" "In both of them," was my reply. "We are now at the crisis of a revolutionary contest which involves nothing less than the question whether this nation shall suddenly perish through imbecility, after a successful and glorious existence of eighty years, or whether it shall survive a thousand years, diffusing light, liberty, and happiness throughout the world."

Charles A. Dana, for so many years associated with Mr. Greeley on the *Tribune*, had been called by Secretary Stanton to aid him in the War Department. This year he had been appointed Assistant Secretary of War, and was now rendering patriotic service both at the department and in the saddle, with the Army of the Potomac and the Army of the West.

Of the military situation, Seward wrote:

April 7.

The weather has been such as to preclude all operations in Virginia. Movements at Charleston, if not begun, are imminent.

Private armed vessels are offering themselves to coöperate with the Navy in maintaining sieges and blockades.

April 10.

It is thought expedient that the most direct and energetic measures should be adopted to arrest, by judicial proceedings, the clearance and departure of the hostile vessels built, equipped, and manned in the ports of Great Britain.

This Government has heard with surprise and regret that a loan has been

made, in London, to the insurgents, with conditions of security and payment, openly hostile to the United States; and it has good reason for assuming that most or all of the moneys thus loaned are paid to British subjects for advances in money, labor, arms, military stores, and supplies used in the fitting out of hostile expeditions, in violation of the Queen's proclamation, and of the enlistment acts, as well as of treaties and the law of nations.

In view of these complications, another important step was now taken. Seward wrote that as the laws and proclamations of "neutrality" were not enforced in Great Britain, and as the British Government nevertheless avowed a willingness to enforce them, "provided they are first furnished with evidence, which would probably lead to the conviction of the offenders," it had been decided that "an American lawyer of learning and experience, and yet at the same time distinguished for good temper and courtesy, might be useful to the legation, in its consultations, and also in preparing papers or proofs. With this view William M. Evarts of New York will proceed to London, and place himself in communication with you. Lord Lyons, who has been consulted on the subject, and who manifests a very friendly desire for the removal of the present difficulties, will probably write to Earl Russell in relation to Mr. Evarts."

Mr. Evarts proceeded on this mission and reached London in June. His legal skill and experience were of great service in thwarting attempted violations of the neutrality laws. He remained until the courts had adjourned; the argument in the case of the *Alexandra* going over till November.

Replying to one of Mr. Adams' communications, Seward said:

With reference to Earl Russell's inquiries when the new Congress will come in and when the present Executive Administration will go out, it may be proper for you to let him understand that no Congress and no Administration are likely to come into this capital, which will be less strenuous in favor of the Union or less opposed to admitting foreign intervention. It is true that this people, like every other, are moved by debates concerning the measures and policy of those who are conducting their affairs. But when any party betrays a want of devotion to the integrity of the country, it loses the public confidence. Had this truth been understood in Europe at the first, much deplorable suffering, in both countries, would have been averted.

CHAPTER XXI.

1863.

Visit to the "Army of the Potomac." General Hooker. Falmouth and Fredericksburg. A Huge Encampment. A Night in Camp, and a Day of Reviews. Yorktown. Generals Keyes and King. "Contrabands." Fortress Monroe. General Dix. Hampton. Norfolk. Admiral Lee. The *Minnesota*, and the New Monitors. Battle of Chancellorsville. Operations at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Financial State of the Two Parties. The Work of the State Department. The "Copperheads." "A Fire in the Rear." The Old 19th at Auburn. Lee Advancing Northward Again.

THE Army of the Potomac, in the month of May, lay stretched along the north bank of the Rappahannock. General Hooker was in command and was preparing for a forward movement.

Seward went down for a brief visit to the troops, and a conference with their chief. He invited some of the Diplomatic Corps to accompany him, that they might better understand, and make reports to their Governments concerning the condition of the Army and the magnitude of its operations. A private letter of his son (F. W. S.), describing the trip, said:

Our party consisted of eleven — Baron Gerolt, the Prussian Minister, Baron Grabow, the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Schleiden, the Minister from the Hanseatic Cities, Count Piper, the Swedish Minister, Judge Goodrich, Mr. and Mrs. Peale, and ourselves. The baggage, consisting of carpet-bags, shawls and overcoats, spy-glasses and maps, was packed with us into three carriages, and we proceeded to the Arsenal wharf, over a mile of very rough and muddy road.

At the Arsenal, the guard received us, and Colonel Ramsey, the commandant, was waiting to escort us to the boat. The boat was the *Carrie Martin*, a pretty little steamer, that used formerly to run between New York and Shrewsbury, and is now used as a Government dispatch boat, carrying General Halleck, General Hooker, or the President, when business calls them to or from Washington and the Army. Steam was up, and we set off at once.

We passed down the river inspecting the fleets of schooners and steamers, with which the Potomac is filled now-a-days, Alexandria, Fort Washington, Mount Vernon, where the bell tolled a passing salute, according to the old river custom.

Aquia Creek then came in sight. Here was a busy scene — a fleet of transports at anchor, tugs, and steamers whistling and puffing about — long rows of new unpainted wooden buildings, offices and storehouses on shore, with piles of boxes, bales, and barrels containing ammunition, provisions, muskets, clothing, shot and shell, and all the supplies of a great army. Crowds of soldiers and laborers thronged the wharf; sick men going to the hospital, well ones discharged or furloughed, or returning to duty, officers superintending the shipment of supplies; and all shades and sizes of "contrabands," in all manner of cast-off clothes of everybody else, some at work, some basking in the sun.

The quartermaster, Captain Hall, had a train waiting to take us to Falmouth. The railroad is a military one, and has only freight cars and locomotives. Our train consisted of one of the latter and one of the former, with some wooden benches in it. Upon these we seated ourselves and were whirled rapidly out of Aquia, through cuttings and over embankments and bridges at the rate of forty-five miles an hour. The country presented a strange sight. Not a house, not a fence, not a field, not a bush, or hardly a tree. Everywhere the bare ground, everywhere, on the hills, valleys, and plains, one vast encampment — roads crossing and recrossing each other in every direction, groups of tents, stockades and earthworks, bodies of troops on the march or at drill, droves of mules and horses, long lines of army wagons, squads of cavalry galloping to and fro, sentinels pacing before camp-fires, and soldiers scattered and rambling about everywhere. This was the scene for fifteen miles, which we ran in twenty minutes. Then came another collection of new wooden storehouses. This was Falmouth Station.

We descended from the train, and got into a couple of large ambulances, which took us another half mile through camps, extending apparently without limit, up to General Hooker's head-quarters — a large tent with a small one behind it. The General and his Chief of Staff, General Butterfield, received us very cordially, and made us immediately at home by assigning us a couple of tents near him for our night's quarters. Mr. Peale had brought his camera, and while we were talking photographed the scene.

Then we made an excursion down the river to look across at Fredericksburg. It lay in the shadow, under the hill, looking very quiet, peaceable, and near. It made a fine picture for Mr. Peale — the narrow river in front, then the houses and steeples, with the background of lofty heights rising in the rear, covered with rebel tents and earthworks. On the river bank just below us, paced the Union sentries, and on the other side, just opposite, we could see with distinctness, the rebel sentries, also pacing their rounds. The two were near enough to call to each other across the stream. There is a sort of tacit understanding that the pickets shall not fire at each other, so they did not molest us, although the carriages and the squadron of lancers which accompanied the General as an escort must have attracted attention, for we saw groups of curious observers, like ourselves, gather on the wharves of Fredericksburg, to look at us, and heard them calling one to another, though we could not distinguish the words.

Back to the camp again, through what is left of Falmouth — two houses only — the Lacy house and the Phillips house. There *were* two or three more, which have been destroyed. We supped with the General in his tent, sat and talked till the drum beat for "taps," and then betook ourselves to our tents.

The three ladies had one, the seven gentlemen of the party had the other. The beds were plank-floor, the pillows carpet-bags, the bedclothes army blankets. The night was clear and warm and we slept soundly.

At five o'clock the drums and bugles woke us with the revéillé. Toilets are soon made in camp; and then we strolled through the encampment, and back to breakfast, some with the General and others with officers of his Staff. At

FREDERICKSBURG HELD BY LEE.

GENERAL HOOKER'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

ten o'clock the General had ordered a review of General Sickles' Corps, and columns of infantry, cavalry, and artillery were already assembling. We rode on the field at that hour, and found a magnificent spectacle. The long lines of troops, with flags waving and arms glistening in the sun, stretched more than a mile. A cavalcade of officers accompanied the General, and as they galloped down the line, were received with drums beating, colors saluting, and the thousands of troops cheering. It was an inspiring sight. After the review of the troops, came a review of a wilderness of army wagons and ambulances, covering the plain in long rows as far as the eye could reach. On our way back we asked the General how much space the Army of the Potomac occupied in its encampments. He said that the distance around it was one hundred miles, the distance through it from one side to the other, at least thirty. Beside the army corps which we had seen pass in review, there were three others of equal magnitude, that day marching toward the Rappahannock to make the crossing.

After the review, the general officers of the corps were assembled at headquarters for presentation and conference.

And then we took leave. The train landed us again at Aquia Creek; we reembarked on the *Carrie Martin*, and proceeded down the river. The night was like all the nights of our voyage, bright moonlight, and we spent a good deal of it on the deck.

The next morning, Tuesday, at ten we reached Yorktown. Here General Keyes and General Rufus King came on board to welcome us, and took us on shore with them.

After a salute of fifteen guns, they took us round the fortifications and earthworks — the labors of the two great armies. They are vast in extent, and look impregnable. Then we went to see the great gun fired. The roar was deafening, and we saw the shell thrown from it burst three miles off toward the Chesapeake. Then we went through the town, which consists of but few houses, and no inhabitants, except troops and contrabands. The houses are old and quaint, reminding one of the old houses in Albany. The bricks for several of them were brought from England. Lord Cornwallis' headquarters, Washington's head-quarters, and the Governor's house were pointed out. One was occupied by General Keyes and one by General King. Mrs. Keyes had two or three ladies staying with her — officers' wives and sisters. The General gave us a lunch, and then we went down to the river and across to Gloucester Point, rode around and saw the earthworks and a review of the garrison.

Then back again and found at the wharf a gun-boat of the York river squadron. Captain Gilliss, her commander, took us on board, gave us a salute of fifteen guns, and then a cruise up the river five or six miles, beyond the lines of the Army. Here he experimented with his one hundred-pounder, throwing shot and shell at distant points on the shore. Returning, we fell in with a fleet of oyster boats, and got two or three barrels of the famous York river oysters, one of which we agreed to take to the President.

We took leave of Yorktown at five o'clock, and steamed on down the bay.

Dinner was over, and it was quite late in the evening when we reached Fortress Monroe. Here General Dix and some of his Staff came on board, among them a Prussian officer who had been a *protegé* of Baron Gerolt. We slept on board under the guns of the fort.

The next morning, Wednesday, General Dix took the Secretary of State with him on an excursion to visit the beleaguered post of Suffolk. The rest of us went on shore with Colonel Ludlow and Dr. Gilbert, the Medical Director, to visit the hospitals and the ruins of the village of Hampton. The hospitals are very like those of Washington. Hampton was, before the war, a pretty village, but it was burnt by the rebel General Magruder in 1861. It presents an odd appearance now. The contrabands, who number several thousand, have encamped upon its site. They have cleared away the rubbish, and then, going out into the adjacent swamps, have cut down cypress trees, which, after their fashion, they have split into boards and shingles. With these they have built shanties to live in. Of course, when the old houses were burned the chimneys were left standing. Each of the shanties is ingeniously built around one of these chimneys, and the appearance of a town of such diminutive houses, with such majestic chimneys towering over them, is funny enough. The contrabands were all neatly dressed, cheerful, and comfortable. They are employed by the Government, and receive pay and rations. The most striking ruin is that of the old English church, built before the Revolution, and surrounded with the graves of British officers.

Returning on board, we went over to Norfolk, which we found in much the same condition as last year, only much neater (thanks to military supervision), and with a little more business stirring. There is still a strong Secession feeling there, which was evinced by sour looks and suppressed remarks as we walked through the streets. We called on General Viele, the Military Governor, but did not find him at home. Then we went over the ruins of the Gosport Navy Yard, on the opposite side of the Elizabeth river, and then back to Fortress Monroe. A thunder-storm came up in the evening, but was soon over, and we slept quietly again under the guns of the fort.

Thursday morning we went ashore and paid a visit to the fortress. It is a strong and imposing fortification, mounting hundreds of guns, and embracing seventy acres within its massive stone walls. It is the largest single work in this country. Inside, the trees, the green grass, gravel walks, and neat houses give it the appearance of a summer watering-place rather than a fort. We were received with the salute of the usual fifteen guns, then visited General Dix's head-quarters; then returned on board the *Carrie Martin*, and went over to the Rip-Raps. This is a stone fortification constructed on a small island, and covering the whole of it. The walls are several feet thick, and the whole affair, island, fort, and all, looks as if it was carved in stone. There is no room for a blade of grass to grow. It is unfinished, and the workmen are still engaged on it. The ship channel runs between it and Fortress Monroe, so that whatever passes will be exposed to the fire of both.

Then we next steamed five or six miles up the James river to visit Admiral Lee's fleet, lying above Newport News Point. The Admiral received us on

board his flag-ship, the *Minnesota*, with the usual salute. After passing through her decks and looking at her heavy armament, we went on board the *Lehigh*, one of the new monitors in the squadron, and viewed her turret, her little pilot-house, her monster gun, her compact cabins under water, etc., etc. You have read descriptions of these vessels. The ingenuity and strength they display seem even more striking when seen so closely. The *Sangamon*, the *Galena*, and the *Ossipee* are also in the squadron. We did not go on board of them, but exchanged salutes by dipping ensigns and waving hats as we sailed past them. Then we ran into Norfolk to take in a supply of coal, thence back to the fort; and so ended another day.

The next morning, Friday, at sunrise, we started on our way home. It was a clear, cloudless day; the bay as calm as a lake, and the air like summer. We devoted the entire day to the cruise up the Chesapeake and the Potomac through hundreds of vessels.

Once we passed through a fleet of forty schooners under full sail, all moving in the same direction and near together, the white sails glistening in the moonlight; and shortly after through another fleet of fifty more, riding, black and silent, at anchor. The clock struck ten as we debarked once more at the Arsenal wharf.

Now came the news of the result at Chancellorsville. The advance of the Army of the Potomac had again been checked. Seward wrote:

May 19.

In reviewing the movement of General Hooker across the Rappahannock all critics approve of the plan, and admit that it was reasonably expected to be successful. Thus far there is no intelligent agreement upon the cause of the failure. Certainly it was not for the want of men, material, or courage on the part of the Army. The War Department will not fail of its duty in reorganizing and renewing this important portion of the campaign.

Meantime it is consolatory to know that the losses and damage are not disastrous, and that the result seems to have neither demoralized the troops nor discouraged the country.

The intelligence from the valley of the Mississippi continues favorable thus far. Large portions of Louisiana and Mississippi have been reclaimed. The recent effective movements of our cavalry arm are giving us a surprise, pleasing and full of promise.

You will not fail to notice the growing confidence of the public in the national finances. The sales of Government stocks at par now reach the figure of ten million weekly.

In contrast with this improvement of the public credit, it is now discerned that the insurgents are actually driven to the importation of bread for their armies from Europe through the hazards of the blockade. It is not easy to perceive how a purely agricultural country can long carry on a war, when it has to import not only its material of war, but its provisions; while it puts its governing population into the armies, and has continually to guard against the desertion or resistance of its laborers. The best negro laborers are now sold

in Georgia at two thousand dollars each, insurrectionary currency — equal, it is supposed, to five hundred dollars national currency. Before the war, their value was three times greater.

Important marches and protracted sieges engage the attention of the Government and of the country, and the Government is performing its painful duty with no abatement of energy, and no diminution of confidence.

A war lasting so long and spreading over so vast a territory and so long a line of coast was naturally prolific of ingenious and daring commercial ventures. The vessels and men engaged in them, if successful, loudly boasted of their connection with the rebels, but when intercepted and captured, declared themselves "neutrals" and claimed foreign protection. An infinite variety of questions arose, and the shelves of the Department of State, to this day, groan under the burden of the documents and discussions to which they gave rise. Seward's table was loaded with these piles of papers, and his time engrossed in their consideration. Many of the cases arising under novel conditions of modern warfare were without any precedent to govern their decision. Unusual activity and unwonted industry pervaded the Washington legations of all the maritime powers. The attachés of the British legation, especially, found themselves as busy as hard-working attorney's clerks. A dozen communications a day would frequently pass between the legation and the department. There were vessels unlawfully detained on suspicion of running the blockade; vessels lawfully captured in attempting to run it; rebel cruisers receiving aid and comfort in colonial ports; Federal cruisers in the same ports denied ordinary courtesy; rebel ships escaping the vigilance of British authorities; British ships complaining of the surveillance of American ones; prisoners wanting to be released on taking the oath of allegiance; prisoners taking it and breaking it as soon as released; seamen claiming exemption because they were British subjects; claims of shipowners for damages; rebel letters, intercepted dispatches, vessels wrongly seized, or rightly seized but wrongly dealt with; customs regulations not in accordance with treaties; customs decisions not in accordance with facts; duties that ought to be refunded; duties that ought not to be collected; foreign subjects claiming exemption from draft; enlisted soldiers claiming release as "foreigners" after having spent their bounty money; officers arrested as spies, and spies escaping as clergymen; rifles shipped as farming implements, and gunpowder as white lead; rebel munitions of war claiming to be arms for the Indians; and treasonable documents pretending to be Bibles for the heathen.

Sometimes a single seizure would give rise to half a dozen different questions. The names of the *Peterhoff*, the *Dolphin*, the *Blanche*,

the *Telegraph*, the *Sunbeam*, and others, recur again and again in the correspondence of successive months — while the *Laird Rams*, the *Florida* and *Alabama* came up, in one shape or another, by every foreign mail. The Queen's proclamation of belligerent rights was regarded at the South as a most convenient screen for rebel enterprise.

Every month that the war lasted, and every defeat of the Army, tended to increase the number of those in the North who were thwarting the operations of the Government. These had already received the unenviable name of "Copperheads." This summer they had gained in numbers and boldness, and besides their private machinations, were openly, through the newspapers, at public meetings, and in legislative halls, opposing enlistments, encouraging deserters, and counseling resistance to the draft. Military arrests, trials and imprisonments, or banishment of some of the leaders, were followed by "indignation meetings," and fresh public excitement. The President, replying to a communication on this subject, remarked: "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert. I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy. * * * I think the time not unlikely to come when I shall be blamed for having made too *few* arrests, rather than too many."

A proof of the truth of this was seen in the fact that, emboldened by their immunity, the "Copperheads" were now actively at work to gain control of conventions of the Democratic party. At the outset of the war, the loyalty of "War Democrats" had vied with that of Republicans. In the ranks, as well as in high public positions, civil and military, Democrats were sharing with Republicans the labors and dangers of the struggle. But among the "stay-at-homes" the "Copperhead" orator found many ready to listen to his plausible appeal to old party prejudices.

Hitherto the Administration had been gaining ground, wresting, territory little by little from the hands of the insurgents. But while gaining at the South, it was menaced with a "fire in the rear" at the North. It had been beaten in the elections, in several important States, and, if again similarly defeated in the coming fall, it might be forced to abandon the contest.

Seward was at Auburn in May, for a brief visit, when the "Old Nineteenth," the first regiment from Cayuga county, having completed its term of service, returned home. Joining in the welcome to the veterans, he addressed them, at their request, from the court-house steps. Among other things he said:

I looked with pride at that flag of yours, when its colors were fresh and bright. I regard it now with a thousand times more of pride and satisfaction, when I see it worn and dimmed, and torn, but bearing in legible inscriptions between the stripes, the names of fields bravely contested and nobly won. This country has seen eight hundred thousand men rush to confront the public enemy, and this town, of fifteen thousand souls, has sent out four thousand, of whom you are the first installment which has returned. Among the eight hundred thousand, as well as the four thousand, there was not one coward, nor one traitor.

Of those who stay at home, many as loyal and brave as their compatriots in the field, are prevented by sickness, infirmity, and age, from joining the ranks, and others have duties not less important than those of the field. These study how to sustain, cheer, encourage, and reinforce their country's armies.

But besides these, and among them, mingled with them, as the tares with the wheat, are all the cowards, all the traitors that the community has; and it has such, because all communities are human, and vice, as well as virtue, inheres in humanity.

In this large assemblage which has come out to greet you, both these classes are found. We cannot distinguish the one from the other. By their actions hereafter, they shall be known. Those who are wise and virtuous will be found urging you to return to the field, and persevere until the battle is won, and will spare no pains, going themselves, if possible, to recruit the ranks.

Those who are otherwise will be found still caviling about the causes of the war; about the responsibilities of its unavoidable defeats; about the distribution of honors for the victories gloriously won; they will be found accumulating treasure with one hand, and storing it away from the tax gatherer with the other; that they may enjoy it after the patriotism and heroism of better men than themselves, have secured the triumph which will enable them to enjoy it in safety.

To the young men around me, I have to say, it is for you to choose to which of these two classes of the community you will attach yourselves. If you think more of your lives, more of your fortunes, more of your personal expectations, than you think of your country, your salutations are a mockery; and the sight of these war-worn veterans ought to strike you with confusion.

Meanwhile another crisis was approaching in both the Mississippi and the Potomac campaigns. The summer days were filled with military movements and counter movements of the gravest importance. Seward wrote:

The *Fingal*, which during her long imprisonment at Savannah, had been converted into an iron-clad ship-of-war, was last week captured by two of our iron-clad ships, on attempting to leave the port.

The sieges of Vicksburg and Port Hudson are continued as yet without decisive result.

June 16.

There has been a change on the line in Virginia. Lee has moved westward from Fredericksburg, and General Hooker's Army has, of course, changed position and attitude. But the object of Lee's strategy is not yet developed.

CHAPTER XXII.

1863.

Lee Invading Maryland and Pennsylvania. Discontent and Faction in the North. Uncertainty About the Enemy's Plans. Meade in Command of the Army of the Potomac. The Battle of Gettysburg. The Fall of Vicksburg. Port Hudson. Popular Rejoicings. Threats of New Schemes of Intervention. The Draft Riots in New York. Their Suppression. Colored Soldiers.

DURING this period of doubt and suspense, Seward wrote to his wife and daughter:

WASHINGTON, *June* 8, 1863.

I was a day in New York looking after public affairs, coming home heated and wearied.

There is no ground known here for the extravagant reports of surprises from the Rappahannock. But the season for activity has come, and we may expect any thing rather than immobility. It is certain that the opposition party are preparing to take advantage of popular weariness of the war, and to convert impatience into any kind of scheme to recover lost power, at the sacrifice of the great principles which are staked in the contest, and even of the Union itself.

This can probably be stayed only by successes of the armies of the Union. I look for them with much confidence, but they cannot be forced; and if God refuse them to us, we must bear, with firmness and patience, the decline of public virtue, which is national death.

Thus far all our reports from the Mississippi are as favorable as could be expected.

June 11.

You are quite right about the effect of distance upon the sensibility to alarm. When I was at Auburn the newspaper rumors of dangers here and everywhere held me in constant uneasiness. Here we know how many of them are groundless, and habit accustoms us and makes us indifferent to them. Certainly the last thing that any one here thinks of, now-a-days, is an invasion of Washington. On the contrary, gathering clouds of discontent and faction in the North bring us warnings of conspiracies there to surrender the great cause to a domestic enemy, that he may betray it to foreign powers. A nation, like a family, is never safe when it once suffers itself to fall into discord. I should often despair of our country from this cause alone, if I did not know that nations, like individual men, are necessary persons called into being for great and good purposes, and appointed by Providence to live through many dangers, rather than to perish amid the accidents which befall them on every side.

June 15.

General Lee has, as you will have already learned, crossed the Rappahannock; and the military operations are now to open in our immediate vicinity. You will not infer that there is any increase of danger for any of us in this

change. We were sufficiently near to suffer by possible defeats when the war was on the south side of the Rappahannook. The near approach of battles toward us brings disadvantages to the enemy, and adds to our strength.

There is a consolation for me, however, in knowing that the women and small children whom God has placed under my care are, in so large proportion, so far from all the scenes of strife.

June 19.

I do not wonder that the newspapers and telegraph have bewildered and alarmed you. They have affected, in the same way, many people of stronger nerves and better facilities for correcting their judgments.

It was only known late last week that Lee's Army had changed position with an aggressive purpose. They practically hid themselves out of our sight and beyond reach of our scouts. It was to be expected that they would strike somewhere, but no one could foresee where. Only one thing was a subject of calculation: namely, that they would not strike at the point of which they should give indications. It seems strange that an army should be able to veil itself so completely from its antagonists. Yet this is war, and it is illustrated in every campaign, in every conflict. There is, in such a case, only one thing to be done by the opposing army. This is, to prepare, as far as possible, resistance at every point, without dividing or impairing the massed force. This is what we did. Having done this, we could sit down calmly and form a judgment about the imminence and the extent of our danger. In determining this, it was easy to accept two considerations. First, that the danger is neither so imminent nor so great as the threatening enemy expects; because it is difficult for any enemy to bring the vigor of his movements up to that of his designs; and, secondly, that the danger is neither so great nor so imminent as the popular apprehension would indicate. These reflections are already being justified. But I can tell you, even now, nothing that you and all the world do not know, about the design of the enemy, or the probabilities of its success. We do not yet know where he is. On the other hand, we are, as *I* do not doubt, stronger than he and better able to defeat him than he to subjugate us. I do not think he will attempt Washington. But this is only my conjecture. Any defect in our military position, not fully known to or understood by me, might show this is an error.

Civil war is often long, tedious, and apparently uncertain. But the Government gains by time, and, if the strongest, it must be expected to prevail. Accidents and errors may militate against it, indeed. But accidents and errors occur about equally on both sides. I will confess to you, that I am more anxious about the operations on the Mississippi than about those at home. Courage, constancy, and coolness are the necessary virtues now.

June 25.

If my notes travel no faster than yours, they will be of little use by way of comfort or instruction, in regard to the condition of military affairs. We do not yet certainly know here what is the plan of the insurgents' campaign. Feints are even more common than direct demonstrations in war. We think, however, that we are prepared for whatever may be attempted against us.

Our Army is in excellent position, and all military men agree that the enterprise of the insurgents is a very hazardous one. We are pained by the want of union and harmony which we see in Pennsylvania. But we must bear this, for it is a part of experience in every civil war. Civil war is the excessive outgrowth of domestic faction; and that fatal fruit discloses itself on every bough, and is not confined to one or more of the branches.

Our reports from the Mississippi appear favorable.

My foreign affairs, I think, are in good plight. You may find it amusing to read my note to Mr. Drouyn de l'Huys on the Polish question. It is brought back into English from a French translation. The original English has never been printed. I do not think that two translations have improved it.

June 30.

It would not be wise for you to borrow much trouble from the military movements of the hour, which, even here, are imperfectly understood, and which must be infinitely unintelligible to you, through the crosslights of the press. The enemy is in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Our Army is now in his front there. Probably there will be a battle. The enemy's advance so far into our country shows a courage which ought to have some ground of confidence. We do not know what that ground is. On our side are advantages which seem sufficient to insure success. We must wait for results. Meantime, the alarms and disturbances which are taking place around us here are of no significance. They are produced by unimportant straggling or scouting parties, who disappear as soon as they encounter a party of the same sort sent out from our side.

On Sunday we rode up to the fort, found William, with all his men at their guns, awaiting the approach of the rebels, who had just seized the wagon train eight miles above the fort. Of course, they did not come, and by this time they had returned to their hiding places.

Miss Cushman and her niece (Mrs. Cushman) are yet with us and I hope are enjoying their visit. The Cabinet and the military here are calm and undisturbed. We are hoping to hear of definite results in the West.

In his circular to Ministers, he said:

June 29.

Our official information represents the sieges of Port Hudson and Vicksburg as going on successfully.

Two of the three corps of the insurgent army lately encamped on the Rappahannock, have forded the upper Potomac, and are in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The position of the third corps is not certainly known. General Hooker has been relieved and is replaced by General Meade, who enjoys the confidence of the Army and the War Department. He is moving vigorously, and judging from present appearances, a meeting of the two armies is likely to occur in Pennsylvania, or on the border of Maryland. You will have heard much of cavalry raids, and other subordinate movements of the two armies, but thus far unfruitful of any important results.

Responding to a Fourth of July invitation from Boston, he wrote:

You are right. Keep the sacred fire alive in Faneuil Hall. Though it glimmers, and seems to go out in Richmond and New Orleans, it will yet revive there, and everywhere else throughout the land.

Secession is dependence—dependence first on faction at home, and afterward on foreign powers across the Atlantic. Oppose it with Independence!

With the anniversary of the nation's birth, came the collision of armies which was to determine its life or death. His letters to his wife and daughter said:

July 4.

Since my last letter to you, General Lee's plans have been fully developed. We have found him in Pennsylvania, with the object of levying war there, and, if challenged, then to give battle for Baltimore and this capital. We have called the militia of Pennsylvania, with assistance from New York and New England, to check the rebels on the Susquehanna, and have sent the Army of the Potomac up to arrest them at Gettysburg. A total rout like that of Bull Run would have left this capital very much exposed. People have apprehended just such a rout, just in the degree that they are demoralized.

It was not reasonable to anticipate such a result, and, therefore, we have not been alarmed. We are now at the crisis of the movement. We have had pitched battles, continuing throughout three days; and the report, at eight o'clock last night, was that the advantage was with our Army. The battle, if to be continued, will probably be fought to the end to-day. It would be idle for me here to speculate upon what must become certain, and definitely known within a few hours after the sending of my letter. In no case will it be well for you to borrow deep anxiety. The chances are largely in favor of the Union forces, in any stage of the conflict, and God is over all.

Would that our countrymen could become wise enough to give their unhesitating support to the Government, and bring the war to a speedy and safe conclusion!

July 6.

The two opposing armies in Pennsylvania are understood to be about equal in numbers. Seven corps constitute the Army of the Potomac, while the insurgent forces are divided in three corps. On Wednesday, the two advanced United States corps unexpectedly encountered two of the insurgent corps, north-west of Gettysburg, and a severe conflict ensued, which resulted in a withdrawal of our forces to a favorable position in the rear of the town, where they threw up defenses, and were joined by other portions of the Army, during the night and morning.

On Thursday, the whole insurgent army, being in line, offered battle, which was accepted. It continued throughout Thursday and Friday. It was unquestionably the most sanguinary conflict of the war, and resulted in the withdrawal of the insurgents from the field, on the morning of Saturday, the 4th. Their retreat toward the Potomac began on that night, and was continued at the last advices. Our cavalry is harassing the retiring enemy.

July 9.

The steamers of the 4th and 8th have carried to Europe intelligence of the defeat of General Lee, in three pitched battles, equaling in the magnitude of forces, and surpassing in severity, the conflicts of Waterloo and Solferino. The defeated army, however, was not destroyed nor captured.

The fall of Vicksburg, on the 4th of July, undoubtedly to be followed soon by the fall of Port Hudson, must completely revolutionize the contest on the Mississippi. Our land and naval forces, relieved from the labor of protracted sieges, become a movable power, adequate to the practical restoration of commerce through the center of our territory, from our northern boundary to the Gulf of Mexico.

Indications already appear that the work of dissolution is begun in the Confederacy. Practically it has lost all the States west of the Mississippi, and is confined to the Atlantic States south of Cape Henry, and the Gulf States. Its capacity to raise new levies, and new armies, if not exhausted, is greatly diminished.

General rejoicing greeted the news from Gettysburg, and Vicksburg, with salutes, illuminations, meetings and serenades. Called to his window by one of the latter, on Tuesday evening, Seward made brief response, in which, he said that at the outset, when it became clear that civil war was inevitable, he thought it his duty "to take care that the war should be begun, not by the friends of the Union, but by its enemies," and subsequently "to render the war as light in its calamities, and as short in its duration as possible." Therefore, it was, he had wanted to retain as many as possible of the border States, "to combine the loyal States into one party for the Union, for I knew that disunion had effectually combined the people of the disloyal States." Then, when the contest had actually begun, he was "prepared to demand that no treasure, no amount of human life necessary to save the nation's life should be withheld." It could only be ended by showing so much zeal, determination, and consistency as would keep foreign nations aloof from the battle. We had failed to make that exhibition, and so the war had been protracted into its third year, through fears and listlessness among portions of the people at home and hostile influences abroad. "But," he said, "we have reached, I think, the culminating point at last; we have ascertained the amount of sacrifice which is necessary to save the Union, and the country is prepared to make it." Remarking that as they had "seen thirteen stars of this glorious constellation shoot, in blood and fire, from their spheres," they were now to "see each one of those stars coming back from its wandering," and take its place in the firmament "to fall from thence no more forever." "But," he added, "do not go away with the impression that all those things are to come

to pass without further duty and further sacrifice. The Union is to be saved, after all, only by human efforts — by the efforts of the people. These efforts are to be made in two forms — you must *vote* for the Union through all discouragements and complaints, and you must *fight* for the Union, never giving ground."

He wrote home:

July 9.

The battles at Gettysburg were the severest of the war — perhaps the severest that ever were fought. They closed without the breaking up of the assailing army.

It retired, and although it suffered in the retreat, it is still a strong army, retaining its infernal enginery of destruction. It has reached Hagerstown, near the fords of the Potomac. But the floods have risen, and the fords are drowned. It is arraying itself now to receive an attack. Our Army has been reorganized since the conflicts at Gettysburg. Its great losses there have been repaired by reinforcements from Baltimore, Washington, Harrisburg, and other points, so that, in numbers, it is probably greater than it was when it met the enemy; and I think exceeds his rank and file. The reinforcements, material, and supplies are arriving with much difficulty over obstructed roads.

We are without fear. But you know how we reason ourselves into confidence, notwithstanding battles so often disappoint the best calculations. The intelligence from the West is inspiring, and the nation has much ground to hope.

In his dispatches of the following week, he adverted to the increased and increasing strength of the Union forces:

July 11.

Our naval force is steadily and rapidly increasing. The Navy has already in actual service forty-four thousand men. New, better, and more effective steamships, iron-clads, as well as others, are coming from the docks, and we do not distrust our ability to defend ourselves in our harbors and on the high seas, even if we must unhappily be precipitated, through injustice in Europe, into a foreign war.

The fall of Vicksburg releases a large naval force for effective service, while the free navigation of the Mississippi will restore to us our accustomed facilities for foreign commerce. The same great event relieves the Army of General Grant, which numbers one hundred thousand men, from the labors of a siege, and gives us movable columns for the war. The capture of Vicksburg, the occupation of Tullahoma, and the defeat of the insurgents in Pennsylvania are the achievements of the campaign proposed last autumn. The Army which has performed them is still strong and effective. It will now be reinforced, easily and cheerfully by the people, with an addition of three hundred thousand men.

On the other hand, the insurgents have, within the last month, sustained an aggregate loss of fifty thousand men, which, I think, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to replace.

July 14.

We have advices from Port Hudson of the 8d. The siege was then vigorously maintained, and reinforcements, if thought necessary, have since been supplied by General Grant.

The 8th of July gave us our last intelligence from Vicksburg, and it enables me to correct some of the details of the results of the capitulation contained in my recent telegram. More than twenty-seven thousand prisoners had already been paroled, and the task was not yet completed. There were found in various parts of the city, concealed and otherwise, sixty-six thousand stand of small arms. The whole amount of ordnance captured, including siege and sea-coast guns, exceeded two hundred. The supply of ammunition surpasses belief. It would have sufficed for six years of defense. The military stores are estimated at $5,000,000, insurrectionary currency.

General Sherman was in pursuit of Johnson's forces.

Lee's Army has retreated before General Meade, and is now understood to be compactly posted near the fords of the Potomac, and wholly lies between the banks of that river and the Union Army.

But while the enemy in front was thus checked and repulsed, the antagonism in the rear was growing stronger. There were murmurs of discontent about the draft; and there were ominous signs of another attempt at foreign intervention. He wrote:

July 13.

Europe waited patiently for the end of a siege of eleven months, at Sebastopol; and a year for a like operation, in Mexico. Forty-five days' delay at Vicksburg, and a similar delay at Port Hudson, have proved too severe an exaction upon the magnanimity of parties in Europe, who desire the ruin of the United States. At the moment when I write, the scene in this country has altogether changed. Vicksburg, with all its defenders and material, has fallen at last into our possession. Rosecrans has driven the insurgents of Tennessee within the interior lines. The Army of the Potomac has retrieved its fortunes and prestige. Charleston is again under siege of iron-clads. Our Army is being renewed by a levy of three hundred thousand men, which will swell the aggregate to eight hundred thousand, while the insurgent forces are manifestly very much diminished.

While this is the exact condition of affairs in America, we have warnings, apparently authentic, of a purpose on the part of the Emperor of the French to employ all his influence to procure a recognition of the insurgents by other powers; and failing in this, to proceed alone in that injurious policy. We hear also of a debate upon recognition in the British Parliament.

There is some popular disturbance at New York, arising out of the draft. The journals going out by to-morrow's steamers will give you, probably, the full development of the movement.

The draft commenced in New York on Monday morning. Before the day was over, resistance to it began. The outbreak rapidly took on the form of riots and bloodshed. Anarchy prevailed, and a reign

of terror set in that lasted several days. Peaceable citizens barricaded themselves in their houses. Means of egress from the city were cut off; the mob having seized ferry-boats and railways.

Every hour brought tidings of some new atrocity — the shooting of public officers, the burning of hospitals, asylums, and private houses, the murder of unoffending negroes, and indiscriminate pillage.

At the outset, the authorities were powerless. The police force was untiring, but inadequate to cope with the mob. No military force was available; for all troops in the city had been hurried forward to take part in the campaigns. As soon as intelligence of the state of affairs reached Washington, orders were issued, countermanding the movements of regiments near at hand. Troops began to come into the city. With their help, the police again restored order, and made numerous arrests of rioters. By Saturday night, the streets were again peaceful; and ample military precautions had been taken to prevent any recurrence of the troubles.

Seward wrote home:

July 17.

It was unnecessary for me to write to you, when the clouds that were hanging so angrily over the capital, and indeed over the whole country, so suddenly broke away, and admitted the bright and warm rays of the sun. I thought of you, and sat myself down to compose a Presidential call upon the people, for thanksgiving, prayer and praise to our Heavenly Father. I think you must have read in it and under it, what I think and how I feel.

It is not yet certain that we passed a crisis in Europe, before the intelligence of our victories — which alone can make us feared, and therefore respected there — reached the capitals of the Old World. I am most apprehensive, always, as you know, of foreign complications, while we are passing through these dreadful domestic dangers. The next steamer will tell us all; and if there was no precipitate action in London and Paris, we shall go safely through. If there has been injury done us there, then I pray God that my country may summon up courage to meet the new dange .

You will think that the recent disturbances in New York and elsewhere discourage that hope. I think differently. The thunder shower will clear the political skies, of the storms which the demon of faction has been gathering up a long time.

I hope that what has now occurred will satisfy you, that I was not unwise, in endeavoring to conduct the slavery debate, last year, with so much caution, as to avoid giving an occasion to the enemies of the country to arm, and bring out to their side, the faction that hates men for the marks which God has set upon them to commend them to our pity and our care.

July 21.

I have stolen an hour from the office to attend the wedding of Baron Gerolt's daughter, and I return to find your letter.

I wish indeed that you and Fanny were here with me, where you could at least be free from the brutal annoyances of faction. It is a painful discovery that we make in these times of revolutionary excitement, how much there is of ignorance and cruelty yet remaining, in the society that seems to us, when it is undisturbed, improving, and thoroughly peaceful and forbearing, if not just. Do not give yourself a thought about the house. There will hardly be any body desperate enough to do you personal harm, and if the country, in its unwonted state of excitement, will destroy our home, the sacrifice will be a small one for our country, and not without benefit.

July 25.

I hope that your alarm has passed by. If it recurs, you will do well to join us here, and leave what we have, to be a propitiation to faction.

This is a great war, but not disproportionate to the issue or to the nation. It is for humanity — and we have twenty millions of people. Every day since the war broke out we have drawn on the people for a thousand men, and they have gone to the field. We want three hundred thousand now, as we trust, to end the war. The call comes upon the masses, when they have not been preparing for it. This is not new. The same difficulty has occurred in other forms at every step. But the nation is great, brave, and generous.

All will go on well, and though not without the hindrance of faction at every step, yet it will go through to the right and just end.

How differently the nation has acted, thus far in the crisis, from what it did in 1850 to 1860!

Courage and faith are not deficient yet, nor will they fail.

During the week, he wrote to the Ministers abroad:

The insurgent army under Lee is either stationary or moving in the valley of the Shenandoah. The Army of the Potomac, under General Meade, is in Virginia, observing the proceedings of the insurgents.

The unconditional surrender of Port Hudson was communicated to you by telegraph. General Sherman's pursuit of Johnson through Jackson, in Mississippi, is reported as having been crowned with important results.

We hear that the raid of Morgan into Indiana and Ohio is resulting disastrously to the insurgents. The movements of the national forces, in approaching Chattanooga, are vigorous and thus far successful.

The riot in New York developed features which impair, at least, for the moment, its political effect. It yielded to the presence, rather than to the power, of military force; which was promptly gathered there by the War Department.

There are apprehensions of a renewal of such resistance, when the execution of the draft shall be resumed; and a sympathy with the resisters reveals itself in some other cities and towns. I think, however, that by a firm, yet prudent course, further disturbance will be averted, the law of Congress will be executed, and the national authority fully maintained.

Congress had, at last, decided to permit colored men to fight for the Union, but as yet would only allow them $10 a month, and no

bounty. Replying to a letter of inquiry from one of their number, Seward wrote:

You argue that colored men are asked to take an inferior position as soldiers, and you desire to know what, in my opinion, is the duty of colored men in this case? I answer without any waste of time. The duty of the colored man to defend his country, whenever, and wherever, and in whatever form the country needs him, is the same with that of the white man. It does not depend on, nor is it affected by, what the country pays us, or what position she assigns us, but it depends on her need alone, and of that, she, not we, are to judge. The true way to secure her rewards and win her confidence is, not to stipulate for them, but to deserve them. Factious disputes among patriots about compensation and honors, inevitably betray any people, of whatever race, into bondage. If you wish your race to be delivered from that curse, this is the time to secure their freedom in every land and for all generations. It is no time to be hesitating about pay or place.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1863.

Great Britain and the Intervention Schemes. Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Claims. The Russo-American Telegraph. Roebuck's Motion in Parliament. The *Alexandra* Case. A Protest. The Emperor Proposing to Recognize the Confederacy. A Hostile Alliance. A Check. Baron Gros's Opinion. M. Mercier's Assurances. A *Resume* of the Year for Foreign Cabinets to Consider.

FROM over the sea came news both good and bad. Parliament and the press of Great Britain had various opinions in regard to the American contest. Those who sided with the Union were growing in numbers, and their increase was aided by every victory in the field, as well as every step toward emancipation. But those who sided with the Confederates, if not growing in numbers, were increasing in boldness and ingenuity.

On all other subjects than the war, Seward found the British Government wise, just, and reasonable. His plans for suppressing the slave trade had received prompt and hearty concurrence. He was now proposing the abrogation of an old source of international discord — the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies, to lands and property south of the forty-ninth parallel on the north-western frontier. A treaty for their final settlement was signed by him and Lord Lyons at the department on the 1st of July. It provided for two commissioners to examine the evidence and adjust

the account between the two nations. Seward selected Judge Alexander S. Johnson of Albany, as the commissioner on the part of the United States. Sir John Rose was selected on the part of Great Britain. The two commissioners met at Washington. They were empowered to refer to an umpire any points on which they could not agree. No such need arose, however, for their views and judgment were in accord. In the course of a few weeks they made their formal award and finally settled the vexed question.

Another north-western question calling for joint action was the project of a telegraph line via Behring's Straits.

Seward wrote to Mr. Adams:

> You are probably aware that Mr. P. McD. Collins, the commercial agent of the United States at the Amoor river, on the Pacific, has, for several years past, been engaged in negotiations with the Russian Government, with the view to the construction of a line of telegraph between St. Petersburg and his post on the Amoor; thence to the Russian settlements in America by the way of Behring's Straits; and thence southward across British America to San Francisco.
>
> In a dispatch from St. Petersburg of the 18th, Mr. Collins represents that he had brought his negotiations to a satisfactory close, and was about starting for London in order to make arrangements with Great Britain for the transit of the line through British territory. He asks that he may have your assistance in the matter. This you are authorized and directed to give.

In Parliament, the movement for recognition of the rebels was advocated, on the ground that the Emperor of the French was going to recognize them, with or without the concurrence of the British Government. Mr. Adams, in sending a report of the debates, summed them up by saying:

> Mr. Roebuck's extraordinary attempt to influence the action of the House by the use of the authority of the Emperor of the French has had the consequences which might naturally be expected by any one acquainted with the English character. Thus it happened that Mr. Roebuck, though addressing an assembly, a great portion of whom sympathized with him in his object, demolished his cause; whilst on the other hand, Mr. Bright, even whilst running counter to the predisposition of most of his hearers, succeeded in extorting general admiration of his convincing reply. But though the fate of Mr. Roebuck's motion was sealed that evening, it is not to be inferred that there is not a steady increase of the disposition in high quarters to take some action in favor of the rebels.

A notable case came on at Westminster in June. The *Alexandra* had been seized while fitting out for the rebels. The Lord Chief Baron not only charged the jury strongly in favor of the defendants,

but went out of his way to give an opinion in a case not before him — that of the *Alabama*. "It appears to me," he said, "that if true that the *Alabama* sailed away from Liverpool without any arms at all as a mere ship in ballast, and that her armament was put on board at Terceira, which is not in Her Majesty's dominions, then the Foreign Enlistment Act was not violated at all." The jury returned a verdict as instructed, and there was great exultation in Confederate circles.

On receiving the intelligence of it, Seward addressed a dispatch to Mr. Adams, in which he remarked that if the rulings of the Chief Baron were to be accepted as regulating the action of Her Majesty's Government, the United States would be left "without any guaranty whatever against the indiscriminate employment of capital in building, arming and equipping, and sending forth ships of war from British ports to make war against the United States." Protesting against this, and pointing out that the United States, "with a statute exactly similar," had always prevented any such injuries aimed at Great Britain, he proceeded to consider the remedy. "There will be left for the United States no alternative but to protect themselves and their commerce against armed cruisers proceeding from British ports as against the naval forces of a public enemy." A national navy was rapidly organizing, and if this should prove insufficient for the emergency, then resort must be had to privateers. He added, "if through the necessary employment of all our means of national defense such a partial war shall become a general one between the two nations, the responsibility for that painful result will not fall upon the United States."

In another dispatch, he said:

> We find that we are drifting, notwithstanding our most earnest and vigorous resistance, toward a war with Great Britain.
>
> Our commerce on the high seas is perishing under the devastation of ships of war that are sent out, for that purpose, from British coasts by British subjects, and we hear of new and more formidable armaments of that kind designed even to dislodge us from the occupation of insurgent ports, and to burn and destroy our principal cities.
>
> I would, if I could, shut out from consideration another element which enters into the case. We have the personal authority of the Emperor of the French for the fact that he has announced to Great Britain that he is willing to follow, if Great Britain will lead the way, in recognizing the insurgents. To give such a recognition, under the circumstances, would be to them a demonstration more potential than a fleet or an army, while it would authoritatively sanction the piratical enterprises, which even, when disavowed by Great Britain, are proving intolerable. Virtually, therefore, France invites Great Britain to an alliance offensive and injurious to the United States.

Commenting upon this proposed alliance, he said:

African Slavery has risen up to overthrow a Government the most equal and just that has ever been established among men. The United States refuse to be destroyed or divided. It is not easy on this side of the Atlantic to conceive how such a civil war can be looked upon with favor in Europe.

Nevertheless, it was apparent that Great Britain and France were favoring the insurrection, and the French Emperor, going one step further, was requiring the admission of the insurgent "Confederacy" into the family of nations. The ground upon which that extraordinary proceeding was based was, "that it would tend to bring an unhappy civil war to a close." "Herein," said Seward, "His Imperial Majesty widely misconstrues the character of the American people." The people of the United States "desire peace, but they would neither accept a peace that the proposed combination would offer them, nor acquiesce in it if it were possible to force it upon them."

Happily the fortune of war had again turned in favor of the Union, and Seward's arguments and protests received substantial backing, in the news of Gettysburg and Vicksburg. The result was narrated in a dispatch to Mr. Dayton:

Confidential information has been received from London, that Baron Gros, the French Ambassador at the Court of Great Britain, has recently expressed his opinion that the Emperor of the French would soon renew the proposition to the British Government, to recognize the rebel authorities; and, in case the Ministry should decline to move, he would then proceed alone. I wrote in my last dispatch, that the condition of military affairs here is such as to warrant a belief that, even if His Majesty has entertained such a design, he would relinquish it.

I now add that, after hearing the news of the defeat of the insurgents at Gettysburg, and the surrender of Vicksburg, M. Mercier called on me, and congratulated me upon the events, and declared, without reserve, that he regarded these disasters as fatal to the insurrection. He tendered me his good offices, to the extent of suggesting to his Government that they should cause the insurgents to understand they could no longer look to it for recognition.

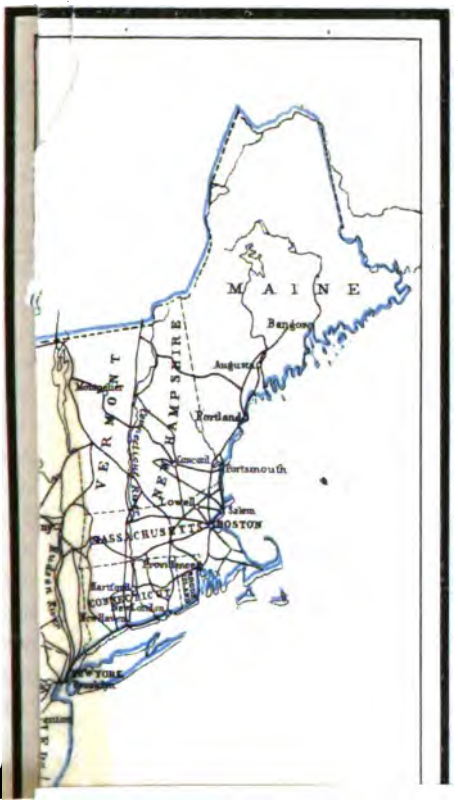
Whenever complaint was made of the premature decrees of Great Britain and France, in regard to the insurrection, the statesmen of those countries answered, that from the first they agreed in the opinion that the effort to maintain the Union could not be successful. In order to help them to a more correct understanding of the state of affairs, Seward, in April of 1862, had reviewed the operations of the war on sea and land, and their results. Now, after the lapse of another year, he again prepared an elaborate review of its military events. It was in the form of a circular letter like the one he had issued before.

It recounted the reverses of August, 1862, the subsequent reunion of the forces, called back from the Peninsula, with those in Virginia, the northward march of the Confederates, their crossing into Maryland, the fall of Harper's Ferry, the counter-movement under McClellan, the successes at South Mountain and Crampton's Gap, the victory at Antietam, and the retreat of the rebel army into Virginia. Then the invasion of Kentucky by Bragg, and his attempted crossing into Ohio, the counter-movement of Buell, the defeat at Perryville, and the retreat of the invading force. Then the attempted subjugation of western Tennessee and Kentucky by the forces under Van Dorn and Price, their repulse by Rosecrans, at Corinth, the raising of the siege of Nashville, the battle of Stone River, and the final retreat of the Confederates to Shelbyville and Tullahoma. Then the operations at and around Vicksburg, "the key to the navigation of the Mississippi river," the placing of Grant in command of the military, and Porter of the naval force, the laborious attempts to open an artificial channel, the combined land and naval expeditions through the bayous, the running of the batteries by armed steamers and transports, the bombardment and capture of the batteries at Grand Gulf, the brilliant manœuvres and desperate battles, by which Grant succeeded in separating and dividing the insurgent forces, the attack on Johnston, and the capture of the Mississippi State capital, the driving off of auxiliary columns, and the shutting up of Pemberton's reduced army, within the fortified lines of Vicksburg, the destruction by Porter of the batteries at the mouth of the Yazoo, and of the vessels and stores in that river. Then the investment, siege, and protracted defense of Vicksburg, and the final fall and surrender of that stronghold on the 4th July, with all the troops and stores, "a capture as remarkable as the famous one made by Napoleon at Ulm."

Then recurring to the Army of the Potomac, he went on to narrate its return to Virginia under McClellan, its subsequent fortunes under Burnside and Hooker, its reverses at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the transfer of the command to Meade, the second invasion of Maryland by Lee, his bold approach to the Susquehanna, threatening Harrisburg, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, his pitched battle continued for three days at Gettysburg, and his final defeat and retreat back to the Rappahannock.

Then the long siege of Port Hudson, and its final surrender to Banks, and the reopening of the Mississippi to Union commerce, from its source to its mouth.

He recounted in detail the operations of Sherman in Mississippi, of Banks in Louisiana, the gradual tightening of the blockade on the


MAINE
Bangor
Augusta
Portland
Concord
Portsmouth
Lowell
Salem
BOSTON
Providence
Hartford
NEW YORK
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE

Atlantic coast, the successes of the iron-clads at Charleston, the progress of siege works there, the capture of the *Atlanta* by the *Wiehawken* and *Nahant*, the failure of all attempts of the insurgents to regain their lost ground in North Carolina and Virginia, the advance of Rosecrans in Tennessee, and the retreat of the insurgents to Chattanooga, the brilliant cavalry raids of Stoneman and Grierson, and the defeat of the raiding Confederate force on the Ohio.

Having thus recapitulated the year's campaigns, he proceeded to sum up the existing condition of the country — the sway of the Government extending over a region of two hundred thousand square miles, reclaiming from the rebellion, "an area as large as Austria or France, or Spain and Portugal together" — one-third of the insurgent forces put *hors de combat*, and a consequent levy of all able-bodied men in the Confederacy — Union forces now confronting the enemy at all points, with probably superior numbers — the Union armies everywhere well equipped, abundantly fed and supplied — the soldiers hardened by two years' service into veterans — the nation become familiar with arms and habits of war — voluntary enlistments continually augmenting the military force — the country showing no sign of exhaustion of money, material or men — the national credit improving — the government bonds purchased at par by its own citizens, at the rate of a million and a quarter a day — gold selling in New York at 125, while in Richmond only obtainable at 1200 per cent premium — every insurgent sea-port either blockaded, besieged or occupied — the "Confederacy" divided by the Mississippi river, patrolled by Union fleets, and having only Union fortifications on its banks — the slave population, at the beginning an element of rebel strength, now being transferred to the support of the Union — twenty-two thousand colored men enlisted, armed and equipped as soldiers, sixty-two thousand employed as teamsters and laborers — Missouri, Kentucky, Delaware and Maryland of the slave States, supporting the Federal Government, and Missouri ordaining the gradual abolition of slavery, while "the insurgents with the slaves whom they yet hold, in defiance of the President's proclamation, are crowded into the central and southern portions of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, while the slave-holding insurgents beyond the Mississippi are cut off from the main force."

CHAPTER XXIV.

1863.

A Portrait Gallery. The Diplomatic Corps. Questions Threatening Trouble About the Draft. A Diplomatic Excursion. Up the Hudson and Through the State of New York. "The Heart of the North." The Resources of the Union. Progress of the War. Charleston. Chattanooga.

IN one of the parlors of the Secretary of State, were engraved portraits of foreign Sovereigns, and photographs of their Ministers. Gradual additions were made to the collection, until at last, every country with which the United States held diplomatic intercourse was represented there. Seward used to say: "Yes, those are my tormentors."

Queen Victoria, and the Emperor and Empress of the French, the King and Queen of Prussia, Queen Isabella of Spain, King Victor Emanuel of Italy, King Leopold of Belgium, the Emperor Alexander and Empress of Russia, Francis Joseph and the Empress of Austria, Pope Pius IX, Sultan Abdul-Aziz, Ismail Pacha of Egypt, King Charles of Sweden, King Christian of Denmark, the President of Switzerland, Dom Pedro of Brazil, King William of Holland, King Louis of Portugal, King Kamehameha of Hawaii, the Emperor of China, and the Tycoon of Japan, President Mitré of the Argentine Republic, Presidents Juarez of Mexico, Perez of Chili, Mosquera of Colombia, Mora of Costa Rica, Moreno of Ecuador, Geffrard of Hayti, Benson of Liberia, Martinez of Nicaragua, Lopez of Paraguay, San Roman of Peru, together with Earl Russell, M. Thouvenel, Drouyn de l'Huys, Rogier, Cavour, Ricasoli, Bülow, Bismarck, Gortschakoff, Ali Pacha, Calderon, Antonelli, Prince Kung, and other Ministers of Foreign Affairs, were among the portraits at this period. Others were added, as they successively came into power.

Very pleasant relations had now grown up between the Secretary and the Diplomatic Corps. Some of the Ministers were old friends, whose acquaintance he had made while in the Senate. Nearly all of those who, at the outset, had doubted the ability of the Union to maintain itself, had now come to share his own faith in its success. The war had increased the labors of every legation, causing much correspondence with the department, and frequent interviews with the Secretary. Yet this enforced intercourse over questions in dispute, instead of leading to quarrels, resulted in confidential intimacy and good feeling. During the whole of this exciting period, no brusque notes were ever written, no harsh words were ever spoken. Not so

much as a matter of calculation, as from habitual good nature, Seward looked upon personal bickerings in diplomacy, very much as he did in senatorial debate. He was not seeking advantage over individuals, but advancement of a cause. Even in that, he was not seeking to gain advantages at the expense of foreign powers. He sincerely believed in the idea he so often reiterated — that the maintenance of the Union would benefit all mankind. He discarded the notion of trying to profit by a Minister's mistakes or ignorance; and, on the contrary, aided him in the discharge of his representative function. Not unfrequently a diplomat would bring the confidential instructions he had received from his Government in some difficult case, and show them informally to Seward; who would advise him, with frankness and good faith, what points might reasonably be conceded, and what must be adhered to.

In some of the Northern cities, opponents of the Administration were now resorting to a new mode of embarrassing it. They raised troublesome questions in the courts in regard to the drafting law. These would delay its enforcement, and retard enlistments. The subject was discussed in Cabinet. Seward had high confidence in the patriotism, as well as the sound legal judgment of Mr. Justice Nelson, of the Supreme Court of the United States. If the questions could come before him they would doubtless be decided rightly, and the factious proceedings would be overruled. But how to get his judgment, or how to confer with him, was a problem. The Judge was at his home in Cooperstown for the summer. The Administration could not call him to Washington, or send to him at Cooperstown, without exciting comment and giving ground for complaint that the Executive was trying to influence the Judiciary. And yet, to wait for the questions to reach him by the slow process of law, would waste precious weeks, and be fatal to the reinforcement of the Army, on which every thing depended.

In this juncture, Seward said he thought he saw a way of rendering the country two services at once. He would invite the leading members of the Diplomatic Corps to make a summer trip, often talked of, with him, through the State of New York. On the way he would stop at Cooperstown and quietly confer with Judge Nelson without attracting attention or exciting comment. It was desirable that the Judges should be fully informed of the views and purposes of the Administration, and equally desirable to avoid any thing like a collision with the Supreme Court.

The foreign Ministers were, as usual, taking their summer recreation at Newport, Cape May, Saratoga, and other places of fashionable resort.

Seward had often told them they could learn little of the true character of the country or its people, unless they left the seaboard and great cities and visited the rural regions of the interior. He saw how difficult it was for them to realize that the country was not becoming exhausted, or that the causes which led to the draft riots in New York might not be at work in every town. When he invited them to accompany him on a visit to his own home in Central New York, "the heart of the North," several of them signified that they would go with willingness and pleasure.

A special car was furnished by the War Department, and Seward, accompanied by his messenger and steward, took possession of it. Some of the diplomatic gentlemen started with him from Washington; others joined the party at New York. Its number varied at different stages of the journey, but the English, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Russian, Swedish and Central American representatives continued through nearly the whole of it.

"Now, as the Secretary of State is our host and guide," said one, as the car rolled out of Washington station, "we will leave to him to decide all questions of where to go, what to see, when to stop."

"Not at all," said Seward. "This is a republican country, where every thing is decided by voting. Every man shall have the casting vote. For instance, Mr. Schleiden, shall we stop over night in New York?"

"Why, yes; I think I would like to."

"Very well, that settles it. One vote decides every question, and whoever chooses may cast it."

So the excursion went forward to the general satisfaction.

They went up the Hudson, through the valley of the Mohawk, and over the hills into Otsego county. They saw Albany, and Schenectady, Little Falls, Utica, Rome and Syracuse. They visited Sharon Springs and Trenton Falls, spent a night in Cooperstown and sailed on Otsego lake. Hospitalities were showered upon them, more than they could accept. Serenades greeted them in the evening, with kindly invitations for the morrow. But every day's ride was a volume of instruction. Hundreds of factories with whirring wheels, thousands of acres of golden harvest fields, miles of railway trains, laden with freight, busy fleets on rivers, lakes and canals, showed a period of unexampled commercial activity and prosperity. Then, the flag flying everywhere, the drum heard everywhere, the recruiting offices open and busy, the churches, the hospitals, the commissions and benevolent associations, laboring for the soldiers' care and comfort, all attested the resources of an empire, and the self-reliant patriotism of a great republic.

He telegraphed to Mrs. Seward:

We are ten, besides servants. We arrive at Auburn to-morrow, at 6:30 P. M. We dine before we leave Utica. If our neighbors choose, the Ministers will stay with them and us. Let carriages meet us at depot. I want to give the party a picnic on Owasco lake, Thursday. The more friends will join us there, the better. We leave Auburn on Friday morning for the West.

The people at Cooperstown and Utica have been very hospitable. When we arrive at Auburn, we will proceed directly to our house, and have tea in the garden, with ices, if you can get them. Let neighbors come there.

Arrived at Auburn, his neighbors and townsmen were found ready, and waiting, to share with him the entertainment of the visitors. The picnic at Owasco lake, a visit to "Willow Brook," and a stroll on Fort Hill, were followed by a resumption of the journey through the "lake region," with glimpses in passing, at Cayuga, Seneca, and Canandaigua lakes, with their surroundings of fertile fields, thrifty villages, and busy cities. They stopped at Geneva, for an excursion by steamer on Seneca lake, then went on through Rochester to Niagara Falls. There came an invitation from Mayor Fargo of Buffalo. One of the city aldermen, in a letter, described this trip:

Mr. Seward accepted, and next morning came. He and his party were driven around the city. The *Wabash* lay at the dock, at the foot of Main street, dressed in her gala suit of welcome. Hasty preparations were made for an impromptu lunch on board, and invitations were sent to a few citizens to accompany the party — ex-President Fillmore, Judge N. K. Hall, Hon. John Ganson, and several other prominent people. We embarked in the early forenoon. A fine breeze and a smooth sea made the day all one could wish. Our steamer ran out to the south of the city. Buffalo bay was swarming with lake craft, and the harbor we had just left was full of vessels, the elevators were in full blast, unloading vessels, and loading canal-boats, with grain for the East, and the scene presented was one of the most bustling activity. The business of the lakes was never more prosperous.

It was a beautiful sight — the broad sheet of fresh water, as clear and as blue as the ocean, stretched away in the distance. To some of Mr. Seward's party, it must have raised a doubt of the wisdom of acknowledging the equal power of the Southern States. Leaving Buffalo Bay, we steamed up past Sturgeon Point, and Point Abine, on the Canadian side, to give our guests a look at the Welland canal. In full view, running before the wind, bound into the canal, was the *Slepner*, her yards square, all sails set, her large Norwegian flag flying at her mizzen peak. She went bowling along, making a picture never to be forgotten. We landed the party at Dunkirk, and they proceeded to Chautauqua lake, thence on their trip.

A memento of this rip hangs in the hall at Auburn. It is a photograph of the group, taken on the rocks at Trenton Falls. At the right of the picture, on a jutting rock overhanging the stream, Seward

is sitting, straw hat in hand. By his side are Mr. Stoeckl and Mr. Molina, while Lord Lyons, M. Mercier, Mr. Schleiden, Commander Bertinatti and Count Piper are standing on the flat rocks behind. The party are in light, cool traveling attire, and the likenesses tolerably good. Each member had a copy of it with the autographs of all appended.

Once more seated in his chair at the department, Seward wrote to Mr. Adams:

I have just returned to this city from an excursion through the State of New York in company with a large number of the foreign representatives. The recreation thus obtained was as needful to myself as to them.

His summary of the progress of the war continued:

August 25.

According to Richmond newspapers, Fort Sumter was reduced to a mass of ruins on Saturday, the 22d, by the combined land and naval attack of the Union forces. They also state that General Gilmore, having ascertained that by means of his rifled projectiles he could bombard Charleston though at a distance of nearly five miles, had given the customary notice for the withdrawal of the women and children.

August 31.

The siege of Charleston is proceeding with apparent success. The movements of General Rosecrans and General Burnside in Tennessee are as difficult as they are important.

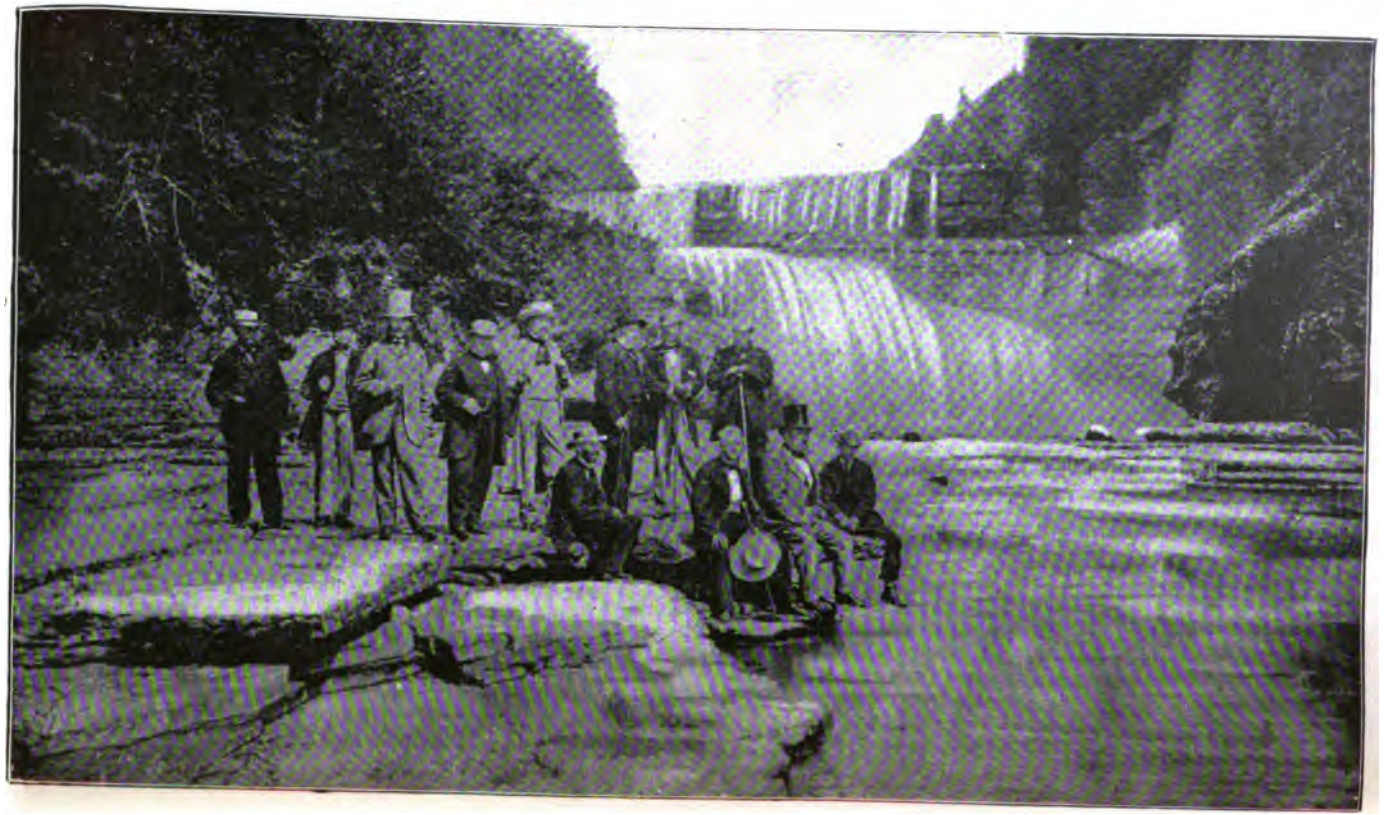
You will have already learned that the expectations of the insurgents built on a riot in New York have been disappointed. The reinforcement of the Army and the increase of the Navy are going on with all reasonable success. The riot proceeded upon a false assumption that the country was wearied and exhausted by war. It is now perceived that it is as prosperous and as strong as it has been at any former period.

September 5

Sieges and marches have gone on favorably. The insurgents have burned much, and lost more, of the cotton that they had pledged to European creditors, while the price of gold in their currency has risen within two months from one thousand per cent to one thousand and six hundred per cent. The insurgent financiers, last winter, adopted wheat instead of gold for the standard of values, and fixed that of wheat, if I remember rightly, at $5 per bushel. It is now reported that the farmer refuses to thresh his wheat, and the Government agents are considering whether the power to appropriate does not include the preliminary power to thresh the grain.

You have rightly assumed that the occupation of New Orleans, so long as it is maintained, is sufficient guaranty for the success of the Government.

We are, however, not without some concern on the subject, for we have no clearly reliable assurances that the British Government will prevent the departure of the iron rams which are being prepared in British ship-yards. And



THE DIPLOMATIC PARTY AT TRENTON FALLS.

next, notwithstanding the great energy of the Navy Department, it has not yet brought out the vessels upon which we can confidently rely for adequate defense against such an enterprise.

September 7.

General Rosecrans on the right and General Burnside on the left have occupied Stevenson, Kingston, and Knoxville, and thus effectually broken the chief military connection between Richmond and the Gulf States. Forces are advancing toward Little Rock in Arkansas. A new expedition is ready to proceed from New Orleans to Texas.

All local resistance of the draft seems to be at an end.

The expedition of General Franklin to Sabine Pass was one of three designed to reëstablish national authority in Texas. Its repulse may retard, but it is not thought it endangers the success of the plan.

September 20.

We have a sufficient force in front of this capital to assure us against aggressive movements of the insurgents.

We trust that Rosecrans will be safe in Chattanooga until the large reinforcements, which are going to him, shall reach there.

CHAPTER XXV

1863.

The French in Mexico. New Complications. Dayton and Drouyn de l'Huys. The Projected Empire. The Archduke Maximilian. Discussions and Protests. The French Tobacco in Richmond. A Monarchy in Mexico "Neither Easy nor Desirable." Army Movements. Washington Fortifications, Camps, and Hospitals. The Sanitary Commission.

One threatening cloud in the foreign horizon was hardly dispelled, before another would be seen looming up. Now, the shadow of the coming trouble was from Mexico.

From time to time, Mr. Dayton reported his interviews with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the assurances given him that "France had no thought of conquering Mexico, or establishing a dominant or permanent power. She desired simply to enforce just claims, and to vindicate her honor." As late as August 21st, he was again informed that France had "no purpose in Mexico, other than heretofore stated"—that she did not mean to appropriate permanently any part of that country.

"In the *abandon* of a conversation somewhat familiar," added Mr. Dayton, "I took occasion to say that, in quitting Mexico, she might leave a *puppet* behind her."

M. Drouyn de l'Huys said, "No; the *string would be too long to work.*" He added that they "had had enough of colonial experience in Algeria."

Meanwhile the French Army, with its allies of the Clerical party, had entered the city of Mexico in June. Six weeks later, a manifesto was issued, dated "Palace of the Regency of the Empire of Mexico." In this was formulated a "solemn decree:"

1. The Mexican nation adopts, as its form of government, a limited hereditary monarchy, with a Catholic Prince.

2. The Sovereign shall take the title of "Emperor of Mexico."

3. The imperial crown of Mexico is offered to His Imperial and Royal Highness the Prince Ferdinand Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, for himself and his descendants.

4. If the Archduke of Austria, Ferdinand Maximilian, should not take possession of the throne offered to him, the Mexican nation relies on the good will of his Majesty Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, to indicate for it another Catholic Prince.

When this news was received at Washington, Seward sent instructions to Mr. Dayton to make protest against the proposed action. He remarked that up to 1860, the manifest strength of the American Union had been a sufficient protection for itself and for Mexico. But that power was broken down and shattered in 1861, and the "first fruit of our civil war" was "an unfriendly attitude assumed in concert by Great Britain, France, and Spain." Of course, he would not confess to a fear that interference by one, or all of the powers, could overthrow the Government; nevertheless, every consideration of prudence required unceasing efforts to prevent it; and to his own department belonged "the special duty of holding watch against foreign insult, intrusion and intervention." He went on to say:

We know from many sources, and even from the Emperor's direct statement, that on the breaking out of the insurrection, he adopted the current opinion of European statesmen, that the efforts of the Government to maintain the Union would be unsuccessful. To this prejudgment we attribute his agreement with Great Britain to act with her; his concession of a belligerent character to the insurgents; his repeated suggestions of accommodation by this Government with the insurgents; and his conferences on the subject of a recognition.

"These proceedings of the Emperor," he said, had been "very injurious, by encouraging and prolonging the insurrection." Adverting to the fact that the "normal public opinion" in Mexico, as well as in the United States, was in favor of a republican form of government, he said:

MAXIMILIAN AND CARLOTTA.

M. ROGIER.

This Government believes that foreign attempts to control American civilization, must and will fail. Nor do the United States deny that their own safety, and the destiny to which they aspire, are intimately dependent on the continuance of free republican institutions throughout America.

Nor is it necessary to practice reserve upon the point, that if France should determine to adopt a policy in Mexico, adverse to the American sentiments described, that policy would probably scatter seeds of jealousies which might ripen into collision between France and the United States.

Meanwhile, Mr. Dayton reported further interviews with the Minister, in one of which, he said, reference was made to "the report that our Government only awaits the termination of our domestic troubles, to drive the French out of Mexico. This idea is carefully nursed and circulated by the friends of secession here and is doing us injury. The French naturally conclude that, if they are to have trouble with us, it would be safest to choose their own time."

However, a short time later, came, not a declaration of hostility, but a request for a favor. This was the exportation from Virginia, of some tobacco belonging to the French Government, detained there by the operations of the blockade.

M. Drouyn de l'Huys wished me to let you know that they attached to the concession a certain importance. Tobacco being a government monopoly in France, it was necessary to their finances, that the supply be kept up. He hoped you would yet permit the tobacco to come out.

Seward granted the request, which was not an unreasonable one. But he took occasion to remark that while the Government of the United States was "in favor of the commerce of neutrals, it ought to receive such comity as it practiced." "Time, in its progress, brings a common experience to every nation, in its turn," and it would be wise for the maritime powers to base their action "upon principles susceptible of universal application."

To an intimation from France that the early acknowledgment of Maximilian's empire in Mexico by the United States, "would tend to shorten, or perhaps to end all the complications of France in that country," Seward replied:

M. Drouyn de l'Huys now speaks of an election which he expects to be held in Mexico, and to result in the choice of the Prince Maximilian to be Emperor. We learn from other sources, that the Prince has declared his willingness to accept an imperial throne on three conditions, namely: first, that he shall be called to it by the universal suffrage of the Mexican nation; secondly, that he shall receive guaranties for the integrity and independence of the proposed empire; and thirdly, that the head of his family, the Emperor of Austria, shall acquiesce. In the opinion of the United States, the permanent establishment

of a foreign and monarchial government, in Mexico, will be found neither easy nor desirable. You will please inform M. Drouyn de l'Huys that this opinion remains unchanged.

He wrote to Mrs. Seward:

I am now appealed to, to declare war, to drive the French out of Mexico, if I cannot coax them out.

The Union is a serpent of thirty-five long joints. One-third are trying to disengage themselves, and the other two-thirds languish of the pain. How I wish for the power to compel them to reunite, so as to be able to coil and spring in their own defense. I should despair sometimes, if I did not know that there is a Providence, all wise and good.

As to the military situation, he wrote:

October 20.

Our forces in East Tennessee have made successful advance. General Rosecrans has remained unmolested at Chattanooga. The attempts to break his communications have failed.

Lee's Army having crossed the Rapidan, General Meade withdrew to Centreville, where he observes the enemy. The siege of Charleston continues. We have favorable reports from General Banks.

The annual elections in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Iowa, compared with those of the previous year, are auspicious to the Union.

The President has called for three hundred thousand troops by voluntary enlistment, with the alternative of a draft; and the public sentiment cheerfully sustains the call.

In the daily afternoon drive, he remarked upon the changed look at Washington since the opening of the war. At first the troops as they arrived had been quartered in or near the public buildings and squares. Now, the city was surrounded by a cordon of camps. A chain of fortifications, sixty or seventy in number, and many miles in circumference, extended entirely around Washington. On each commanding height on the Maryland and on the Virginia side, was a fort. Rifle-pits, stockades, and military roads connected all parts of the system. At points requiring most protection, the lines of circumvallation were doubled and trebled. Orders could be flashed around the circuit, or reports obtained by telegraph at a moment's notice.

Seward used to say that David's Psalms showed his familiarity with the art of war. "We rely on the 'strength of the hills' just as he did." "I will lift mine eyes to the hills from whence cometh my help," was literally as well as figuratively true.

Long lines of hospitals bordered Seventh and Fourteenth streets, and were scattered about Capitol Hill and Georgetown Heights. There were now over fifty military hospitals in and around Washington, most

of them containing many wards, and accommodating great numbers. An army of a million men must have thousands of sick and wounded, and a great battle like Gettysburg pours out blood like water. After it, an army of surgeons and nurses are required for instant service, for, on their presence, depend thousands of lives. The Government had built hundreds of hospitals, with the most approved sanitary appliances, amplified and extended in its service.

And now, all over the loyal States, benevolent men and women were devising ways for the wounded soldier's relief, and appliances for his comfort. The history of volunteer nurses, the Sanitary and Christian commissions, and all the various organizations of this character, would make a volume in itself. The noble work of the Sanitary Commission in caring for the health and comfort of the soldiers had now been perfected as a system. Rev. Dr. Bellows, one of the originators of the project and President of the Commission, was a frequent visitor at Seward's, for conference with him in regard to its affairs. Private individuals and public bodies were aiding its efforts in such ways as lay in their power. Charlotte Cushman, who had emerged from her retirement to take the stage in its behalf, was a guest at Seward's house when in Washington. A letter in October remarked:

Miss Cushman and Mrs. Cushman are again with us, having come back from Baltimore yesterday. Last night she played Lady Macbeth for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission. The house was full, and the receipts between $1,800 and $1,900. To-morrow she leaves for Baltimore, where she is to play to-morrow night.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1863.

A National Thanksgiving Day. The "Soldiers' Vote." The Night Before Election. "Optimism." "Voting for the Union, and Fighting for It." The Administration Sustained. Changed Relations of Parties. Lincoln and Weed in 1862. Seward on Lincoln's Renomination. "No Peace till He is President of the Whole United States." Scraps of Informal Correspondence. The Decay of Slavery. The Story of the "Stonewall." Stopping Rebel Ship-Builders in France. Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg. Breaking Ground for the Pacific Railroad.

ONE morning early in October, Seward entered the President's room, finding him alone, and busily engaged with a huge pile of papers.

"They say, Mr. President, that we are stealing away the rights of

the States. So I have come to-day to advise you, that there is another State right I think we ought to steal."

Mr. Lincoln looked up from his papers, with a quizzical expression.

"Well, Governor, what do you want to steal now?"

"The right to name Thanksgiving Day! We ought to have one national holiday, all over the country, instead of letting the Governors of States name half a dozen different days."

The President entered heartily into the suggestion, remarking that he believed the usage had its origin in custom, and not in constitutional law; so that a President "had as good a right to thank God as a Governor." In fact, proclamations had already been issued by the Executive, after great victories, though the annual festival had hitherto been designated by the Governors.

Seward drew from his portfolio the outline of such a proclamation, which they read over together, and perfected. It was duly promulgated, and since that time, the President of the United States has always fixed the date for the national holiday.

Another innovation on established custom was also inaugurated. This one began with the States, and proved of inestimable value to the Federal Government. It was the "Soldiers' Vote."

As early as the fall of 1862, it had become apparent that the volunteers who left their homes to fight for the Union were no longer able to vote for it. Naturally, all the disloyal men stayed at home, while the loyal men, who had gone to the front, were sadly missed at the polls. To correct this great injustice, several of the State Legislatures had now passed laws, authorizing commissioners to proceed to the camps where regiments from the State were posted, and to collect their votes. These were then duly returned, and counted, with those given at the polling places in the State.

Of course, the majority of the soldiers would vote for the Administration; and, of course, those who did not want the Administration to succeed, opposed their having an opportunity. But the fact that they were to vote, helped the returning enthusiasm, already swelled by the victories in the field.

Seward was at Auburn, to cast his vote in November. As usual, the President and Mr. Stanton kept him advised by telegraph of military events. On the 2d, Mr. Lincoln telegraphed:

> No important news. Details of Hooker's night fight do great credit to his command, and particularly to the Eleventh (11th) Corps, and Geary's part of the Twelfth (12th). No discredit on any.
>
> A. LINCOLN.

On the night before election day, his neighbors insisted on having,

according to old custom, a speech. He described to them the condition of political and military affairs. Adverting to the oft-repeated flings at his "optimism," he said:

I do not forget that cheerfulness and hopefulness — habitual cheerfulness and hopefulness—give offense in certain quarters. We have a class of patriots who deride them; who insist upon having the political skies obscured, and the political moon, through all her changes, presented under an eclipse. I do believe in cheerfulness and hopefulness. As in religion, so in politics, it is faith, and not despondency, that overcomes mountains and scales the heavens. The general who, haranguing his army on the eve of battle, should express fears of defeat, would be sure to be defeated. The statesman who apprehends that disunion is inevitable, would be sure to produce dissolution. The Christian who believes that he has committed the unpardonable sin, will never work out his salvation.

He added:

You will succeed, my friends, to-morrow. I know you will succeed by signs other than those which excite your own hopes of success. The country is in danger. It is to be rescued. You will succeed, because you vote for the Government in voting to sustain the Administration. Your opponents commit the fatal error of supposing that they can divide the Administration from the Government, and support the one and discard the other. * * * The object of this election is the object of the war. It is to make Abraham Lincoln President *de facto* from 1860 to 1864 in Georgia, South Carolina, and other Gulf States, as he is President *de facto* in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio. I know the war waged for that object will succeed; and so I know elections held for the same object will succeed. They will succeed because the object is just, and justice in politics is necessary. It is injustice and downright robbery of Abraham Lincoln and the majority of citizens who elected him, to refuse him the full enjoyment of the authority conferred upon him in that election. There can be no peace and quiet, until Abraham Lincoln is President of the whole United States.

During the night, the telegrams began to come in; and all the next day they continued to bring welcome news. Every State except New Jersey voted to sustain the Government. The New England and North-western States gave increased majorities. New York reversed its vote of the year before, and gave nearly thirty thousand majority for the Administration. Pennsylvania gave a similarly decisive vote. Ohio, where the candidate was one whose selection brought the question of arrests for disloyalty to practical issue, sustained the Administration by a majority of one hundred thousand. The canvass had been preceded by active and earnest discussion.

The speakers and press on the Administration side had defended the Emancipation policy, the action of the Government in regard to

calls for troops, and the draft, the war taxes, and the military arrests; while their opponents bitterly assailed them. The result was of great significance. It showed the people were not going to give up the war, and not intending to shrink from any sacrifices necessary to push it to successful result.

In Washington, the news relieved anxiety about Northern enemies; who, for a time, had seemed more formidable than the Southern ones. The result of these fall elections changed the relation of parties to each other, as well as the popular estimate of their strength.

A year before, when the Democrats had carried many Northern States, and it had seemed as if the country could only be saved by the coöperation of the Democratic organization,— Mr. Lincoln had said to Thurlow Weed: "Is there any man in the Democratic party, who can push this war, one day faster, or one step further, than I can?"

"Why?" asked Weed.

"Because if there is such a man, I want him to take my place."

Acting upon this suggestion, Weed had sounded his friends in the opposing party, to see if they were willing to come into power, by the aid of Republican votes, on the platform of vigorous prosecution of the war, and maintenance of the Union.

He found divided and discordant feelings. There were plenty of "War Democrats" ready to uphold the Union and fight its battles; and that even without hope of political reward. But there was another class, that believed they could carry the elections without Republican help; that they would then take possession of the Government and make peace on such terms as they saw fit. Having gained power in 1862, this class had dominated caucuses and conventions in 1863. But now it received a sudden check. Once more it began to look probable that the party and policy of the Administration would achieve ultimate success, both North and South.

At one of their evening talks, about this period, Mr. Lincoln told Seward that he now hoped to see him his successor — adding that the friends, who had been so disappointed at Chicago in 1860, would thus "find all made right at last."

"No," said Seward, "that is all past and ended. The logic of events requires you to be your own successor. You were elected in 1860, but the Southern States refused to submit. They thought the decision made at the polls could be reversed in the field. They are still in arms, and their hope now is that you and your party will be voted down at the next election. When that election is held and they find the people reaffirming their decision to have you President, I think the rebellion will collapse."

Time showed this to be a correct understanding of the popular feeling. During the period of choosing delegates to the Presidential Convention, he used the same argument, and in his speeches before election, elaborated it.

The intimacy between the President and the Secretary of State had grown very close and unreserved. Thrown into daily companionship, they found, not only cordial accord in most of their political opinions but a trait in common not shared by all their contemporaries. That was their disposition to take a genial, philosophical view of human nature, and of national destiny. Two more clear-headed and kind-hearted men never lived than these two, whose friends accused them of "hesitating policy," and whose enemies described them as "blood-thirsty tyrants." As they sat together by the fireside, or in the carriage, the conversation between them, however it began, always drifted back into the same channel — the progress of the great national struggle. Both loved humor, and however trite the theme, Lincoln always found some quaint illustration from his western life, and Seward some case in point, in his long public career, that gave it new light.

Though they met daily, yet there were constant exigencies of the troubled times that led to frequent cards, scraps, or memoranda, going back and forth between the White House and the department. A few, of various dates and periods, will illustrate their character.

September 27.

I am entirely willing that Mr. H. shall be appointed to any consulship not already disposed of, except the *single* one which the Secretary of State understands without my now mentioning.

A. LINCOLN.

October 26.

This will introduce Judge A. D. Russell of New York, who comes to me with a very kind letter of introduction from Mr. Bennett of the *Herald*. Please give him a kind reception.

March 7.

Mr. M. is now with me on the question of the Honolulu Commissioner. It pains me some that this tilt for the place of Colonel Baker's friend grows so fierce, now that the Colonel is no longer alive to defend him. I presume, however, we shall have no rest from it. In self-defense, I am disposed to say, "Make a selection and send it to me."

A. LINCOLN.

March 15.

I am very glad of your note saying "recent dispatches from him are able, judicious, and loyal," and that if I agree, we will have him there. I am glad to agree, so long as the public interest does not seem to require his removal.

July 23.

I showed your note to the President, and he replied: "Tell him I can't say that just now. Ask him to talk to Mr. Chase."

J. G. NICOLAY.

May 2.

Have we any committal as to this place? If we have not, I am for giving it to L. and doing it at once.

July 21.

I suppose you can easily lay your hands upon copies of the Instructions of the Secretary of the Navy on the subject we have in hand; and if you can, please send them over to me.

September 2.

Please telegraph Dr. G., asking him whether he could come and serve the Government one month, more or less, and how soon.

November 23.

Two dispatches since I saw you — one not quite so late on firing as we had before, but giving the points that Burnside thinks he can hold the place; that he is not closely invested, and that he forages across the river. The other brings the firing up to eleven A. M. yesterday, being twenty-three hours later than we had before.

February 8.

I saw Doolittle, and made your views known to him. He is altogether tractable on the question, and thinks there is no danger of precipitate action.

A. LINCOLN.

SEC. OF STATE:

Please see Mrs. H., and send her out of the country, if you can.

A. LINCOLN.

May 9.

I believe Mr. L. is a good man, but two things need to be remembered. 1st. Mr. R.'s rival was a relative of Mr. L. 2d. I hear of nobody calling Mr. R. a "Copperhead" but Mr. L. However, let us watch.

A. L.

July 6.

I find the within from Garrett this morning. The big bundle herewith is that we spoke of this morning.

A. L.

NEW YORK, *October* 15.

Dear Sir — On the point of leaving, I am told by a gentleman, to whose statements I attach credit, that the opposition policy for the Presidential campaign will be to "*abstain from voting.*"

Yours truly,

J.

(*Comment on foregoing.*)

October 16.

More likely to abstain from *stopping*, once they get at it, until they shall have voted several times each.

A. L.

November 24.

A dispatch from Foster at Cincinnati, received half an hour ago, contains one from Wilcox at Cumberland Gap, without date, saying, "Fighting going on at Knoxville to-day." The want of date makes the time of fighting uncertain, but I rather think it means yesterday, the 23d.

Continuing his record of the military situation, Seward wrote:

November 9.

The elections for the year have closed with manifestations of confidence in the Government, contrasting strongly with the despondency and distraction which attended the last meeting of Congress. Only one question seemingly agitated the public mind — namely, the principle in regard to slavery on which Federal authority shall be restored. It is, perhaps, the most gratifying result of the war for the Union, that wherever its flag advances, convictions of the importance of emancipation meet it. No desire for the restoration or the preservation of slavery is manifested by the citizens who adhere or re-accede to the Union. We are, therefore, likely to find no slavery to contend with, when the war for the Union has come to an end.

November 28.

Gratifying successes have crowned the national arms in Georgia. I give you a copy of a graphic report, received last night from Quartermaster-General Meigs, who, being in attendance upon General Grant's Army, was an eye-witness of the great transaction.

In his dispatches to France, Spain, England, and Denmark, Seward narrated how Confederates fitted out a war vessel, under the various names of the *Olinde*, the *Sloerkodder*, and the *Stonewall*, in defiance of neutrality laws and treaty obligations.

The vessel is a steam ram. She is one of two ships of that class built by Arman at Bordeaux. Denounced by us to the Imperial Government, it was ordered that she should not leave France, or should leave only in case of her being actually sold to a neutral. The vessel was reported as having been sold to Denmark, a neutral power. Upon that, she was sent under the French flag to Copenhagen, where she received a partial armament. After several months she departed with a Danish crew. She visited Swedish and Dutch ports. Then she came up to the Island of Houat, within the marine jurisdiction of France, where she received seamen, coals, and supplies from a steamer sent out for that purpose from some British port; and thus furnished, she gave up her Danish crew and flag, and exhibited herself as a rebel ship of war. Houat is an obscure place, not subject to any actual surveillance. The attention of the Imperial Government was invoked by Mr. Bigelow, and was given. But in the meantime the *Stonewall* went to sea. Very soon afterward she put in at Ferrol, in Spain, in distress, and asked for leave to repair. Mr. Perry remonstrated, and asked that the vessel should be detained. While the application was pending, a steamer with an intended reinforcement (taken from the crew of the pirate *Florida*, recently captured at Bahia) proceeded from Liverpool to

Ferrol or Corunna. The Government of Spain declined to detain the vessel, and decided to allow her repairs to the extent of rendering her capable of living at sea; but refused to allow her crew to be reinforced, or her munitions of war increased. In the meantime the United States steamer *Niagara* has arrived at Corunna, and the *Sacramento* is reported on her way to that port. Dispatches before me, report the communications which our representatives at Paris, Madrid, and Copenhagen, respectively, have made, for interposition to prevent the pirate ship from entering upon her appointed career.

At last, however, the business of rebel shipbuilding came to an end, so far as France was concerned. In November, the French Minister, M. Mercier, informed the State Department that he was "instructed by his Government to announce, that the rebel steamers building at Nantes and Bordeaux have been stopped, and will not be allowed to fit out or sail." "So," wrote Seward, "we have passed the crisis with France, as we did with England."

He wrote to Mrs. Seward:

November 13.

I could write about nothing but politics, for I hear of nothing else. A volatile crowd precedes the coming together of Congress. People talk about the war, conventionally, but they think only of future preferments. I will not complain of them, so long as they forbear from quarreling with those who do study the salvation of the country.

My foreign affairs are looking well.

Thanksgiving Day.

It is a bright and balmy morning. The department is closed. We have excellent news from Grant. But it does not quite assure us of Burnside's safety, although it seems enough to warrant us against great disaster in Tennessee. No one knows how wearisome this dealing with war is to me. I have little of the passions, I think, that make war, even when successful, a pleasurable excitement. If I endure it better than many, I think it is because I regard it as an evil that could not be avoided, and that is appointed by Providence for discipline and instruction. Every day, however, I find myself asking the question, cannot I now leave it to others, and be exempt from the consciousness of having shrunk from a proper duty?

On Wednesday, November 18, a special train from Washington took many of the principal officers of the Government up to Gettysburg, to attend the dedication of the National Cemetery on that historic battlefield. In the evening after their arrival, a serenade was given to the President and Secretary of State. Seward, in his response, said:

I am now sixty years old and upwards; I have been in public life, practically, forty years of that time, and yet this is the first time that any community so near the border of Maryland was found willing to listen to my voice. The reason was that I saw, forty years ago, that slavery was opening before this people a graveyard, that was to be filled with brothers falling in mutual polit-

ical combat. I knew that the cause that was hurrying the Union into this dreadful strife was slavery, and when, during the intervening period, I raised my voice, it was to warn the people to remove that cause, while they could by constitutional means, and so avert the catastrophe of civil war. I thank my God that this strife is going to end in the removal of that evil, which ought to have been removed by deliberate councils and peaceful means. I thank my God for the hope that this is the last fratricidal war which will fall upon this country — the richest, the broadest, the most beautiful, and capable of a great destiny, that has ever been given to any part of the human race.

The ceremonies of the following day were deeply impressive. It was on this occasion that Mr. Lincoln delivered the speech so often quoted, and so replete with eloquence and pathos.

This fall, ground was broken for the Union Pacific railroad. Seward wrote to the President of the company, General Dix:

The Union Pacific railroad can, and I hope will, be extended to the Pacific ocean. When this shall have been done, disunion will be rendered forever afterward impossible. There will be no fulcrum for the lever of treason to rest upon.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1863–1864.

A Republican Congress. The Message. Proffered Amnesty. Chattanooga. The Russian Squadron. Hospitalities and Compliments. A Steadfast Friend. Congressional Action. Financial Measures. Drafting and Confiscation. New Treaties. Hopeful Public Feeling. Society at the Capital.

On the first Monday of December, the members of Congress were again assembling — this time with a Republican majority in both Houses. Schuyler Colfax was chosen Speaker of the House. The Senators from the new State of West Virginia were admitted to seats. The President's message spoke of the "improved condition of national affairs;" remarked that "the efforts to involve us in foreign wars" to aid the insurrection "have been unavailing;" that "questions of intricacy and importance have arisen out of the blockade and other belligerent operations, between the Government and several of the maritime powers;" and that under the treaty for the suppression of the slave trade, it was believed that "so far as American ports and American citizens are concerned, that inhuman traffic has been brought to an end."

But the feature of the message which excited deepest interest was that part referring to a proclamation of amnesty to those willing to resume their national allegiance, and presenting "a mode by which the national authority and loyal State Governments may be re-established."

Seward wrote in his circular of December 15:

Congress assembled on the 7th, and the session was inaugurated on the 9th by the delivery of the President's message. It was well received, and it seems to be no less satisfactory to the people.

The insurgent chief at Richmond has put forth an explanation of the present state of the rebellion simultaneously. It would be difficult to decide which of the two documents, the message, or the appeal of the insurgent leader to his misguided faction, most clearly illustrates the absurdity of the attempt to build up an independent State on the foundation of human bondage.

Russia had been a constant friend throughout the war. The kindly greetings exchanged by Seward and Gortschakoff, in 1861, embodied the feeling that pervaded their whole diplomatic intercourse. In the huge volumes of official correspondence, the brevity of the pages under the head of "Russia," is significant. Dispatches contained only messages of amity and good-will. There were few Russian subjects or ships over whom any controversy could arise; but other powers, having even fewer, contrived to find grounds of quarrel with what they believed a moribund republic. If Russia had any claims for damages, she never presented them. If she had a ground of grievance, she never mentioned it. The Russian Minister, Mr. Stoeckl, took special satisfaction in saying that he "wrote no notes and made no reclamations." If he had any thing to lay before the department he "made a morning call on Mr. Seward," and ten minutes' conversation closed the business. The negotiations for the "Intercontinental Telegraph" to connect the United States with Russia *via* Behring's Straits, helped to promote mutual good feeling.

When Russia was invited by France and England to join in schemes for "mediation" or "intervention," she promptly refused unless the United States should ask her help. When the "intervention," nevertheless, seemed to be impending, a Russian fleet appeared in American waters, and passed summer and winter there. It was deemed wise that no official announcement of its purpose should be made. Prince Gortschakoff was too sagacious a diplomat to embarrass the Washington Government by proffers of aid that might offend other powers. He simply sent over the fleet, and instructed the Russian Minister to say it was there "for no unfriendly purpose." The public intuitively

MAXIMILIAN OFFERED EMPIRE.

THE BALL TO THE RUSSIAN FLEET.

felt, as did the Government, that while its help would probably never be needed, yet, if needed, it would be forthcoming.

Visitors to the ships were received with great courtesy, and hospitalities were extended in return to their officers and men. Salutes, dinners, and various invitations greeted them in New York, culminating in a grand ball at the Academy of Music. Early in December the squadron moved southward and came up the Potomac. At Washington was another interchange of courtesies. The Russian officers were presented to President and Cabinet at the White House. A day or two later the members of the Cabinet paid a visit to the flag-ship — the frigate *Osliaba*. In the evening the Secretary of State gave a dinner to the officers of the fleet and Russian legation, and the following day the Russian Minister returned the compliment. The members of both Houses of Congress, with their families, were invited to visit the fleet, where they were courteously entertained. Among the principal officers were Admiral Lessowsky, Captain Boutakoff of the *Osliaba*, Captain Kremer of the *Vitiaz*, Captain Lund of the *Variag*, Captain Selenoy of the *Alonooz*, and Lieutenant Semetschkin, flag lieutenant.

Naturally some jealousies were excited in Europe by this display of friendly feeling. Seward, adverting to some manifestations of it, wrote:

> Everybody knows that the United States are the habitual well-wishers of France, as they are of Russia. Everybody knows that Russia is a well-wisher of the United States, but everybody is not satisfied that France is a well-wisher of the United States. I think everybody agrees that the responsibility for this does not rest with the United States. Where, then, does it rest?

In his letters home, he said:

December 10.

> On Monday we dined the Russians, on Tuesday the Russians dined us, on Wednesday the Secretary of the Navy *supped* us — Cabinet, Russians, and all.
>
> Congress is here, and thus far so well pleased with being here that it has not begun to quarrel with itself or us.
>
> My book drags in the printing office. It will be interesting, I think.

December 13.

> There is calm in the political weather — everybody cool, satisfied, cheerful, hopeful, sanguine. Even the secret lodges fail, thus far, to get up a quarrel.

As to military movements, he said:

> The signal defeat of the insurgents in November, in front of Chattanooga, was followed by the rapid movement of reinforcing columns to the support of General Burnside at Knoxville. The siege of that town was immediately raised.

Another year now opened. He wrote:

January 7, 1864.

At home, the question first in practical importance is the renewal of our Army, rendered necessary by expiration of the first enlistments.

The second question is that of reorganization in the insurrectionary States. Not time enough has elapsed to enable us to judge whether the plan suggested by the President will be generally adopted. It meets, however, less opposition than the policy in regard to slaves announced in the message of 1862–1863, and there is reason to hope that, if it shall not prove acceptable, it will open the way to some other plan that will be feasible and satisfactory to the country.

General Butler reports that eight thousand citizens of Virginia, within the military district under his command, have already taken the oath of allegiance proposed in the President's recent proclamation.

Congress had entered upon the session, prepared to lend efficient aid to the Administration in prosecuting the war. Its action in that regard was prompt and judicious. Its debates were sensible and practical. The Internal Revenue law was perfected and passed, the income tax adopted in an effective form, the National Bank law further changed and improved, so to extend its usefulness. The Draft law received amendments, suggested by the year's experience. The Homestead law was further extended and improved; and the law in regard to confiscation of rebel property, sought to be put in such shape as should conform to the spirit of the Constitution.

This Congress contained many members whose names have gained historic prominence. The Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations had Charles Sumner as Chairman, and Lafayette S. Foster, James R. Doolittle, Ira Harris, and Reverdy Johnson among its members. The Finance Committee had W. P. Fessenden, John Sherman, T. O. Howe, Edgar Cowan, and Daniel Clark. The Commerce Committee had Zachariah Chandler, Lot M. Morrill, and Edwin D. Morgan. The Judiciary Committee had Lyman Trumbull for Chairman, and several eminent jurists among its members. The Committees on Military and Naval Affairs comprised Henry Wilson, John P. Hale, Henry S. Lane, Jacob M. Howard, Henry B. Anthony, James W. Nesmith, Governors Morgan, Ramsey, and Sprague.

Among the leading men in the House of Representatives were Thaddeus Stevens, Elihu B. Washburne, Owen Lovejoy, William B. Allison, John A. Kasson, James F. Wilson, James G. Blaine, Henry Winter Davis, Thomas D. Eliot, Samuel Hooper, Alexander H. Rice, Henry L. Dawes, and George S. Boutwell, William Windom, Francis P. Blair, Jr., E. H. Rollins, Robert C. Schenck, James A. Garfield, Justin S. Morrill, James K. Moorhead, and S. S. Cox.

The New York delegation this year comprised among its members, John A. Griswold, Reuben E. Fenton, Francis Kernan, Dewitt C. Littlejohn, Calvin T. Hulburd, James M. Marvin, Henry G. Stebbins, Homer A. Nelson, John V. L. Pruyn, Ambrose W. Clark, Thomas T. Davis, Theodore M. Pomeroy, Robert B. Van Valkenburg, Freeman Clark, Augustus Frank, and John Ganson.

Two new treaties were negotiated and signed at the opening of this year. One was with Japan, for the purpose of encouraging and facilitating commerce. This was signed by Mr. Pruyn and Sibata Sadataro, at Yedo. The other was with Colombia, for the adjustment of claims. This was signed at Washington, by Seward and Don Manuel Murillo, the Minister.

Society, this winter, had taken on a gayer aspect. Commercial prosperity and military success had inspired hopeful feelings; and the activities of the war brought to Washington leading capitalists, foreign travelers, and noted men and women of every region. The city, freed from slavery, now realized that its fortunes were bound up in those of the Union. In the early days of the war, attempts at social gayety had been clouded by apprehensions of disaster, or regarded as showing lack of sympathy with the soldiers. The reverse was the case now. Every victory was greeted with festivities. Balls, dinners, tableaux, and private theatricals were utilized to stimulate movements for "hospital work," and "soldiers' relief."

Among those met at Washington reunions this winter, were many of the military and naval commanders and statesmen, whose names are part of the history of the war. The Diplomatic Corps retained most of its former members, but there were some changes — Count Giorgi from Austria, Count Piper from Sweden, Don Manuel Murillo from Colombia, Colonel Raasloff from Denmark, after a year's absence on a special mission to China, M. Geofroy, who had become *chargé d'affaires* for France, Colonel Roumain, the first representative of the Haytian Republic, Mr. Romero, who had returned as Minister from Mexico, Mr. Barreda, now become Minister from Peru, and Mr. Bruzual as Envoy from Venezuela.

Official reticence was sometimes hard to preserve among loyal friends; and yet military secrets revealed to them might easily leak out and reach the enemy. There was a buzz of conversation one evening at a party, about the probable destination of a force known to be in motion.

"Governor Seward," said a lady, turning to the Secretary of State, "what do you think about it? Which way *is* the Army going?"

"Madame," replied he with a smile, "if I did not know, I would tell you."

State dinners are among the requirements of official life, and Seward usually gave them each winter to the Diplomatic Corps, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, and the Senators. His table would hold about twenty-four guests. But his daily dinner was more hospitable and pleasant than these ceremonious ones. Covers were laid each day for two or three guests, besides the family. During the morning, at the department, he would meet some acquaintance with whom he would desire to have more extended talk. Occasionally it would be a colleague in the Cabinet, a foreign Minister just accredited, an American Minister or Consul just returned from abroad, a General just "in from the front," or a Captain from the blockade squadron, a Senator or Congressman coming to consult about public measures, an European friend with letters of introduction, an old acquaintance from New York or Boston, a townsman from Auburn visiting the capital, or any one of a hundred others whom business or pleasure had brought to the city. The dinner would consist of three or four courses unostentatiously served. Seward usually took only a glass of Sauterne or Claret. With cigars he was less abstemious; and after the ladies had left the table, the conversation would often be continued for two or three hours in a cloud of smoke. Tea in the parlor followed, and visitors, more or less in number, occupied the time till near midnight.

The house he was now occupying was well adapted for entertainments. Three large drawing-rooms on the second floor communicated with each other by folding doors. On the ground floor was a comfortable dining-room and ample space for cloak-rooms. The evening receptions of a Secretary of State are usually crowded, and the influx of visitors to the city, in these troublous times, made those at Seward's house especially so. They were frequent enough, however, to divide the throng into reasonable proportions. They were varied in form. Sometimes there would be a gathering of several hundred guests; sometimes a Saturday evening reunion of intimate friends and members of the Diplomatic Corps. The advent of a person entitled to a special welcome was occasionally greeted with a reception. The French Princes, the officers of the Russian fleet, the embassies from China and Japan and the Scientific Association were thus received. Mrs. Seward's health at this period, even when in Washington, rarely permitted her to appear in society; and on these occasions, the duties of hostess devolved upon her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Frederick W. Seward. The Secretary usually received his guests in the middle parlor, and had a pleasant word for each. Hospitable and social by nature, he was not averse to the round of dinners and receptions which official life in Washington entailed. But he found

it difficult to spare the time for them, from graver occupations. He would economize it, by cutting short his stay. Frequently in the winter season, he would attend a dinner, and two or three parties, and then reach home, and retire before midnight, so as not to interfere with the next day's work.

A letter (F. W. S.) describing the changed aspect of Washington, said:

We seem to have reached a new stage in the war. Gayety has become as epidemic in Washington this winter, as gloom was last winter. There is a lull in political discussions; and people are inclined to eat, drink, and be merry. The newspapers can furnish nothing more interesting to their readers, than accounts of parties, balls and theaters, like so many Court Journals. Questions of etiquette are debated with gravity. People talk of "society," who never before knew or cared about it. A year ago the Secretary of State was "heartless" or "unpatriotic" because he gave dinners; now the only complaint of him is, that he don't have dancing. It is a sign of a changed state of feeling everywhere, that all the Northern cities have given up mourning and grumbling, and are devoting themselves to festivities and fairs.

In fact, we seem to have reached the period that the French reached in 1795, when there came a reaction after the Reign of Terror, and France gave itself up to social amusements, new fashions, and extravagances. As we did not go so far in the direction of the "Terror," we probably shall not go so far in the reaction. But there is evidently the same popular impression that, after two years of impatience, despondency, and anxiety, it is time to admit that the worst of the storm is over, and the clouds breaking away.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1864.

Plots to Capture Ocean Steamers. Lincoln's Humor. New Phases of the War. Renewing the Union Army. Slaves Losing Value. Opening of the Presidential Canvass. Sherman's Movements in Alabama and Mississippi. South American Wars. Maximilian and France. The Pope's Letter to Jefferson Davis. Enlistments, Bounties, and Drafting. Grant made Lieutenant-General in Command of All Armies. The Coming Campaigns.

THOUGH Washington had grown gay and hopeful, the Secessionists were neither idle nor discouraged. Every week brought news of some new form of activity on their part, or in their behalf. Plots to seize some of the ocean steamers were fortunately discovered in time to be thwarted. Armed Confederates embarking ostensibly as passengers,

were to rise and take possession of the vessels after leaving the harbor. Seward telegraphed to Robert Murray, the U. S. Marshal at New York:

A ship of war will be stationed off Sandy Hook, and another off Throgg's Neck, and will arrest and detain any outgoing steamer that has no pass from you. You will have your detective force in action, and examine and search outgoing steamers. The steamers the rebels will be likely to seize are the Havana and Panama steamers. Search for arms, correspondence, and suspicious persons. Commit such persons to Fort Warren.

Call on General Dix, if you need aid.

Writing to Mrs. Seward, he said:

January 14.

I find the department overwhelmed with new and troublesome questions; and until yesterday, I have not allowed myself one hour's respite from labor; except when engaged in hospitalities, at home, or elsewhere, as needful, and as exhausting too, as labor itself.

One evening, after a day of harassing anxiety and work, the President, accompanied by his private secretary, walked into the library of Seward's house.

"No more bad news, I hope, Mr. President?"

"No; nothing further; but Hay happened to find a book that amused us; so I told him we would walk over to Seward's, and read it to him and have a laugh over it."

The book was the little Portuguese guide to English conversation, since become famous under the title of "English as She is Spoke."

As John Hay read aloud its queer inverted sentences, Lincoln and Seward laughed heartily, their minds finding a brief but welcome relief from care.

Mr. Lincoln's character, never fully appreciated while he lived, has been better comprehended since his death. His fondness for anecdote was often inveighed against, as if he were, in any sense, a retailer of old jokes, or ever disposed to undue levity. While he was President, those around him were impressed by his sad and serious thoughtfulness, as well as by his good humor and kind heart. His use for stories, old and new, was to clinch the point he was making; and one of his homely illustrations, drawn from western life, was often more effective than an hour's argument. Many of them have become historic through wide quotation — such as his quaint refusal to "swap horses while crossing the stream" — his unwillingness "to try to cross Fox river before he came to it" — his comparison of opposing forces to "two dogs that got less eager for fight, the nearer they got together" — his difficulty of "fitting the round man to the square

hole" — his hope that he "would have more influence with the next Administration" — all these were telling points of argument, that decided questions of war or State.

Continuing his circular describing the military situation, Seward wrote:

February 1.

The correspondence between Jefferson Davis and the Holy Father, although it necessarily assumes some significance in Italian and certain other continental circles, produces no effect here. The temper of the people has become too calm and firm to be disturbed by foreign speculations upon our domestic affairs.

February 4.

Our civil war is exhibiting a new phase. There is manifestly a very general confidence in a speedy success of the Union, and a willingness to make all the material contributions and sacrifices necessary to secure that consummation.

On the other hand, there are discouragements and alarms, attended by unmistakable financial embarrassments in the region of the insurrection. The most reliable test of despondency is the depreciated estimate they now put upon slaves. I have noticed that $150 or $200 of United States currency is the highest price which the most marketable slave commands, either in Virginia or in Georgia. The Richmond papers declare that board and clothing are a full equivalent for the hire of the best servants in that market. I need not say that this is a confession that slaves, as property, are absolutely worthless. There is no part of the insurrectionary region where a slave's entire valuation to-day, exceeds a year's purchase, as that property was rated three years ago. Capital, of course, now avoids investment in slaves. When slaves cease to be remunerative as property, they must immediately become an incumbrance; they can no longer become an element of aristocratic strength.

February 23.

Military proceedings are satisfactory. The Army is already largely renewed. About two hundred thousand men have been enlisted since the 1st of November, including the reënlistment of seventy-five thousand out of eighty thousand, whose first term of service will expire in the coming spring and summer.

The reoccupation of Florida strikes a severe blow at the insurrection by cutting off meat supplies. General Sherman's flank movement from the Mississippi across the country toward Atlanta, is thus far eminently successful.

Admiral Farragut is again active in the Gulf. The Navy is increasing. The *Dictator* will soon try her destined element.

The canvass for the Presidential election is opening. That election will probably be the first one held in forty years in which slavery will have been held by all parties as unworthy of political defense. Of course, the occurrence of the canvass at this conjuncture is a subject of some anxiety. Nevertheless, judging from existing indications, the nation has all the constancy and fidelity necessary to secure its passage safely through this new political trial, as it has already surmounted so many others.

February 29.

We are waiting with much interest the results of General Sherman's movement in Alabama. Our earliest information concerning him is expected through insurrectionary channels.

Another war was now in progress between Paraguay, the Argentine Republic, and Brazil. In his instructions to Ministers there, Seward said that while the United States had no purpose of becoming either an umpire or a partisan in the complications so constantly arising in South America, yet it was always ready to proffer its good offices, if desired, to promote peace and "avert wars, which, like our own, tend to bring republican institutions into disrepute and jeopardy."

Resolutions almost belligerent in tone, based on the action of the French in Mexico, had now been introduced in the Senate. Seward wrote to Mr. Dayton in February:

The newspapers bring reports of the purpose of sending Maximilian into Mexico to ascend the throne upon the strength of pronunciamentos. These representations operate upon the public mind and in Congress with so much effect, that, be the consequences what they may, there will be a legislative demonstration against the establishment of a foreign Government and a monarchy in Mexico. Only the influence of Executive moderation holds the popular action under restraint now.

General Rufus King was this spring sent out as Minister to Rome. In his instructions, Seward referred to "the letter of the Holy Father to Jefferson Davis," which was "ostentatiously paraded by the insurgents and their friends in Europe," who entertained high expectations of advantage "to result from it with Catholics in this country, and throughout the world." Remarking that the Federal Government had not been disposed to regard it as having any political design, but merely as an expression of good wishes for the restoration of peace, he told the new Minister that he might say to Cardinal Antonelli, that "to perpetuate slavery is the only object of the war on the part of the insurgents. Such an object ought not to obtain a moment's sanction at Rome, while," he added, "it is equally certain that even the declared favor of the Church could not win the consent of the American people to the establishment of a Government founded on African bondage."

While the Administration was now making vigorous efforts to increase the already huge Army, it was believed no longer possible for the Confederates to replenish their wasting ranks. But they had one military advantage. The Federal armies and fleets were stretched in a long, irregular circuit around the lessening Confederacy," while the rebels,

moving on "interior lines," could concentrate with celerity for attack or defense.

Under the October call enlistments were proceeding rapidly. Youths, who had now come of age, were eagerly volunteering. Veterans were reënlisting. The bounties for volunteers had reached tempting proportions. The $100 which was offered in 1861 had gradually been increased, and each new recruit received $300 and each veteran $400. To still further stimulate recruiting, a draft for five hundred thousand was ordered to be made, but coupled with the proviso that all voluntary enlistments prior to the 1st of March should be credited and deducted. This made it for the interest of each locality to raise as many men as possible, before that time.

Congress had now restored the grade of lieutenant-general, and the President at once promoted General Grant to that rank, and invested him with the command of all the armies East and West.

Seward summed up the passing events:

April 4.

We are expecting that ships of war, on which the insurgents are relying, will not be suffered to depart from European ports.

In the confusion incident to national legislation, superior advantages have been unconsciously afforded to military enlistments, over enlistments for the naval service. In consequence, the Navy is now suffering, for the want of seamen. Measures, however, have been taken to correct this inequality.

We believe that the war has passed the crisis when recognition could guarantee success to the enemy. Recognition could, therefore, only enlarge the field of war.

The defeat of General Seymour at Olustee, in Florida, was a surprise, and a disaster, but it was no more than that; it drew neither serious consequences, nor strategic embarrassments after it.

All our armies have been renewing themselves by the reënlistment of veterans. With a view to this end, many regiments have received furloughs of thirty days, upon their reënlistment; and thus the armies in the field have been temporarily reduced.

Only two great military movements have been attempted. The first of these was a movement of Sherman, through central Mississippi, from Vicksburg to Meridian, to break up communications of the enemy. Grierson's and Smith's movements were diversions, auxiliary to this purpose, and Admiral Farragut's demonstration against Mobile was a movement of the same character. The Adjutant-General is now placing colored troops in the garrisons on the river, while the veteran forces are proceeding to active duty.

The other movement was an expedition up the Red River, to scatter the insurgents and destroy stores and communications. The movement is now in progress. We last heard of the combined force at Natchitoches.

General Grant, who is now in command of all the military forces of the

country, is organizing a campaign. Our forces in the field, and fit for duty, are eight hundred thousand men. They are distributed with a view to hold all the country we have reclaimed, and to bring the insurgents into battle whenever the circumstances are favorable. We do not expect cheap or easy victories, but we look for firm and steady progress.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1864.

Refugees and Deserters. Cotton and Slaves. The Fort Pillow Massacre. Banks' Defeat. Excited Debates. "Opinions of Five Years Hence." Breaking Up of the Slave Trade. Case of Arguelles. Maximilian in Mexico.

THE head-quarters of General Augur, who was in command at Washington, were in the house next to that of the Secretary of State. Looking out from his library window, Seward noted that each morning there was a squad of men on the sidewalk, mostly clad in shabby gray, who seemed to be under guard. Making inquiries, he learned that these were the deserters and refugees from the Confederate lines, and, as the season came on, their numbers continually increased. Information had gone out from the Federal lines, that all such would be welcomed and well treated; and every day, Confederate soldiers, grown tired of rebellion, were coming in. They were required to give up all arms and accoutrements, receiving pay for them in cash. They were not expected to do duty, or remain under surveillance; but, on giving their parole, or taking the oath of allegiance, would be furnished with railroad tickets to the North, where they could easily find employment. Counting up their number one morning, Seward remarked:

There are sixty-five able-bodied soldiers. That is at the rate of a company a day, a regiment a week, a brigade every fortnight. What army could stand such a drain, going on, as it is, at other points, as well as here? Meanwhile the Union Army is gaining new recruits, at the rate of half a dozen companies every day. Does not that show how the thing is going to end?

Commenting upon the condition of the Confederacy, he wrote:

I ought not to overlook the important fact disclosed by the elections in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana, that the population of several of the States, where it has not already been reclaimed to the Union, has been successfully divided, whereby the insurrectionary armies are continually reduced, and our own considerably augmented.

There is a development of another kind, too important to be overlooked. A great number of the people of the insurgent States, wearied of the war, and despairing of the restoration of order, there, are emigrating to the Western Territories. Governor Doty of Utah estimates the augmentation of the population of the Territories during the present year, at five hundred thousand. These facts show that every wound inflicted on the Union, in one part, results in an increase of strength in every other part. We need not fear that a political system so vigorous will perish.

April 11.

As the season advances, public impatience for military movements utters itself, often in terms of discontent, which may mislead the friends of our country abroad. Much is said of insurgent raids in Kentucky, which are of no particular effect or significance. You will notice an order of General Grant, which indicates the 16th instant, as the day on which the repose of the forces will come to an end.

The election in Connecticut indicates an exhaustion of the opposition. The people of Maryland have called a Convention to abolish slavery. The Senate of the United States have sustained a proposition to amend the Federal Constitution, by abolishing slavery. The House of Representatives, which, as you will remember, was elected in the reactionary period of 1862, has rebuked and censured a member for remarks favorable to secession.

The financial bills are still lingering in Congress; but the disposition of a majority is conciliatory as well as patriotic; and I do not apprehend a failure of the measures necessary to sustain the public credit.

April 18.

A recent raid of the insurgents upon Fort Pillow has been marked by atrocities which cannot be contemplated without a shudder. These barbarities assume very grave significance, as showing that the Africo-American troops are to be denied by the insurgents the privilege of quarter. So it seems to be established that slavery claims its independence of civilization, to the very last; even while appealing to Christian nations for sympathy and aid.

April 25.

General Banks has encountered a check on his march from Natchitoches, although we have no detailed report.

To Mrs. Seward, he wrote:

We are saddened with military misfortunes.

The Fort Pillow massacre is shocking and horrible. The reverse in Louisiana is another painful lesson, that the chances of battle are nearly equal; and that success is won, less by skill and valor, than by the persevering employment of superior force.

When the slavery question, in any of its phases, came up for discussion in Congress, it was like the flourish of the red cloak at a bull-fight. Eloquence and pathos, rant and cant, philosophy and prejudice, were strangely mingled in the outpour of debate.

"I can make nothing out of your slavery debates," said a foreign visitor. "I have sat five days in the galleries; and what I have learned is, that every thing that has been done is wrong, and that every thing that is going to be done is worse."

It had been supposed that, after the Republicans gained control, the fierce debate would end. But slavery was an apple of discord in Republican councils, as it had been between Republicans and Democrats. Some were radical, some conservative; some were liberal and some were illiberal; many were positive, and a few were wavering. Debates, hot, protracted, and inconclusive, raged for weeks over the questions of repealing the old Fugitive Slave Law, of amending the Constitution so as to abolish slavery, of freeing the families of the hundred thousand colored soldiers in the Army, of establishing a "Freedman's Bureau," of relieving witnesses and travelers from restrictions on the score of color. The President having proposed a definite plan, it became a salient point of attack; for there were many who found it easier to assail the plans of others, than to formulate any of their own.

Doubtless the discordance of views in Congress reflected the similar discordance of views among the people. Newspapers and letters brought daily evidence of this fact. Seward, adverting to it in conversation one evening, took down from the shelf of his library, one of the volumes of Burke, and read a favorite quotation:

> I am indeed to look to your opinions, but such opinions as you and I must have five years hence — I must not look to the flash of the day.

Before the war the African slave trade had continued to thrive in defiance of laws and treaties. Public sentiment was adverse, but private cupidity was strong. Courts were lax and officials blind. Seward, on entering the State Department, resolutely set to work to use every means at his disposal, to break up the nefarious traffic. His treaty with Great Britain was followed by other action. The increased naval force and the military instrumentalities for detecting crime and making arrests, aided his purpose. Courts and marshals zealously coöperated. Soon the slave-trader found that his calling was no longer profitable, and was becoming dangerous in New York. Several were arrested and brought to trial; convictions and imprisonment followed. In one case the death penalty was inflicted. In others, where the guilty men were foreigners, they were turned over to their own Governments for punishment.

Usually the slave-traders did not lack money, and consequently were able to secure legal skill for their defense, and to enlist strong influ-

ences in their behalf. Presses and politicians who were opposing the Administration, on other grounds, were easily led to join in the outcry against its action. Nevertheless, the proceedings continued until, within three years after the treaty was signed, slave-trading from the United States ports was finally broken up.

Early in this year, Seward had correspondence with both the Spanish and British Governments, as to the slave traffic known to be going on between Africa and Cuba He instructed Mr. Koerner, the United States Minister at Madrid, to address the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, urging the coöperation of Spain in its complete suppression.

One case that excited heated discussion was that of Arguelles, who, as a Lieutenant-Governor in Cuba, had seized three hundred Africans landed on the coast of his district, and, instead of liberating them, had sold them into slavery. Covering up the evidence of his crime and pocketing the proceeds, he sailed for New York, where he fancied he would be secure, as there was no extradition treaty between Spain and the United States, under which he could be surrendered. The Captain-General of Cuba, Domingo Dulce, presented the facts with authenticating documents, to the United States Government. Stating that Arguelles' return was necessary, for the liberation of his victims, he asked whether there was any practical way of obtaining it. Seward brought the matter before the President and Cabinet, and advised that Arguelles should be sent back to Cuba. Such a crime against humanity he thought ought not to go unpunished. International comity, as well as international law, would sanction the act, even in the absence of a treaty. The necessary orders were given, and the Spanish Minister, Señor Tassara, was informed.

Early one morning Arguelles was arrested at his hotel in New York by Marshal Murray, and put on board the steamer for Havana, in charge of a Spanish officer.

"So far as depends on me," Seward said, "Spanish slave-dealers who have no immunity in Havana, will find none in New York."

Arrived in Havana, Arguelles was consigned to the Moro Castle, to await his trial.

"I ask you to make known to Secretary Seward," wrote General Dulce to the Spanish Minister, "how much I thank him for his coöperation in this affair, because by it, he assists the exposure and punishment of a crime totally distinct from any political matter; the result of which will be that more than two hundred human beings, who are groaning in slavery, will owe to his Excellency the recovery of their freedom."

But the transaction was not so favorably regarded by all in the United States. There was an outburst of indignant denunciation by lawyers, newspapers, meetings, and conventions — some of it sincere, some of it merely paid for. They characterized it as a "denial of the right of asylum," and a "flagrant outrage on individual liberties." Rebel spmpathizers, "Copperhead" politicians, and even malcontent Republicans, thought they were scoring a point in their own favor by these attacks on the Secretary of State, who, however, found himself sustained, as he had expected, by the public opinion of the country and the world. Replying to a resolution of inquiry from the Senate, he said:

The extradition in the case referred to in the resolution of the Senate is understood by this department to have been made in virtue of the law of nations and the Constitution of the United States. Although there is a conflict of authorities concerning the expediency of exercising comity toward a foreign Government, by surrendering one of its own subjects charged with the commission of crime within its territory, yet a nation is never bound to furnish asylum to dangerous criminals who are offenders against the human race; and if, in any case, the comity could be practiced, the one which is understood to have called forth the resolution furnished a just occasion.

His circulars continued the narration of events:

May 3.

There has been a high excitement in the money-market, producing, of course, some uneasiness in regard to the fiscal condition of the Government. This uneasiness has compelled Congress to increase customs by fifty per cent, and it is stimulating that body to enact, as speedily as possible, the laws necessary for augmenting the internal revenue. The country responds cheerfully to these healthful measures.

We have accepted eighty-five thousand volunteers for one hundred days, from the North-eastern States, to supply garrisons, and leave the regular forces free for active operations in the field.

May 9.

Successive reports leave us no longer grounds for doubting that the combined land and naval expedition against Shreveport has failed; not without serious sacrifice of men and material; although we yet hope without the loss of any of the strategic positions. Major-General Canby has been dispatched to the field to do what may be found necessary.

Seward, in his communications with the French Government, had combated its "Mexican Empire" project, as well as each successive scheme for direct, or indirect, encouragement to the rebels. Of course, in his dispatches, however emphatic, he was careful to avoid overstepping the requirements of diplomatic courtesy, and so had been able to carry his points without offending national pride, or provoking foreign war. He was now receiving from the French Govern-

ment assurances that "mediation" and "recognition" projects were abandoned or held in abeyance; that the iron-clad rams built at Bordeaux, for the rebels, had been sold to the Swedes, and no new rebel ship-building would be allowed; that the *Rappahannock* was detained at Calais and would be "left to rot where she lies;" that Maximilian would not recognize the Richmond Government, even though himself unrecognized by the United States, and that the French military commission sent to observe "both sides of the civil war" would now, in deference to Seward's views of "belligerency," refrain from passing the Federal lines.

Just at this favorable juncture of diplomatic affairs, and when the fortunes of the war were trembling in the balance of the pending Virginia campaign, the House of Representatives, with more patriotic zeal than discretion, fired off a resolution aimed at the Emperor of the French. The Senate, more discreet and politic, allowed the matter to lie on its table without action. But, of course, the newspapers carried the resolution to Paris, and told the Emperor it was "an uncalled-for menace of war against France." That astute ruler was not slow to perceive that the House had, unwittingly, given him two advantages. They had given him a pretext for intervention, as well as a proof that the Federal Government was not a unit in its action.

All this made fresh work for Seward, who accordingly wrote Mr. Dayton that while "the resolution truly interpreted the unanimous sentiment of the people of the United States in regard to Mexico, it was another and distinct question, whether the United States would think it necessary or proper to express themselves in the form adopted by the House at this time; and that at present no departure from the policy hitherto pursued was contemplated."

This restored peaceful relations with France, but did not placate the House of Representatives, which proceeded to adopt some more resolutions adverse to him. These the Senate, as before, declined to consider or act upon.

Commenting, in a dispatch to Mr. Adams, upon the motives and sentiments which induced European statesmen to favor the subversion of the Mexican Republic, Seward said:

> All these motives and sentiments resolve themselves into a jealousy of the advancement of the United States. You justly lament the pertinacity with which the American people continue their suicidal divisions. Considerations of foreign and remote dangers can scarcely be expected to gain serious attention, when the immediate domestic perils absorb the popular mind. I know no other way for us than to contemplate the situation calmly, do our whole duty faithfully, meet every emergency as it rises with prudence, firmness, and force if necessary, and trust in God for a safe issue of the contest.

CHAPTER XXX.

1864.

A General Advance. Grant, Butler, and Sherman. The Battles in the Wilderness. Flank Movements and Engagements in Georgia. Lee Falling Back. Johnston in Retreat. Spottsylvania. Thousands of Prisoners. Sherman's Cavalry Raids. Sigel, Averill, Hunter, and Crook. Sending Forward Reinforcements. The Red River Expedition. Canby. Taxes, Banks, and National Credit. The Armies Before Richmond. Petersburg. Family Letters.

EARLY in May, the drums and bugles of the "Army of the Potomac" were calling its regiments together, and the long columns were again winding over the dusty roads, and devastated fields of Virginia. The diplomatic circulars each week chronicled the news from it, as received in Washington:

May 9.

During the last week there has been a general advance of our forces, on the long line which extends from Chattanooga to the Potomac, and this movement is yet in progress.

On Wednesday, the 4th, the "Army of the Potomac," numbering about one hundred thousand, crossed the Rapidan, at Three Fords, and advanced to a line stretching through the Wilderness, from Germania Ford to Chancellorsville. The several corps had not fully completed their line of battle on Thursday morning, when they were vigorously assailed. A severe but indecisive battle occurred. It was renewed on Friday. A reserved force of thirty thousand men, under Burnside, reached the field and was engaged at noon. The entire insurgent army, under Lee, Hill, and Longstreet, was encountered in a conflict which lasted from morning until night, with vicissitudes, several times, so unfortunate for our force, as to excite serious apprehension, but ending in the withdrawal of the enemy, leaving the "Army of the Potomac" in possession of its ground. Our losses are reported at twelve thousand; the enemy's not mentioned. There was skirmishing on Saturday, and bearers of dispatches report that they heard heavy cannonading yesterday.

General Sigel has been advancing up the Valley of the Shenandoah.

General Butler has landed at a point on the James river, just above the mouth of the Appomattox, thirty miles below Richmond, and ten miles above Petersburg. He has broken up a portion of the railroad which connects those two places, but not without some fighting.

General Sherman advanced on the 4th from Chattanooga. On Saturday he was in Tunnel Hill, with the enemy before him at Buzzard's Roost Point, above Dalton. McPherson was operating against the connection between Atlanta and Dalton.

Neither General Grant, nor General Butler, nor General Sherman, make the least sign of discouragement, or demand reinforcement, but they leave us to infer that they are able, and determined to persevere in the campaign, as at first designed.

May 16.

We receive advices of laborious and heroic efforts made by our land and naval commanders, in Louisiana, to save their forces and material in that State, and in Arkansas. General Canby has been vigorous and successful in sending reinforcements to Generals Banks and Steele.

General Sherman seems to have inaugurated his new campaign in Georgia, with his usual sagacity and diligence. He has brought General Schofield down from Knoxville, upon the flank of the enemy, while Sherman moved against him in front, and General McPherson struck at the communications with his base. Thus assailed, Johnston abandoned Dalton, and was then pressed in flank and rear by Sherman and Schofield, until Saturday, the 14th, when a severe engagement took place. General Sherman took one thousand prisoners, and Johnston retreated southward from Resaca. Sherman is pressing upon him, and expecting confidently to take Rome.

The three days' sanguinary battles in the old Wilderness closed on Friday, the 6th. During the night of that day, Lee left his position and retired southward toward Spottsylvania Court House. General Grant advanced. He brought the enemy again into battle on Sunday morning, the 8th, drove him out of his intrenchments, and forced him across the Po. Here the enemy again threw up fortifications. On Monday, General Grant, against very obstinate resistance, and not without considerable loss, marched across the Po. On Tuesday, the 10th, the rebels accepted the challenge, and made assaults, but they were repelled. Our lines were maintained, and portions of the enemy's lines were wrested from him. It seems to myself like exaggeration, when I find, that, in describing conflict after conflict, in this energetic campaign, I am required always to say of the last one, that it was the severest battle of the war. Six thousand of our men were placed *hors du combat* in this battle of the 10th of May. Wednesday, the 11th, was spent in skirmishing. Thursday, the 12th, brought a new and severe conflict, with results encouraging to the Union arms.

At eight o'clock on the night of that day, General Grant sent a dispatch to the War Department, in which he modestly expressed himself concerning the campaign, in these words:

"We have now ended the eighth day of very heavy fighting. The result, to this time, is very much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy. I think the loss of the enemy must be greater. We have taken over five thousand prisoners, while he has taken from us but few, except stragglers."

The battle was continued on Friday, the 13th, with decided advantage to the Union Army. On the morning of the 14th, it was ascertained that Lee had again retired. Yesterday morning, the 15th, General Grant reports from the Army that there has been continual rains for five days, roads had become impassable, even so that ambulances can no longer make their way, with their wounded, from the battle-fields.

General Grant waits for twenty-four hours of dry weather, when he will advance. The enemy last night were in position across the road from Fred-

ericksburg to Richmond, and our Army is confronting them. The Lieutenant-General writes cheerfully, hopefully, even to the tone of confidence. We have now nine thousand prisoners in our hands captured in these battles, including four hundred officers.

General Butler has been very active and successful in intercepting Lee's expected reinforcements below Richmond. He has destroyed the railroad communications between Weldon and Richmond, and between Petersburg and Richmond, and at the date of our last advices had threatened Fort Darling, which protects the river approach. They have made five successive sorties, and have been as often repulsed. Their iron-clads have come down from Richmond and been driven back by our fleet. General Butler writes in fine spirits.

During the last week, General Sheridan made an expedition with thirteen thousand cavalry in the interior of Virginia, around the insurgent army, destroyed the railroad and telegraph communications through the Virginia Central, and Orange and Alexandria railroads, with an immense quantity of military stores, and finally crossing the Peninsula, joined General Butler on Saturday last. General Averill has destroyed the communications by the Virginia and Tennessee railroad; and thus Lee is supposed to be cut off from supplies and reinforcements by railroad, except on the circuitous route through Danville to Raleigh.

On the other hand, we are sending no inconsiderable reinforcements to General Grant. Those already sent amount to thirty thousand men.

May 21.

For several weeks we have been suffering apprehensions lest the subsiding of the Red river might leave our iron-clad fleet to be destroyed. We have just now been relieved. An artificial rise of the river at the rapids above Alexandria was effected, and the fleet has safely descended to the Mississippi. The return of the fleet and land forces to the Mississippi, reassures our control of the river.

General Sherman has taken Rome and is at Kingston. He would to-day resume his march with an army of eighty thousand effective men.

On Friday night the insurgents withdrew from their intrenched position at Spottsylvania Court House, retreating, as it is supposed, across the North Anna river. The "Army of the Potomac" was already on its advance. Our position is now at Milford Station, on the railroad from Fredericksburg, and along the south side of the Mattapony. Rappahannock Station was used as our depot for supplies at the beginning of the advance. Since the battles of the Wilderness we have used Fredericksburg. To-day we change our station from that place to Port Royal.

General Butler still holds his position on the south bank of the James, and to the extent that he succeeds in detaining the enemy's forces, he contributes to the success of the main Army of the Potomac in its advance. General Sigel, with a portion of his forces, was defeated on the Shenandoah, but the loss has been compensated by the successful operations of General Crook, in Western Virginia.

Congress is maturing the Tax Bill with great care, and, I think, in a form that will be effective, to sustain the national credit. The Bank Bill is still a subject of serious debate, but it will ultimately assume a satisfactory shape. The importations are enormous, and the shipment of gold is increased by the high rate of interest adopted by the banks of England and France. Nevertheless, the Government stocks are well sustained, and the new loan, bearing five per cent interest, is taken up at the rate of four or five millions a week. The flood of immigration is on the increase. Ultimately the nation cannot fail to be the gainer, that sends out its gold and receives in exchange free men from foreign countries, to extract the metals from its mines, and to expand cultivation over its territories.

General Sherman, finding Johnston strongly fortified at Altoona, made a detour with a design to pass that place. Johnston went out and met Sherman near Dallas, but was driven back with severe loss.

General Lee, on retiring from Spottsylvania, took up and fortified a very advantageous position near Hanover Junction, south of the North Anna, and General Grant thereupon again cast away his base, which was then at Port Royal, and threw his whole forces across the Pamunky river. When last heard from, the Army stood in the order of battle, three miles south of the river. At that place he has been joined by the portion of the command of General Butler which could be spared without exposing the position hitherto held at Bermuda Hundred. This reinforcement from Butler's Army was effected by means of steam navigation down the James, and up the York and Pamunky. Thus all the contending forces are within a circuit of twenty miles around Richmond. All the wounded, all the prisoners, and all unnecessary *impedimenta* of the "Army of the Potomac," have been sent away by General Grant.

June 6.

General Sherman writes us yesterday afternoon from the vicinity of Dallas, that the enemy abandoned his position last night and marched off. McPherson is moving to-day for Arkworth, Thomas on the direct Marietta road, and Schofield on his right.

There has been much manœuvering in front of Richmond attended with battles, in which we have lost seven thousand five hundred men, and inflicted equal injury upon the enemy. General Grant's head-quarters are at Cold Harbor. His line stretches from Bethesda church on the Tolopotomy, to Cold Harbor. Assaults are made, first by the one party and then by the other, thus far always leaving our line unbroken and perhaps a little advanced, while the enemy, though repulsed in all their attacks, yet retain the exterior line of their defenses at Richmond. The communications of General Grant, with his new base on the Pamunky, are perfect. Abundant supplies are conveyed to him with reinforcements equal to the great waste which unavoidably occurs in the Army of the Potomac. The obstinacy exhibited by the two parties has not been surpassed in the whole course of the war.

Congress has passed the Currency Bill and thus disposed of the very troublesome conflict between the new national banking system and the old one of State banks.

June 14.

We receive mingled news of successes and reverses in desultory movements beyond the Mississippi.

John Morgan, with a guerilla-mounted band, lately passed over the border from Virginia into Kentucky, and committed some depredations in the interior of that State. He was hotly pursued by General Burbridge, and was finally defeated near Cynthiana, with the dispersion of his forces.

General Hunter, with his flying column, defeated the enemy at Piedmont, and then seized and occupied Staunton. General Sheridan, with a considerable cavalry force, has gone out to meet and strengthen General Hunter, while Breckinridge, with some insurgent levies, has gone to resist Hunter's attempt to effect a junction with the "Army of the Potomac."

June 20.

Last night General Sherman announced that Johnston had again retreated, and that our whole Army are pursuing the insurgents as far as the Chattahoochee river.

The insurgents claim to have defeated Sheridan's cavalry near Gordonsville with severe loss, but this is erroneous; he obtained a victory with substantial fruits. When last heard from he was at West Point, on the York river, it is supposed, in communication with General Grant.

You will read in the newspapers General Grant's modest, but clear account of his success in transferring the "Army of the Potomac" without any loss from its position to the south bank of the James, below Petersburg; at the same time reinforcing General Butler at Bermuda Hundred. Immediately upon obtaining his new position General Grant began a series of assaults against Petersburg. The place was found strongly defended. It is understood that Lee has strongly reinforced Beauregard, who defends Petersburg, and that he has recovered the railroad which connects that place with Richmond.

June 28.

We have news from General Sherman that he met a repulse, with a loss of three or four thousand men, in a general assault yesterday upon the enemy's line.

Perhaps I could in no better way relieve you of any apprehensions concerning the safety of our two great Armies than by stating the fact that, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of battle, not only are our supplies and material regularly furnished to both Armies in their advanced positions, but the head-quarters of each are in direct and immediate telegraphic communication with this capital.

During the progress of these events he wrote at intervals to Mrs. Seward in less guarded language. On May 8, he said:

The tone and temper of the people around us has undergone a change since you left. The campaign fills the country with hopes and fears, and every man prophesies victories and defeats, just according to his own mental condition.

Very likely before the sun sets to-day we shall have definite advices. But there is so much confusion in the newspaper reports that I may not un-

profitably tell you just what we know here at ten o'clock to-day. There were two days' fighting in front (Thursday and Friday), very severe. Our wounded, ten thousand. The number of killed not mentioned. The enemy were believed to be retreating yesterday morning at eleven o'clock. General Butler has landed a large force above City Point, within thirty miles of Richmond. General Sherman is, so far, moving successfully against the enemy in Georgia.

In foreign affairs there is nothing new. If the campaign should prove tolerably successful, we shall have quiet, so far as our affairs are concerned abroad. It is generally assumed, but with deep regret, that General Banks' operations have resulted in disaster. Nothing has been received directly from him.

His youngest son, William H., had been during the winter in command of Fort Foote, the large new earthwork on Rosier's Bluff. At the commencement of the advance movement he had gone with his regiment, and was now participating in the perils of the "Wilderness" campaign. Writing home, June 1, his father said:

We have not a word from William since he left us on the 21st. There are no mails, and as yet no telegraph. He probably reached head-quarters about the 28th. We may feel assured that nothing ill has befallen him, for both friends and enemies would be alert to communicate.

My own particular cares are easier now than they have been for a long time. The dangers abroad are apparently subsiding again. They rise and fall periodically, like all other tides. But the country is entering on a new and perilous time — a canvass for the Presidency in a time of civil war. Faction is inventive, active, unscrupulous. It will avail itself of misfortunes in the field, if that shall happen. It will lay hold of military success to produce distraction.

Nevertheless, there is a country to be saved or lost. He who is unselfish and devoted may be content to perform his own particular duties, and trust that the God who directs the course of nations will not fail to overrule the machinations of bad men.

On the 6th, he wrote:

I give you in the inclosed extract from the Philadelphia *Inquirer* the first clue I have found to the whereabouts of our son. By this extract it is seen his regiment is in General Wright's Army Corps (the Sixth), and that it was engaged in the battle of last Thursday, when two of its captains were wounded. From the absence of any mention of William among the casualties it is justly inferred that he was left unharmed. I share all your anxiety about him, and I shall let you know without delay whatever I gather concerning him.

On the 13th, he wrote:

Yesterday morning I attended public worship at the Capitol. Dr. Breckinridge of Kentucky preached there. He was a classmate of mine at college — then an emancipationist, as I was. He has gone all around the political compass and joins me again, now, when he is sixty-four years old, and I am sixty-three. There is forty years' experience for you! He is the most accomplished

extemporaneous speaker I have ever heard. He dined with us on Saturday; and we enjoyed the occasion very much.

At the front a movement is going forward, from which high consequences are expected.

I rode over to the "contraband" camp yesterday. I think we have brought away about two thousand slaves from Virginia in this campaign; but they are nearly all old persons, women and children. It is a pleasing sight to witness the light-hearted activity, and contentment, of those poor creatures, who find in exile, and in tents, an agreeable improvement of their condition. One fine-looking woman said:

"This is my child, that one there, and this one on the other side. They never had no hats, nor shoes. I've got a pair of shoes that the Yankees give me at the White House. To-day, they are all to go to the Quarter-Master's and draw clothes."

On the 21st, he wrote:

I cannot make a more satisfactory return for your letter, than by sending you William's letter of the 18th (Saturday), just arrived. The last three days of last week were filled up with only partially successful assaults on Petersburg. The loss is not less than seven thousand five hundred men. General Grant will resume manœuvering. I have no doubt of his ultimate success. But how fearful this campaign has become!

CHAPTER XXXI.

1864.

The Cleveland Convention. "Radical Democracy." National Convention at Baltimore. Lincoln Renominated. The Vice-Presidency. Hamlin, Dickinson, and Johnson. The Letters of Acceptance. Seward's Letter to New York. South American Republics. Close of the Session. Its Results. Immigration. Colonization Projects. The *Alabama* Destroyed by the *Kearsarge*.

THERE was a gathering at Cleveland in May, composed of such Republicans as were dissatisfied with Lincoln's Administration, and were opposing his renomination. The Republican National Convention had been called to meet at Baltimore on the 8th of June; and the Cleveland Convention assembled a week earlier, to forestall, or influence it. Resolutions were adopted at Cleveland, favoring "the suppression of the rebellion;" but finding fault with the way the Administration was doing it — especially its methods in regard to slavery, military arrests, "denial of the right of asylum," confiscation, etc. The name of "the Radical Democracy" was adopted; nominations

were made and committees appointed; and the result spread before the people. But it awakened no enthusiastic popular response. The people were too much in earnest for political trifling. Their common sense showed them that success in crushing the rebellion would be more likely to be achieved by those having that work already in hand. A forcible and homely illustration, used by Mr. Lincoln, was generally echoed, "It was no time to be swapping horses in the middle of the stream." Every friend and follower of Seward, now, was in favor of Lincoln's renomination. Seward's public and private advocacy of that course agreed with their own judgment. The same disposition that had made them unwilling to throw their leader overboard in 1860, now made them averse to throwing their President overboard in 1864.

When the "Union and Republican National Convention" met at Baltimore, its five hundred members were substantially in accord, as to the wisdom of again nominating and electing the President, whose former election was still resisted by the rebels in arms. On some other topics, there were more differences of opinion; and the proximity of the Convention to Washington enabled leading delegates to come over, for conference with the members of the Administration, as to the proper steps to be taken. Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky was made temporary chairman, and Governor Dennison of Ohio, permanent presiding officer. Patriotic enthusiasm marked the speeches, as well as the platform, which was prepared by Henry J. Raymond. Two contesting delegations from Missouri made a somewhat troublesome question; but this was happily disposed of. A "shadow of coming" difference was "cast before," in the discussion about admitting delegates from Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana, States that had "seceded." The majority of the Credentials Committee advised their admission without votes. Preston King moved to give them equal rights with the others; and his amendment prevailed. President Lincoln's renomination was made enthusiastically, and practically with unanimity.

Vice-President Hamlin retained the confidence of the party; and there was no ground of objection to his renomination also. But it was thought wise to endeavor to draw additional support to the ticket by nominating a "War Democrat," for the second place. Daniel S. Dickinson was proposed and warmly urged, but it was finally decided to give stronger emphasis to the action, by taking Andrew Johnson, who was not only a War Democrat but a Southern Unionist, and the Military Governor of Tennessee.

Of course, the proceedings at Baltimore were entirely acceptable at

Washington. In his written response, accepting the nomination, Mr. Lincoln took occasion to dwell especially on two points in the platform. He expressed especial gratification "that the soldiers and seamen were not forgotten by the Convention, as they forever must and will be remembered by the grateful country." Referring to the resolution alluding to Seward's course, he said, "the position of the Government in relation to the action of France in Mexico, as assumed through the State Department and indorsed by the Convention, will be faithfully maintained."

Mr. Johnson's letter of acceptance was emphatic and explicit, declaring treason to be "worthy of the punishment of death;" and pronouncing it "vain to attempt to reconstruct the Union with the distracting element of slavery in it."

Replying to an invitation to attend a Ratification Meeting in New York, Seward wrote:

So far as an expression of my concurrence in the nominations and platform is concerned, everybody knows that, substantially, I was committed in detail, to all that the Convention has now done, long before a delegate was chosen, and even long before the Convention itself was called.

The secret of the success of the Convention is, that the American people are a wise, true, and liberty-loving, and humane nation. For the present, let the people send men and supplies to the nation's armies in the field, and thus enable them "to fight it out on the same line if it takes all summer." The election of Lincoln and Johnson, at the close of a successful campaign, will then speak the people's decision, that slavery has perished, and the American Union is invincible.

Pursuing his policy of extending the commerce, and strengthening the friendship between the United States and the other American republics, he this summer established closer relations with the little Republic of Honduras, by a "treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation," which was signed at Comayagua on the 4th of July. In regard to the hostilities between Spain and Peru, he wrote to Minister Robinson, at Lima, proffering the good offices of the Government of the United States, and expressing its desire to aid in securing reconciliation and peace.

On the 4th of July, Congress closed its session. In his circular he summed up the results of their labors:

July 4.

After a session of seven months Congress will adjourn at noon to-day. It has, in the main, responded to the call of the President for men and money, to continue the operations indispensable to suppress the insurrection. Theoretically, larger revenues ought to have been levied than those which Congress

has imposed, but, practically, those revenues are expected to satisfy the conditions upon which the public credit can be permanently established. The debates have been as loyal and harmonious as could reasonably have been expected, in the Legislative Assembly of a confederate republic, in a great civil war. Congress has not confined itself to military measures. It has provided for carrying on the work upon the Capitol and other public buildings; for establishing steam-mail communications with Brazil; for encouraging immigration; for the construction of the interoceanic continental railroad; and has given its sanction to the preparation for building an inter-continental, or world's telegraph line across Behring's straits, in connection with Great Britain and Russia.

The encouragement of immigration, here alluded to, was one of Seward's own projects. He had always regarded immigration as "a chief source of the nation's wealth and prosperity, and as one of the principal replenishing streams to repair the ravages of war and the waste of national strength." The act passed at this session gave the Department of State supervision of the whole subject. Under it, further measures for the protection of new-comers were taken, and circulars issued "calling attention to the Homestead Act, offering opportunities to active, industrious, and intelligent men for the acquisition of abundant support and comfortable homesteads for themselves and their families." A Bureau of Immigration was organized in the department, with B. F. Hall at its head.

For years the question, whether two distinct races could peaceably exist together, had perplexed sages and statesmen. "Colonization," or deportation of the Africans, had long since been proposed, but in practice it had been attended with only indifferent success. Now that four millions of slaves were to be suddenly emancipated, discussion of the subject revived. Many new colonization schemes were projected. It was proposed to found colonies of freedmen in the West Indies, on the Central American coast, and in South America. Some advocated these plans from mere cupidity and greed, some with mixed motives, and some out of pure benevolence and philanthropy. To the latter class belonged the President and many eminent thinkers. Seward, to whom the subject was not a new one, had no faith in their success, and entertained grave doubts of their wisdom. He did not believe that the colored people would be willing to go to distant lands. He thought the United States offered a better field for their labor, and quite as much probability of contentment and happiness as they would find anywhere in the world. "I am always for bringing men and States *into* this Union," he said; "never for taking any *out*."

The *Kearsarge*, after vainly following the *Alabama* through various seas, at last brought her to bay and ended her career. Seward wrote:

July 8.

We are informed of the destruction of the pirate ship *Alabama* by the *Kearsarge*, in an engagement off Cherbourg on the 19th of June. This event has given great satisfaction to the Government, and it appreciates and commends the bravery and skill displayed by Captain Winslow and the officers and crew under his command.

Later, in summing up the incidents of the conflict, he adverted with "censure and regret" to the action of the *Deerhound* in aiding some of the *Alabama's* crew to escape after their surrender:

Leaving all the other circumstances of that strange transaction out of view, there is ground in the case, as it is thus presented, for grave remonstrance with Her Majesty's Government. The escaped commander of the *Alabama* is said to have been the object of hospitalities and demonstrations from British subjects in Southampton, which could have been bestowed only upon the supposition that in robbing or burning or sinking American merchantmen on the high seas, and finally in engaging the *Kearsarge* he was acting with the implied consent and in the interest of Great Britain as an enemy of the United States. This Government experiences much pain in reviewing these extraordinary incidents.

There was general rejoicing in the loyal States over this ending of the worst of the depredators on commerce. Tributes of respect and honor were showered upon Captain Winslow for his achievement. A large oil painting of the naval battle, some months later, was presented to Seward, and it hung ever after in his drawing-room. It represented the *Kearsarge*, with flying colors, in the foreground; the *Alabama*, half submerged and sinking, in the middle distance. One day when Captain Winslow came to call, his attention was called to the picture, and he was asked as to its fidelity in matters of detail. He replied that it correctly delineated the state of the sky and the sea on that day, and that the portrait of the *Kearsarge* was a very good one.

Observing that he paused, some one said: "But what else, Captain? Is there any thing wrong?"

"Yes," said the veteran sailor, with emphasis, "I wish these artists would not always be representing the *Alabama* as smaller than the *Kearsarge*. She was as large as my vessel, had as many guns, and more men!"

THE KEARSARGE AND ALABAMA.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1864.

The *Wayanda*. A Visit to City Point. A Cabinet Change. Chase Succeeded by Fessenden. Sherman's Advance. Operations at Petersburg and Richmond. Early's Invasion. Battle of Monocacy. General Wallace. Washington Exposed and Again in Danger.

"GOVERNOR SEWARD," said Mr. Chase, one day, after an official conference, "can you give me an Indian name that sounds well, and is not too hard to pronounce, for one of my new revenue cutters? I have to name them; and the Navy has used all the best, or at least, all the familiar ones."

"Yes," said Seward, "I will give you a name that has never been used, though it is as pretty as any of them — *Wawayanda* — the name of a valley in Orange county. It was a very familiar name and place to me, in my boyhood."

So the vessel was christened accordingly, though the name got shortened afterward into *Wayanda*. She was in active service in 1864, and Seward went in her to visit the head-quarters of the Army.

A letter from one of the party said:

We are just returned from a three days' excursion to the Army on the *Wawayanda*, a pretty little sea-going steamer belonging to the Treasury. We embarked Thursday morning, steamed down to Point Lookout, anchored there on account of the fog, and went on in the morning to Fortress Monroe. There we found a 'nor'easter blowing.

The *Wawayanda* drawing too much water to go up the James river, the Quartermaster placed a river steamboat, the *City of Hudson*, at the Secretary's disposal. We started in her Friday evening, but got aground about ten o'clock, forty miles up the river, in the fog, and so had to spend another night at anchor. No guerillas came off to catch us, and we reached City Point at seven o'clock Saturday morning.

General Grant was in his tent, on the bluff overlooking the river; and we spent the morning with him there, and in looking at his camps. In the afternoon he came on board, and went up with us to General Butler's intrenched position, at Bermuda Hundred, between the James and Appomattox. The General received us cordially, took us over his stronghold, up to the top of his signal tower, one hundred and seventy-five feet high, to look at the spires of Petersburg and Richmond, then out to his "front," to look over the earthworks, at the rebel picket lines in the woods, and to listen to the steady cannonade of the continuous "artillery duel" between the two armies.

Coming down the river, we reached Norfolk at nine o'clock in the evening. There we found General Shipley, the Military Governor, waiting on the wharf with his Staff, and an escort. He took us up to his house, gave us a supper, followed by a serenade, and we returned on board at midnight. Early Sunday

morning we started home, the General's artillery giving the Secretary of State a parting salute.

At Fortress Monroe we stopped long enough to receive a visit from Admiral Lee, who was there with his flag-ship; and then we steamed up the Chesapeake. The three days' east wind and fog ended in a heavy rain, bringing us to anchor again at Point Lookout during the darkness. At daylight we got under way against a heavy gale, but this subsided by noon, and the evening finds us arrived safely at home.

Seward himself wrote:

I find every thing very strong, firm, and reliable, at General Grant's headquarters. The voyage was agreeable as a relaxation. Of course I have my hands full of business accumulated.

If I were near enough to talk, instead of writing to you, I could indicate the difference between irresponsible and responsible advisers. Less than two years ago, a party in New York held me up to the hatred of the whole nation, because they thought I delayed the proclamation of emancipation, which was to make a new and fundamental condition of peace. To-day the same party protests against the "wisdom of superiors" here (which, that party says, is mine), in declining to receive negotiators for peace, until they come authorized to abandon slavery.

We are in the very *strain* of our double campaign. If matters go well, I shall get a chance to look into home by and by. Meantime, I must be content to remain here.

In his dispatches, he said:

I have just returned from a visit to General Grant, in front of Petersburg. His army is in excellent condition. While he has no fear that the enemy will attempt to assail him, he is, at the same time, neither idle, nor embarrassed concerning a plan of operations.

He wrote on the 2d, to Mrs. Seward:

We had a cheerful letter from William this morning, which we send to you. I find it necessary, in order not to disturb him, to try to forget the dear boy's exposure. But I am little likely to succeed in so heartless an attempt.

The "contraband" woman went, before your letter came. Do take her in. The camps swarm with women and children, waiting employment and culture.

We have a Cabinet crisis, of which I might *tell* you much, but can *write* you nothing, except that from the first day of the Administration, the causes have been upheaving in the Cabinet and in the country. It is well that the explosion produced no more severe shock than has occurred. Of course, this affair delays Congress.

A dispatch to Mr. Dayton said:

The Honorable Salmon P. Chase, on the 30th, resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury. It was tendered to his Excellency David Tod, late Governor of Ohio; but declined by him for want of adequate health. The President

ON THE WAYANDA.

GRANT'S HEAD-QUARTERS AT CITY POINT.

hereupon nominated the Honorable William Pitt Fessenden, at present the Chairman of the Committee on Finance; and the Senate immediately and unanimously confirmed the appointment. Mr. Fessenden is expected to assume his place in the Cabinet on the adjournment of Congress.

Resuming his summary of the military situation, he wrote:

July 4.

General Sherman surprised us yesterday with the agreeable information that he has flanked the insurgent forces on Kenesaw Mountain, and advanced to Marietta on the way toward Atlanta.

During the last week, Lieutenant-General Grant's operations upon communications of the insurgent army now at Petersburg and Richmond have been eminently successful.

You will read in the papers of a rebel raid on Martinsburg, threatening the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The movement is not fully developed. So, also, you will see accounts of insurgent movements on the Mississippi and Red rivers. Our military authorities have in hand counter-operations.

July 12.

The insurgent movement in the Shenandoah Valley developed at the close of last week. A column reported at thirty thousand, or forty thousand, under Breckinridge, passed to the Potomac fords above Harper's Ferry, crossed the South Mountain, and entered Frederick in Maryland, on Saturday, the 9th.

Major-General Wallace, with about seven thousand men, hastily drawn from Baltimore, met the whole or a considerable portion of the enemy's force at the bridge at Monocacy, which opens the way equally to Washington and Baltimore. A deadly conflict was maintained from nine in the morning to five in the afternoon. Our forces, overpowered by double their number, gave way and retreated to Ellicott's Mills.

Seward's youngest son was now in command of the Ninth New York Artillery. His regiment was a part of the force sent up to check this Confederate invasion. Early, the Confederate commander, had moved with rapidity and secrecy, and General Wallace, the Union commander, found himself confronted with an overwhelming force. He could not drive the enemy back; but every hour he could delay their advance was important, since it gave time to put Washington in a condition for defense. Young Seward's regiment fought bravely nearly all day; but overpowered at last, was forced to retreat, while its Colonel, wounded, narrowly escaped capture. His horse was shot under him, and fell upon him. Lieutenant-Colonel Taft, who stood near by, at the same moment, lost his leg by the explosion of a shell. When the final order was given to retire, Colonel Seward had little more than a color guard left; and crippled, and surrounded by the enemy, escaped with great difficulty. With the help of one of his men, he reached a piece of woods; where mounting a mule, and using

his pocket-handkerchief for a bridle, he succeeded, after a painful ride of many miles during the night, in rejoining the forces, which had then made a stand at Ellicott's Mills.

It was now evident that the rebel movement was no mere raid; but a skillfully arranged strategic advance, to suddenly attack the Federal city on its weakest side. Seward's account continued:

Insurgent cavalry, on Sunday, spread themselves over a portion of Maryland, and threatened Baltimore and Washington. They captured and destroyed a train of cars on the railroad at Gunpowder Creek; and broke the telegraph line at that point. The main column is believed to have been moving across the country, from the bank of the Potomac near Rockville, toward Bladensburg, at a distance of perhaps eight miles north of this city. The enemy's cavalry approached and skirmished with our cavalry and pickets, immediately in front of our north line of fortifications; which extends from the west branch of the Potomac to Bladensburg, on the east branch. The enemy's column is understood to be about twenty thousand. Arrangements have been made for the defense of Baltimore. But this morning, it is reported that there is no considerable force in the vicinity of that place. Vigorous measures have been taken to improve the defenses of Washington; and every hour increases our strength.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1864.

Washington in Danger. Early and Breckinridge at Silver Spring. Burning Houses. Cutting off Communications with the North. Hasty Organization and Improvised Defenses. Fort Stevens. Reinforcements Arriving in Time. The Invaders Retreat. Wright in Pursuit. Grant's Siege of Petersburg. Sherman and Hood. Death of McPherson.

WHEN the news spread abroad in Washington that a rebel army was within a few miles of the city, and that there was no longer any Federal force to oppose its advance, there was general alarm. Farmers living in the path of the coming enemy, fled to the city for refuge. By every northern road their wagons were coming in, loaded with their household goods, accompanied by cattle hastily gathered and driven before them. Soon, clouds of smoke in the northern sky showed that the abandoned dwellings and barns had been fired by the rebel scouting or marauding parties.

Presently came intelligence that "Silver Spring," Mr. Blair's beautiful country seat, had been made the head-quarters of the rebel Generals, Early and Breckinridge, and that the house of his son, the Postmaster-General, had been burned to the ground.

Meanwhile the military authorities were making every possible preparation for defense. The forts were manned by veterans, invalids, and militia volunteers. Rifle pits between different fortifications were hastily made, and the slender force at the disposal of the Government was distributed to the best advantage. Railway and telegraphic communication with the North was again cut off; and it seemed as if the experiences of 1861 were to be repeated. But, this time, the popular feeling was very different. There was no gloom or consternation. Three years of war had inured even non-combatants to military vicissitudes; and the beleaguered citizens could even appreciate the grim humor of their predicament, in being thus suddenly attacked from the North, after having sent their available troops off to the South. Succor was known to be coming from the Army of the Potomac in war steamers and transports. But would it arrive before the rebels were in the streets? It was not believed that the rebel troops could long hold the city, if they should take it. But they might inflict irreparable damage by burning public buildings, destroying records and military stores, capturing valuable prisoners, and seriously damaging the prestige of the national cause, by even a day's occupation of the capital.

A letter from one of the family to Mrs. Seward, described the events in Washington:

> During Saturday evening we had been hearing successive reports of the battle, the disaster and the retreat of General Wallace from Monocacy. The Secretary had just returned from the War Department at midnight, when Mr. Stanton himself came over, and called him up to tell him of the dispatch saying that William was wounded and a prisoner. None of us slept much the rest of the night, and it was arranged that Augustus should go over in the first train to Baltimore to make inquiries. He left at seven.
>
> All the morning the city was filled with panic rumors, of the advance of the rebels in every direction, and troops were organized and posted to meet the anticipated attack.
>
> The employees of the Quartermaster's Department, and the teamsters amounting to several thousand, were armed, equipped, and mustered into regiments; volunteers were accepted; horses impressed, and the streets were full of bustle with the marching of the different bodies of troops.
>
> Meanwhile visitors were constantly coming in to make inquiry, or to bring reports said to have come from the field. At three o'clock a telegram from Augustus assured us that though wounded, William was not a prisoner. By that time, the citizens began to get reassured, and matters to look more cheerful, as the enemy had not pursued Wallace; had not attacked the railroad, and had not presented themselves anywhere in force.
>
> On coming home we learned that a battalion o. the Ninth Artillery just arrived from Petersburg, had marched up the avenue *en route* to the fortifications. We followed them in the carriage, and on the Tenallytown road, began

to overtake the stragglers in the rear of the column. We took in two of them, and presently overtook the main body, who had halted to rest before taking their positions in the forts. They were dusty and tired, but brown and hearty, all glad to see us, and to get back to their old camping-ground. Their first inquiry was about the Colonel, of whose reported capture they had heard. They lavished praises on him for his bravery and his conduct with them before Petersburg, and were delighted to find it was not true that he had been taken.

Major Snyder was in command of the battalion. We found him and all our other acquaintances; and indeed found none who were not. We stayed half an hour while they made their coffee, and fought their battles over again; and left them in excellent spirits. On reaching home at eight o'clock, we found General Wallace's dispatch about William. We think he will be here to-day or to-morrow. The whole regiment has now been ordered here to garrison the forts, as they are trained artillerists. Two battalions went to Baltimore and so were in the battle, but they will now come here.

With the preparations now made and the strength we are hourly gaining, the military authorities are confident not only of resisting, but perhaps of overpowering the rebel force and capturing it. The country round is full of the raiding and scouting parties of their cavalry. So far, their infantry does not appear. But the telegraph will have advised you about all military operations long before this reaches you.

Washington was well fortified. A triple girdle of earthworks now surrounded it. The open space between the fortifications and the region of streets, shops, and dwellings was thickly dotted with hospitals, mostly substantial wooden or canvas structures, with all modern appliances for ventilation and comfort. An army of maimed or convalescent soldiers, on a sunny day, could be seen resting or lounging on the turf around their doors.

In the afternoon of the day when the enemy's advance guard was expected, Seward drove out with the President to Fort Stevens, near the junction of the roads running from Seventh and Fourteenth streets. As this was an exposed point, it would probably be the first attacked. A barricade had been thrown across the turnpike. A crowd of officers gathered around the carriage to welcome and salute the President. He alighted, went up into the fort, and was standing on the parapet looking over the long stretch of comparatively level country, when a soldier touched his arm and begged him to descend, "for the bullets of the rebel sharpshooters may begin to come in, any minute, from the woods yonder."

The caution was timely, for in a few moments the prediction was verified, and a bullet or two, whistling over the sentry's head, showed that the riflemen were "getting the range."

A portion of the Sixth Corps, which General Grant had sent up for the relief of Washington, was now arriving and debarking at the

wharves. Detachments were hastily formed and marched up to the aid of the threatened forts. One arrived at Fort Stevens while the President was there. Thrown out as skirmishers, the men soon came in sight of the rebel scouts; who, recognizing the well-known cross which was the badge of the Sixth Corps, informed their commanders that the Federal reinforcements had arrived.

Seward recounted the military events of the week to his correspondents abroad:

July 18.

My dispatches were delayed last week, by reason of the interruption of the postal and telegraphic lines between this city and Philadelphia. An insurgent force, of unascertained strength, was then in front of this capital, but it had not excited serious alarm. Not only the actual number of the intruding force, but also its expectations and purposes, yet remained a subject of speculation.

Proceeding then to explain the movement by the aid of such data as could be obtained at the War Department, he recounted how General Hunter, in May, leaving a portion of his command at Harper's Ferry, had been operating in "the Valley" upon the enemy's communications with success; how Lee had sent up a superior force to drive him back, and Hunter had retired to the Ohio river; how the drought and low state of the river had delayed him in reaching Parkersburg; how the Valley was thus left open, the forces at Harper's Ferry being insufficient to resist the enemy's advance; how the Confederates once more broke the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and, unopposed, made their way over the upper fords of the Potomac, crossed the South Mountain, defeated Wallace's scanty force, and carried the bridge at the Monocacy.

Continuing the story, he said:

In the meantime, General Grant, at Petersburg, sent up the Sixth Army Corps to insure the safety of Baltimore and Washington. The Nineteenth Army Corps, from Red River, then at sea, were under orders to join the Army of the Potomac, on the James river. Orders were now given that this Nineteenth Corps, on coming in at Fortress Monroe, should, without disembarcation, proceed to Washington.

The enemy scattered their cavalry northward, eastward, and southward, and struck the Northern Central railroad, and then the Philadelphia and Baltimore railroad, at Gunpowder Creek, the suburbs of Baltimore, the suburbs of Washington, and the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad near Bladensburg. Their infantry and artillery forces were under the command of Early, who was supported by Breckinridge and McCausland. They deployed in a south-easterly direction from Rockville toward the continuation of what is known in this city as Seventh street. From this line they threw forward a considerable force, for observation; and thus menaced Fort Stevens.

This observing force remained in that position, from Monday morning until Tuesday evening; and the space between them and the fortifications was a scene of uninterrupted skirmishes between the cavalry and sharpshooters of the respective parties.

While the enemy were making these demonstrations, the fortifications which were threatened were duly manned by troops belonging to the garrison, by newly raised levies, and by portions of the Sixth Corps and the Nineteenth Corps, which had by this time began to debark at the wharves.

A force of two thousand men, sent out from Fort Stevens on Tuesday evening, assaulted the enemy with spirit and decision. They retired to their main line. In this engagement each party lost about three hundred killed and wounded. That night, the enemy's sharpshooters were replaced by cavalry pickets; and on Wednesday morning, the 13th, their cavalry disappeared. At the same time, the insurgents withdrew from the vicinity of Baltimore.

A column of considerable strength was dispatched, on the afternoon of the 13th, from this city, to pursue the enemy across the Potomac. Telegraphic connection was promptly restored, and the railroads in all directions, although not altogether repaired, are carrying their freights and passengers, to and from Philadelphia.

Doubtless the enemy thought, when he found the Valley open to him, that a raid into Maryland would yield him supplies of provisions and horses, to compensate the risk and cost. Doubtless he thought it possible that he might surprise the Government, in a defenseless condition, at Baltimore and Washington. Doubtless, also, he reckoned upon some political effect, to result from a panic, to be excited by even the menace of Washington. Finally, he expected, through that panic, to oblige the Government to raise the siege of Petersburg.

Then referring to other movements in progress, he added:

General Grant is still persevering in the siege. The news that General Sherman has at last pursued the enemy from his mountain fastnesses, and is now between the Chattahoochee and Atlanta, is confirmed. His communications still remain unbroken, and the forces which protect them have suffered no discomfiture. He is now advancing upon Atlanta.

July 26.

During the past week, public attention has been concentrated upon Atlanta. When General Sherman had crossed the Chattahoochee, the insurgent General, Johnston, was replaced by Hood. On the 22d, the enemy, after manœuvering, with skill, fell upon the column of McPherson, with great vehemence. That able and magnanimous commander fell by the ball of a sharpshooter, before the battle began. His command was assumed by General Logan. The battle became general, and was fought with great tenacity. The enemy was repulsed at every point, and our forces held the battle-field.

A large part of the city of Atlanta, although now defended by Hood's Army, lies within the range of our guns. The city has four railroad military communications. The road to Chattanooga is held by our forces. The road

THIERS.

ALI PASHA.

to Augusta has been destroyed by General Sherman, throughout a distance of forty miles. The road to Montgomery has been effectually broken at Opelika. The road leading to Macon alone remains.

The insurgent raiding force, which lately visited Maryland, retired up the Valley before General Wright. He has returned to his camp near Georgetown.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1864.

Thiers' Opinion. Rebel Proposals and Intrigues. Cavalry Raids. Hancock at Malvern Hill. The Mine at Petersburg. Sheridan in the Valley. The Draft and its Effects. Malcontents and Enthusiasts. Sherman's Siege of Atlanta. Farragut at Mobile. The *Florida* and the *Tallahassee*. "Important Information." The Weldon Railroad Held.

"M. THIERS is right," said Seward, in a letter to Mr. Sanford. "Our enemies in Europe want us divided, and thus destroyed. They will only, by intervention, drive us into closer union, and increased vigor."

In his dispatches, he wrote:

Insurgent emissaries have appeared on the Canada frontier. They are ostentatiously making it known to the timid and treacherous, that they have come with offers of peace. Credulous persons believe them. But thus far, although there are channels enough for any overtures, none have been made to the Government. It is not unlikely that the real object is an intrigue with a view to effect upon the annual election.

A few days later, he added:

The insurgent political agents, Clay and Holcomb, who appeared in Canada, were last week brought directly to an explanation, which resulted in showing the world, what was already understood here, that the rebel military cabal indulges no thought of peace, except through the dissolution of the Union. How could it be otherwise? Propositions for peace must come, not through the conspirators' council chamber, but behind it.

July 28.

'Now when General Sherman has Atlanta under his guns, when General Grant commands the avenue to the insurgent "capital," and when the nation's credit is reviving under the fiscal conduct of Mr. Fessenden, it excites a smile to read your dispatch, that the latest telegraphic advices you have, were that our Army was harmless at Petersburg; that Sherman, with a starving army, had been repulsed on his march into Georgia; and that the resignation of Mr. Chase had unfavorably affected American securities.

During the remainder of the summer, success and disaster seemed to alternate; yet the Union forces were steadily gaining ground, and closing in around the rebellion.

August 1.

The *Florida*, making Bermuda her base, has been committing depredations off the capes of Chesapeake. A proper force has been sent out to find her.

The insurgent expeditionary force which visited Maryland a short time ago, then retired before our pursuit into the valley, again assumed the aggressive, when the chase was relinquished. On the 29th a cavalry detachment of that force marched into Chambersburg, burned a considerable portion of the town, and then made their escape. Measures have been taken to repel further incursions.

Oh the evening of the 28th ultimo, Lieutenant-General Grant, by way of diverting the enemy, sent a column, under General Hancock, across the James, and took possession of Malvern Hill. An engagement ensued, in which he drove three brigades from an intrenched position, and captured many prisoners.

On the 30th the mine, which had been prepared under the enemy's fortifications at Petersburg, was exploded; and thereupon an assault was made, over the breach produced by the explosion. Some prisoners were captured, but the assault upon the main line failed, with considerable loss.

August 6.

The failure of our assault upon the fortifications at Petersburg proved to be more complete and more disastrous than I had then learned. We retained none of the ground gained; and our loss was three thousand five hundred men, which greatly exceeded that of the enemy. The result protracts the siege; but it is not otherwise discouraging. The enemy recently sprang a mine in front of our works; but absolutely without effect.

The operations of General Sherman have been eminently successful, and very injurious to the enemy.

Our cavalry have met with severe losses, in cutting military communications of the insurgents; but it is understood that these losses are counterbalanced by the strategic advantages gained. What is believed an adequate force is now advancing against the enemy in the Valley of Virginia, under General Sheridan. There is at least a significant cessation of the aggressive operations of the insurgents in that quarter.

In his letters to Mrs. Seward, he wrote:

August 5.

We have met a sad disappointment at Petersburg, which was a failure, in a form entirely unanticipated. The breach was made; but want of presence of mind or something else, on the part of the assailants, deprived us of the expected victory; and converted it into a painful defeat.

And now we have to deal with a disappointed, despondent, and I fear discontented people, who expect the Administration to guarantee success. For the moment, it seems as if they are to punish us by withholding money, men,

and votes, as if it were *our* country more than their own, that is to be betrayed and ruined by such a course!

Well, this is government. It has worked the same way, more or less, since Moses led the chosen people out of Egypt. I am told that I must despair — that the cause is irrecoverably lost; and yet that I will not give heed, and admit this sad conclusion. I ask, why accept it? They reply, only to save myself. I say, I am not worth saving; and I am not able to perceive how any man can undertake to save himself, without thereby contributing to cause and hasten the destruction of the country. I, however, take no such gloomy view of things. I know there is no reason for failure, unless it be a want of public virtue. I shall not believe there is this want, until I can once more see the people themselves in their own homes. When Mr. Fessenden returns, I will go northward and see for myself. I do not think we shall have any serious difficulties here from these raids.

I am anxious about Sherman. He is so near success that I become doubly anxious.

August 11.

The Union forces are still successful, but their progress is not (perhaps no progress could be) satisfactory to the opponents of the Union and the friends of slavery. The draft gives discontent, and even loyal men do not see that those who are discontented, because they are required to bear an equal part of the public burden, and share an equal part of the danger, are practically abettors of the insurrection. There is a party among us which cherishes and increases such malcontents. They threaten resistance, which is sedition. Very many loyal men counsel us to yield the draft, through fear of civil war at the North. This embarrasses us. Such is the apprehension now on this subject that some of those who demanded the proclamation, as a condition of their support of the Government, are now seeking how to give up the issue made by it, and effect a peace upon terms of toleration of Slavery! Such is the consequence of surrendering the guidance of public affairs to enthusiasts.

Just now we are having some success in our operations. I trust there will be enough of it to enable us to ride safely through the new storm, which must, at all events, subside after the Presidential election; if in that storm the ship of State is not actually wrecked.

His circulars continued:

August 15.

The insurgent force, which, under the command of Early, threatened Washington and Baltimore in July, is still in the lower part of the Valley near Grafton. One detachment of it was defeated by General Kelley at New Creek, and subsequently another was routed with severe loss by General Averill. Since that time considerable reinforcements have been sent down to Early by Lee from his Army in Petersburg. In consequence of this measure the column of General Sheridan had been materially strengthened.

We have not yet received any official reports of the movement against Mobile. Newspapers at New Orleans represent the naval engagement to have been

brilliant and successful. They say that our fleet has passed the insurgent line of obstructions in the bay, and would proceed to cross the bar.

General Canby has withdrawn our forces from Brownsville, and the blockade of that port has been reëstablished.

A new piratical vessel named the *Tallahassee* has appeared off the coast of New York, and committed a series of vexatious depredations.

And writing home, he said:

August 16.

I have been trying to get to Auburn. But every day something happens which shows that I could not safely be absent. The Secretary of the Treasury is expected to return now. Perhaps military affairs may take some form less a subject of anxiety than now. But that is uncertain. Brave old Farragut has given us an additional siege to watch and pray over. We have now three — one at Mobile, one at Atlanta, and one at Richmond. When I think how much the public credit, and what is even more important, the public virtue, is dependent on military success, I cannot think of being away for a day from the point whence orders emanate. The signs of discontent and faction are very numerous and very painful. But it is not necessary to regard them as alarming. We know that any considerable success would cause them all to disappear, and we have a right to hope for success. Secondly, we do not know yet by any past experience how much strain this constitutional government can bear. Doubtless it can bear more than excited loyal people dare to hope. Enlistments, if successful, will relieve all fear. Our people, thus far, do not behave any worse, or even as badly, about a draft as other people, more martial than we are, have done under similar circumstances. I am, therefore, of good courage. But whatever may be before the country in God's Providence, we have a simple line of action to pursue, and that is to be faithful; faithful to the country and to its cause, and those to whom that country has committed the precious charge of its defense.

But the tide of military fortune, after this ebb, was now turning again. In the following week, he wrote:

August 22.

The military immobility, which had begun to wear upon the public mind, has recently given way. Activity again appears. I am sure you will read with pride and satisfaction the details of the great naval engagement in Mobile bay. The restoration of the national flag over Fort Powell marks an advance. The destruction of the gun-boat *Gaines* and the transfer of the ram *Tennessee* have materially weakened the enemy. The siege of Fort Morgan has begun, and a portion of our fleet has assailed the land fortifications which surround the city of Mobile.

On the south side of the James river General Grant has successfully seized, and now holds, the Weldon road. There is no doubt that the insurgents are suffering a material reduction of their force by desertions. General Grant has already sent, to the Indian campaign, a regiment of enlisted deserters from the Army of Lee.

The approach of a draft to maintain the armies at their full strength is creating much uneasiness, and the uneasiness speaks out through the press. On the other hand, recruiting has begun in good earnest. The number of men mustered into the Army is twelve hundred per day.

You will hardly need to be told that the reports published of armistices, pretended changes in the Cabinet, and the appointment of commissioners to negotiate with the insurgents, which figure largely in the political canvass, have no foundation in fact.

To Mrs. Seward, he wrote:

August 27.

There has been no day since Congress adjourned that I have not been meditating a visit to Auburn to see you, and assure myself of your condition as to health. But one difficulty no sooner passes away than another arises, and I find my responsibilities increasing on every side. The return of Mr. Fessenden seemed to allow of my taking a leave of absence. But the War Department requires my coöperation so often, that I fear to go away.

Then the alarmists got up factious movements and projects which I find it necessary to watch, lest there may be a compromise of the Administration, in compliance with the exactions of hasty and inconsiderate counselors. Nobody on the other side, having any authority to speak for the rebels, or for any State, or for any party, or mass, has proposed any thing. And yet we have had the press of New York requiring us virtually to offer negotiations upon the basis of imaginary concessions of the insurgents. Just now, a new project of the same kind is engaging my attention. The Union party sees its leading men divided, and it becomes discouraged, and predicts its own defeat, although it confesses that that defeat would be the ruin of the nation.

I mention these as the sort of affairs that keep me here. I pray you to go to the seashore, or to come here. I will find you as soon as I can. I am firm and hopeful; but I am now becoming undermined by anxiety about you.

Replying to Mr. Dayton about "important information" which rebel agents were "going to purchase in Paris for $10,000," he said:

I do not think that $10,000 of gold, derived from cotton run through the blockade, could be expended by the insurgent treasury less injuriously to the United States than it would be, in buying any letter which either the President or myself have written.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1864.

The Fall of Atlanta. A Speech on the Situation. Sherman in Georgia. Farragut at Mobile. The Presidential Canvass. The Issue. "Voting Lincoln in and Fighting Him In." Successes in the Shenandoah Valley. Plot to Release Prisoners at Johnson's Island. Engagements at Petersburg and Richmond. Meade. Warren. Ord. Butler. Hood Retreating Before Sherman. Early's Force Scattered. Seizure of the *Chesapeake*. Seizure of the *Roanoke*. The St. Albans Raid. Cedar Creek. Sheridan's Ride. Colored Soldiers. Close of the Canvass. Speech at Auburn. Re-election of Lincoln. Its Significance.

DURING the next week Seward was making a brief visit to Auburn. He was sitting in his library when a telegraphic dispatch was handed him. It was from Stanton, and said:

"Sherman's advance entered Atlanta about noon to-day." The news spread quickly through the town. Soon there gathered before the house an exultant crowd with a band of music, who called him to the door with cries for a "speech." He came out saying:

It is so that I like to see you come, marching to the time of national airs, under the folds of the old national flag.

Remarking that the news fell in "with the echoes of Farragut's glorious naval battle at Mobile," he said they could now "appreciate Sherman, who had performed the most successful and splendid march through a mountainous and hostile country, recorded in modern history." Saying that everybody admired Farragut's heroism in climbing to the top-mast to direct the battle, he told a story of another incident:

"Admiral," said one of his officers the night before the battle, "Won't you consent to give Jack a glass of grog in the morning; not enough to make him drunk, but just enough to make him fight cheerfully?"

"Well," replied the Admiral, "I have been to sea considerable and have seen a battle or two, but I never found that I wanted rum to enable me to do my duty. I will order two cups of coffee to each man at two o'clock, and at eight o'clock I will pipe all hands at breakfast in Mobile bay."

And he did give Jack the coffee, and then he went up to the masthead and *did it*.

Adverting then to the state of popular feeling, he remarked that this victory came in good time:

Just now we are calling upon you for three hundred thousand more men — volunteers, if you will, drafted men if we must — to end the war. You were

getting a little tired of long delays and disappointed expectations. In Indiana a portion of the people, instigated by rebel plotters at the Clifton House in Canada, were importing British revolvers, in boxes which passed the Custom House as stationery, under pretense of arming to defend themselves, but really to resist the draft and bring the Government to ruin through a civil war in the West. True, no arms have been imported here. Yet delegates went out from among you, and sat down in council at Chicago, with those Indiana conspirators, and agreed with them, not only that this importation of arms should be defended in the election, but also to demand the cessation of the war, upon the ground that success in restoring the Union is unattainable.

Already, under the cheering news from Atlanta, all this discontent and despondency have disappeared. We shall have no draft because the Army is reinforced at the rate of five or ten thousand men per day by volunteers.

Paying a tribute to his colleagues in the Administration, he said:

May I not add that this victory at Atlanta comes in good time, as the victory in Mobile bay does to vindicate the wisdom and the energy of the war Administration?

Farragut's fleet did not make itself, nor did he make it. It was prepared by the Secretary of the Navy. And he that shall record the history of this war impartially will write that, since the days of Carnot, no man has organized war with ability equal to that of Stanton.

He then spoke at some length on the political aspect of the times, expressing his regret that there were those men at the North who did not rejoice at these victories. All these were partisans. "Some were Republicans and others Democrats, who cannot rejoice, because this war is not conducted according to their own peculiar ideas and theories." "Others of both parties are willing that the nation shall be saved, provided it be done by some one of their chosen and idolized chiefs — which chiefs they mutually denounce and revile."

He remarked that, nevertheless, there were enough of the right sort of men, "of men who once were Republicans, and men who once were Democrats, but who are now Union men, because they found that no man, no party, no formula, no creed, could save the Union, but that only the people can save it, by ceasing to be partisans and becoming patriots."

The remainder of his speech was devoted to an exposition of the nature and character of the Presidential contest:

In 1860 we elected Abraham Lincoln, lawfully and constitutionally, to be President of the whole United States. The insurgents rejected Lincoln, and set up a usurper. It is clear, therefore, that we are fighting to make Abraham Lincoln President of the whole United States, under the election of 1860, to continue until the 4th of March, 1865. In voting for a President of the United States, can we safely or wisely vote *out* the identical person, whom, with force

and arms, we are fighting *into* the Presidency? I regard the pending Presidential election as involving the question whether, hereafter, we shall have our Constitution and our country. We must vote Lincoln in again, and fight him in at the same time. If we do this, the rebellion will perish and leave no root.

Returning to Washington, he wrote to Mrs. Seward:

I found my associates pleased and appreciative. Everybody feeling encouraged and hopeful. Plenty of work upon my table, but not distracting.

His summary of military events gave detailed information in regard to the surrender of Fort Morgan and the entrances to Mobile bay, the capture of Atlanta, and the successful operations of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley.

September 17.

Peace is certainly three years and three months nearer than it was when the war began; and political movements on both sides of the line indicate a rational conviction that peace must come soon.

In his correspondence, he described the changed state of public feeling.

The unsatisfactory condition of things has suddenly changed, and the American people now appear to be as resolute and confident, as on the 29th of August they seemed vacillating and despondent.

The opposition Convention met at Chicago, placed their candidates, General McClellan and Mr. Pendleton, before the people distinctly upon the ground that the military defense of the Union had failed and been found hopeless, and that there must be a cessation of hostilities. This extraordinary proceeding was followed by a sudden and effective revelation that the platform thus adopted at Chicago had been previously framed in an unlawful intrigue at Niagara, between avowed agents of the rebels, and some of their partisan sympathizers within our own lines, and that British enemies of the United States were initiated into the intrigue and active in carrying it into effect.

With this discovery of what opposition to the war meant, had come the news of the victories at Mobile and Atlanta, showing that it "was being prosecuted, not only with perseverance, but with prospect of success." And at the same conjuncture it had happily appeared, "that volunteers were coming in to reinforce the Army as fast as was needful." At the same time the public credit revived, and the Government loans were freely taken.

Encouraging news continued to come in during the fall. His circulars said:

September 19.

At the moment of closing the mail a gratifying dispatch comes announcing a victory of our troops at Winchester.

September 20.

A note from Earl Russell announces a new regulation in Admiralty, forbidding all transfer or dismantling of belligerent vessels in British ports. Meantime, we hear with much satisfaction, that the *Georgia* has been captured by the *Niagara*, and has arrived as a prize at Hampton Roads, whence she proceeded to Boston.

September 26.

Further and signal successes have been achieved in the Shenandoah Valley, under General Sheridan. Following up his victory at Opequan Creek and Winchester, by a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, he again attacked them on the 22d, at Fisher's Hill, and drove them from the position. These victories relieve Northern Virginia from the presence of the insurgent army, and Maryland and Pennsylvania from apprehensions of invasion.

The increase of public confidence is illustrated by the heavy decline in the price of gold, which during the past week has fallen nearly thirty per cent.

October 4.

The plot which was formed by refugees in Canada to seize the steamer *Michigan* and to release the prisoners of Johnson's Island, failed in its execution. No serious dangers in that quarter are apprehended. The Canadian authorities seem to have acted in a friendly and honorable manner.

General Sherman perseveres in establishing a large and strong camp at Atlanta. Forrest is engaged in an attempt to break the General's communications, but he is believed to have taken effective means for their protection.

Jefferson Davis has repaired to Macon. He is reported to be very censorious upon Governor Brown of Georgia, who has furloughed the Georgia militia.

Gold is now reported as having no market sale in the insurgent States. The last quotation is 3,000 per centum. A refugee, just arrived from Texas, tells us he paid $70 of Confederate currency for one in gold.

On the 29th, General Sheridan reported that he had pursued Early's retreating forces through Staunton to Port Republic, and he has further pursued the fugitive force through Waynesborough.

Under the direction of General Butler, General Ord has advanced across the James river at Chapin's Bluff, carried a strong line of fortifications, and taken sixteen guns and many prisoners. Simultaneously, General Birney, by direction of Major-General Butler, advanced from Deep Bottom, and scattering the insurgent force before him, made a lodgment in rebel fortifications six miles from Richmond.

On the 30th, General Warren, under direction of Major-General Meade, attacked the enemy's extreme right, south of the Weldon road, while at the same time General Meade made an advance from the center of his line in front of Petersburg, and carried the enemy's works at Poplar Grove. While these assaults were going on, the enemy twice assaulted Major-General Butler at Bermuda Hundred, and was effectually repulsed.

October 10.

The enemy, on the 7th, attacked our cavalry in its advanced position. Gen-

eral Birney coming up, repelled the assault and recovered the position, which he still holds within four miles of Richmond.

The enemy's forces which repulsed General Banks on the Red river have advanced, under Price, into Missouri.

October 18.

Hood moved his forces forward with the coöperation of Wheeler and Forrest, to break General Sherman's communications with his base at Nashville. That commander, who was exercising his usual vigilance, now reports that Hood has fallen back before our forces; and without accepting battle, has abandoned his plan.

General Sheridan destroyed the supplies of food and forage throughout the whole Valley, and he is now coming into direct communication, by railroad, with Washington.

State elections were held last week in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. In the two former States, the results were conspicuously favorable to the Union cause. Some doubt hangs over the results in Pennsylvania and Maryland.

October 24.

The seizure of the steamer *Chesapeake*, bound from New York to Portland, is familiar to you. Though the vessel was ultimately released, the perpetrators escaped punishment. Braine, one of the leaders, has since found his way to Havana; and, with other conspirators, has recently seized, under similar circumstances, the steam packet *Roanoke*, and carried her to Bermuda. There the vessel was taken outside the port, and burned.

The lake steamers, *Philo Parsons* and *Island Queen*, had also been seized by a party who had come on board as passengers; and had been scuttled, after the plunder from them had been landed in Canada. Seward, detailing the circumstances, continued:

The primary object in capturing these steamers was confessedly to release the insurgent officers confined on Johnson's Island. There is reason to believe that the conspiracy was organized, and set in motion by prominent insurgents, for some time past residing in Canada. I had just prepared the foregoing statement of the transaction on Lake Erie, when information of a new and equally desperate outrage, on another part of the border, reached this department.

A band, said to consist of twenty-five men, clandestinely armed, crossed the frontier, and proceeded in several small parties, by stage-coach, to St. Albans, Vermont, in the customary way of travelers. At a concerted time, they raised a scene of terror in that peaceful town, broke into houses, and carried off large amounts of valuable property. As soon as the people recovered from their surprise, they arose, and hotly pursued the felons, who sought safety, by returning, on stolen horses, across the frontier, into Canada. The Canadian municipal agents seem to have coöperated with the pursuers from Vermont, with alacrity and diligence. Twelve of the robbers were arrested, stripped of their plunder, and taken into custody.

October 24.

The marked military event of the last week was the battle of Cedar Creek in the Shenandoah Valley. It began during General Sheridan's absence from his command, on a visit to the War Department here. Longstreet had been reinforced by twelve thousand men. He surprised and assaulted Sheridan's Army, in its camp near Strasburg, at the break of day, broke, and pushed it back four miles, with a capture of one thousand men.

Sheridan was returning to the Army; and at Winchester met the news of this disaster. He pushed rapidly forward; reorganized his columns; and established a new and perfect line of battle; attacked the enemy; and in three hours turned the defeat into a victory, driving the enemy before him, through Strasburg, to Mount Jackson, routing them, so that they had not an organized regiment left. Sheridan took back the guns which had been lost, adding to the number, and captured two thousand prisoners, with ten battle flags.

The pursuit was continued on the 20th with the capture of a large quantity of small arms, and camp equipage, including three hundred wagons.

The invaders of Missouri are falling back before General Rosecrans, and endeavoring to escape the pursuit of General Steele.

The election in Maryland has resulted in the adoption of the new Constitution, which raises eighty thousand slaves to the condition of freemen.

A letter from the Governor of Louisiana, which was intercepted, urges the emancipation and enrollment of negroes as soldiers in the insurgent army; and the Richmond *Inquirer* now openly advocates that desperate policy.

He wrote to Mrs. Seward:

In foreign affairs all is well; that is, all is safe. Returning kindness of foreign Governments, as yet, we have none. Every thing hangs on the election. If the Union can prevail, the revolution must needs decline, and rapidly wear out. If the opposition prevails, we shall have, or at least we may expect, efforts at counter-revolution in the North, coöperating with renewed insurgent efforts in the South. It seems strange that any one should blindly, much stranger that any one should willfully, favor such a calamity. But what errors, and what crimes do not individual men commit? Nations are only masses of individuals.

The warmly-contested Presidential canvass drew to a close at the opening of November. Seward went up to Auburn, and, in accordance with his old custom, addressed his neighbors and townsmen on the night before election. He said:

Of course you understand that I have come home to vote — to vote here for the tenth time, in ten out of the nineteen Presidential elections which the people of the United States have enjoyed.

Nations, though usually long-lived, are nevertheless mortal. Our own Republic is now confessedly struggling for life. Dangers surround us. The civil war confronts us in the rebel States. Foreign wars loom over us on all our coasts, and all our borders. The fires of faction send up sulphurous smoke under our feet. It would be absurd to say that the country is not in a strait.

He adverted to the surprise and astonishment that had been created by "the discovery of treason lurking throughout the free States, and even in secret haunts in our own neighborhood," the conspiracy of thirty thousand men "clandestinely aimed against the Government in the Western States," the revelation of concert between Chicago, London, and Richmond, the plots in Canada, the attempted robberies and murders by raiders across the frontier, the seizure of vessels on the lakes, the meditated frauds upon the ballot-box, and added:

Do not be disheartened, however, by this discovery; fraud and treachery, like faction, are incident to civil war.

After warning against misrepresentations of the issue, he said:

Persons ask me on every hand: "Is the war to last forever?" "How long is the war to last?" I answer: "The war will not last forever, but it must continue until we give up the conflict, or the enemy give up the conflict. Are you prepared to give up the conflict?" You say, "No, never!" Why? "Because in that case you give up the national life. On the other hand, the enemy will abandon their rebellion, just as soon as they shall have the undoubted assurance that it cannot prevail."

Then recurring to his favorite theory that the reëlection of President Lincoln would be the most crushing blow to the rebellion, he said:

You have already abundant evidences of the exhaustion of the rebels, but not yet evidences of their consciousness of that exhaustion. Those evidences will appear immediately on the announcement of the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln. You would have had these evidences earlier, if you had rendered this verdict sooner. You will have them all the sooner after the verdict, in proportion to the unanimity with which it is spoken.

After discussing the position of the opposing party, he closed by saying:

You may, and must decide the question for yourselves. I cannot decide it for you, nor shall you decide it for me. I am not going to surrender to the rebels. No! though they extend the desolation of civil war over the whole land — though they come backed by one or many foreign States! Therefore, I want no armistice, no cessation of hostilities, no negotiations with rebels in arms. However it may be with others, I "looked before I leaped." If I could have been ready to surrender now, I should have proposed surrender at the beginning. I am not going to surrender now, nor never.

As for the arts of statesmanship, I know of none applicable in this case. The only art of statesmanship that I do know is, to be faithful to God and to my country. I seek to cultivate charity, and prevent war, civil or foreign, as long as it can be prevented; but when in war, to fight with courage, constancy, and resolution, and thus to save my country, or to fall with its defenders.

The outspoken eagerness of Northern disloyalists to destroy the Administration reacted upon themselves. As the canvass proceeded, the people became sensible that they had no assurance of safety for the Union, unless they reëlected Mr. Lincoln.

Judge Holt's report, giving detailed "evidence of the existence of organized secret associations at the North, whose objects were the overthrow, by revolution, of the Administration, in the interest of the rebellion," strengthened this conviction. In view of the threats of "revolution in the streets of New York," troops under command of General Butler, were sent there, to keep the peace during the election.

Every thing passed off quietly on election day. The telegraphic system of the country was now so complete, that, before midnight, it was generally understood that the Union had triumphed. Before the week was over, it was found that the success was an overwhelming one. Mr. Lincoln had received a popular majority of over four hundred thousand, and had carried all the New England States, all the Northwestern States, besides New York and Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Nevada. Only three had voted for General McClellan — New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky.

Seward hastened back to Washington, after casting his vote on Tuesday. As soon as his return was known, a crowd assembled in front of his house, on Thursday evening, with cannon, music, and fireworks, to celebrate the victory. Seward came out, and after reminding them how Paul once took an appeal unto Cæsar, said:

> It is recorded in Scripture that the brethren, when he got within the suburbs of the city, came out to meet him. Thereupon Paul "thanked God and took courage."
>
> So I think that, having been tossed about on the tempest of secession and revolution for three and a half years, I have at last got to "Appii Forum," the place of three taverns, although there is not a hotel on this street. At all events, I am sure "the brethren" have come out to meet me. And thereupon I do now, here to-night, with all my heart and in reverence and humility, "thank God." Amen. We all of us thank Him, and I hope you all "take courage" for the rest of the way; which, I think, will be a short journey.

Adverting to the opposition charges that "the war was a failure," and that it was made "to abolish slavery," he said:

> We will take them on their own ground, and see how the matter stands. The first year of the war suppressed the African slave trade in the United States. The second year of the war brought the negroes up to the level of soldiers of freedom, and abolished slavery in the District of Columbia. The third year abolished slavery in Maryland, and this year, when Congress comes

together, it will adopt a constitutional amendment and abolish slavery throughout the United States!

Then inviting them to look forward to the future, he told them:

I know that when slavery is removed, the only element of discord among the American people will have ceased to work its mischievous fruits.

As to the bitterly-reviled President, he said:

It has placed him above the pale of human ambition. Henceforth all men will come to see him, as you and I have seen him — a true, loyal, patient, patriotic, and benevolent man. Having no longer any motive to malign or injure him detraction will cease, and Abraham Lincoln will take his place with Washington and Franklin, and Jefferson, and Adams, and Jackson, among the benefactors of the country and of the human race.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1864.

Popular Rejoicings. Advance of the Union Armies. The "Irrepressible Conflict" at Richmond. Capture of the *Florida*. Her Sinking in Hampton Roads. Wars in South America. Treaty with Hayti. The Simonoseki Expedition and Japanese Indemnity. Ill-Feeling Between England and the United States. How to Prevent and Cure It. Congress and the Message. Cabinet Changes. Chase Chief Justice. Capture and Trial of St. Albans Raiders. Passports. The Reciprocity Treaty. Dayton and Bigelow. "Sherman's March to the Sea." Union Victories. Savannah Taken.

BONFIRES were blazing, flags waving, and cannon booming throughout the Northern States. Cities were illuminated and torch-light processions and open-air meetings attested the popular congratulation and rejoicing. Seward wrote:

The canvass has resulted in favor of the Administration. All the colleges will be constituted of Union Electors, except in Delaware, New Jersey, and Kentucky. The number of votes cast is understood to have surpassed that given at any previous election; and the balloting was peaceful.

Whatever other instructions may be derived from it, it certainly assures us that the people of the United States adhere faithfully to their constitutional Government. Each of the two Houses of Congress will contain a two-thirds majority, and so will be prepared to submit to the States an amendment of the Constitution with a view to the abolition of slavery.

He wrote Mrs. Seward:

We are preparing for Congress and new campaigns, happy in the conviction that the loyal States are more united than heretofore, and in the discovery that division is at last breaking out among the rebels.

At the South, the Union Armies were steadily advancing. He wrote:

November 21.

We have information that the operations of Price against Missouri have failed, and that he has retired southward.

Direct communications with General Sherman have ceased. We hear, through rebel newspapers, that he is advancing in Georgia, and on the 17th was at Jonesboro.

General Gillen suffered a defeat at the hands of Breckinridge in East Tennessee, with the loss of four hundred. Hood is manœuvering in Alabama on the borders of Tennessee river. But the commanding general thinks himself able to maintain his position in Tennessee.

The exigencies of civil war have at last brought the treasonable conclave at Richmond to a serious debate upon propositions for arming, and, of course, emancipating a portion of the slave population. Thus it is seen that the so deeply-deprecated "irresistible conflict" has at last broken out in the very seat and citadel of slavery itself!

November 29.

Our information from General Sherman, through rebel channels, is that he has advanced beyond Milledgeville and Macon. It is understood that the rebels in Alabama and Tennessee are designing to pursue and harass Sherman. Dispositions have been made by General Thomas for such an emergency.

With the news that the *Florida* had been captured off the coast of Brazil, came also intelligence that the Brazilian authorities deemed their sovereignty infringed, by the proceedings of the United States Consul and Naval Officers, and that the surrender of the vessel to Brazil might be demanded.

Seward wrote to General Webb, the United States Minister at Rio, expressing a disposition to "examine the subject upon its merits carefully, and to consider whatever questions may arise out of it in a friendly and becoming spirit, if that spirit shall be adopted by His Imperial Majesty's Government." He also recalled attention to remonstrances in 1862 and 1863, addressed to Brazil, "against its policy, different, as it was, from that of all other American States, in regard to furnishing shelter and a haven for pirates, who were engaged in depredating upon commerce."

However, the impending diplomatic trouble was happily averted by an accident. The *Florida*, having been brought into American waters, was sunk one night by a collision, in Hampton Roads. No communications on the subject of her capture had been received from Brazil. Both Governments heard the news with a decided sense of relief. Any controversy about her return was now impossible, and the other points in dispute could be arranged without sacrifice of national dignity on either side.

In reference to an impending war between Brazil and Uruguay, he wrote Mr. Kirk, that "this Government has carefully examined the case, with a view to use its good offices if they could be effective to prevent such a war, which could not benefit either State, while it must necessarily impair the prestige of all government in America."

So, in the dispute between Spain and Peru, he wrote to Mr. Robinson:

I believe that peace and friendship are a common interest in both those countries. It will be an occasion of profound regret, if a controversy, which has been already relieved, practically, of real difficulty, shall ripen into war, through a mere rejection, on either part, of a proper spirit of conciliation.

Mr. Whidden, the American Commissioner to Hayti, he instructed to conclude a formal treaty of amity, commerce, and extradition, with that island republic.

This year came an important incident in the newly-opened intercourse with Japan. Though the Tycoon was nominally the sovereign head of the Empire, yet the great Daimios, like the feudal Barons of the Middle Ages, were also exercising functions of sovereignty on a smaller scale. Naval vessels of the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands had been obliged to make a combined expedition in June, 1863, to the Straits of Simonoseki, to destroy batteries erected by the Daimio there, for the destruction of foreign vessels. The Government of the Tycoon, on whom devolved the duty of chastising this rebellious Prince, was held responsible for damages to the interests of the treaty powers.

After the expedition had successfully accomplished its purpose, Mr. Pruyn, the American Minister, with the British, French, and Dutch diplomatic representatives, entered into a joint convention with the Tycoon's Government, stipulating for an indemnity of $3,000,000 to be distributed among the four powers. How the American portion of this amount was received, and the disposition made of it by Seward, will be seen in subsequent pages.

In view of the marauding expeditions from Canada, and on the lakes, he instructed Mr. Adams to "give notice to Earl Russell, in conformity with the treaty, that the United States would deem themselves at liberty to increase their naval armament upon the lakes."

Replying to expressions of regret in England, that ill feeling should have arisen between the two countries, he wrote:

I wish it could be as well understood in Great Britain, as it is here, that there is no more any necessity for disturbance of the peace between Great Britain and the United States, than there is any advantage to accrue to Great Britain from uncertainty upon that point. This civil war is exclusively our

own affair, and if the Government and people of Great Britain had treated it as such from the first, no ill-feeling would have been engendered.

He pointed out, that when, in 1863, the British Government "manifested a determination not only to avoid intervention, but to prevent unlawful intervention by its subjects," its action had produced a happy effect, and that during a long session, "not one expression of anger or discontent toward Great Britain was uttered at the Capitol." On the other hand, in Parliament, "the civil war was habitually brought up for debate, in terms which indicated a pretension and disposition to intervene." Its proceedings were marked by "denunciations of the war itself, and propositions of intervention in favor of the insurgents." "While," he said, "the Ministry have not concurred in this course of proceeding, they have often seemed to leave it doubtful whether they could successfully resist. Impossible as it seems to be for the British public to comprehend the real character and actual progress of the war, there is one fact in which they are never left in uncertainty, and that is the determination of the American people to resist any such interference."

He said in conclusion:

We read that British subjects whose ecclesiastical and political rank and position are supposed to lend importance to their proceedings, and who have notoriously and officiously aided and abetted the insurrection, formally appealed to the Prime Minister, at the close of the Parliamentary struggle, to commit the British Government to some form of intervention; and that this application was promptly refused. If the Government shall now find themselves able, as we have no doubt they are well disposed, to induce the British nation to leave the struggle in the United States to the exclusive care of the people of the United States, the peace between the two countries may be regarded as perpetual.

Congress reassembled in December this year, in good temper, and hopeful spirits. Seward wrote to Mr. Adams:

The President's annual message was sent to Congress on the 6th instant. The statement of affairs, the suggestions of measures, and its cheerful tone, seem to be generally satisfactory.

The Hon. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio has been appointed Chief Justice, and the Hon. James Speed of Kentucky has been appointed Attorney-General.

Of Mr. Lincoln's original Cabinet, only two now remained in office. Mr. Cameron had gone as Minister to Russia in 1862, and had been succeeded as Secretary of War by Mr. Stanton. Mr. Smith had resigned early in 1863, and had been succeeded as Secretary of the Interior by Mr. Usher. Governor Chase had resigned in the summer of 1864, and had been succeeded as Secretary of the Treasury by

Senator Fessenden. Mr. Blair had resigned in September, and had been succeeded as Postmaster-General by Governor Dennison. Mr. Bates' resignation as Attorney-General had now been followed by the appointment of Mr. Speed.

Seward's reply to France, in regard to the resolution of the House of Representatives about Franco-Mexican affairs, gave offense to some members. A new resolution was offered declaring that "Congress has a constitutional right to an authoritative voice in declaring and prescribing foreign policy," and that "it is the constitutional duty of the President to respect that policy." Also, that "the propriety of any declaration of foreign policy by Congress is not a fit topic of diplomatic explanation." This was at first laid on the table, but afterward taken up and passed. Neither the Senate nor President, however, took any action in reference to it.

Immediately after the St. Albans raid, Seward had telegraphed the Governor of Vermont authorizing him "to employ counsel to represent the Government in its claim for the extradition of the murderers and robbers." He now retained George F. Edmunds of Vermont, to act as counsel for the United States. The Canadian law, however, proved to have meshes large enough to permit the easy escape of the "raiders." Seward wrote:

December 14.

I have just received information by telegraph from Montreal, that the felons who committed the crimes at St. Albans, and who were arrested in Canada upon a requisition of this Government, have been set at liberty; that the stolen money which was found upon them has been restored to them.

December 19.

Ninety thousand dollars, which was in the custody of the law, was delivered to the felons by the police, under the direction of Judge Coursol, and thus richly furnished with the spoils of our citizens, they were conveyed, amid popular acclamations, in sleighs which had been prepared for their escape, from the court-room, beyond the reach of fresh pursuit. The discharge of the prisoners was placed upon technical ground, now confessed to be erroneous, equally in law and in fact. It is impossible to consider these proceedings as either legal, just, or friendly toward the United States.

The aid and public and private encouragement given in Canada to the "raiders" naturally aroused indignation on the American side of the frontier. No retaliatory steps had been taken, but when it was found that Canada was made a base of marauding raids, self-protection seemed to require something more than remonstrance.

Orders were issued that no person should be allowed to come across the frontier into the United States without a passport. Congress took up and passed resolutions requesting the President to give notice of

the intention to terminate the Reciprocity Treaty. Moved, perhaps, by the manifestations of public feeling on both sides of the border, in regard to the failure of justice in the St. Albans case, the local executive and judicial officers now began to exert themselves. Seward, toward the close of the year, wrote:

The Canadian authorities have become watchful, active, and diligent, and raids and alarms upon the frontier have suddenly ceased.

In December, came news of the sudden death of Mr. Dayton. Seward wrote to Mr. Bigelow, the Consul-General at Paris, expressing deep regret, and designating Mr. B. as *Chargé d'Affaires, ad interim.*

Sherman's "March to the Sea" was now the chief feature of the military situation. Resuming his summary, Seward wrote:

December 5.

At the beginning of the contest the people, even in the loyal States, were by no means united, much less were they unanimous. Hitherto, therefore, our principal danger was that of counter-revolution, to be prosecuted in the interest of slavery. A counter-revolution was plotted, and preparations, to some extent, were secretly made to put it in execution. We have not only discovered the conspirators, but we have also seized arms and munitions which they have gathered.

The late election brought the plot to the knowledge of the people, and their decision has rendered its execution impossible. Without the aid of counter-revolution, the rebellion must fail. We may, therefore, conclude, that the country has safely passed the turning-point in the revolutionary movement against slavery; and henceforth, we shall see the Union rapidly recovering its moral strength and vigor.

General Thomas, upon whom the conduct of operations in Tennessee devolved by the departure of General Sherman, writes that on the 30th the enemy attacked General Schofield at Franklin, and was repulsed with a loss variously stated at thirty to forty flags, and four to five thousand men. We glean from the meagre reports of the insurgent press, that General Sherman is advancing toward the Atlantic coast.

December 18.

Lieutenant-General Grant is engaged in important movements. What has transpired concerning these movements is the marching of General Warren on the 6th instant, with a large force directed against the Weldon railroad.

On the 7th, General Sherman had advanced half way between Millen and Savannah. Later reports abound, but they are not reliable. General Thomas is besieged by Hood, but the official reports give us no uneasiness about the safety of Nashville or of Knoxville.

The intrigues of rebel emissaries, promoted during the whole summer and autumn, have ripened into alarming menaces of the peace of the Canadian border, and of the principal cities in the loyal States. It is an expensive guerilla warfare, prosecuted from neutral ground; and it is not likely to advance the insurrection at home or increase its popularity abroad.

December 17.

You direct my attention to the articles in which the press of London and Paris consoled the European enemies of the United States for their reverse in the Presidential election, by spasmodic predictions of the failure of our armies.

By a coincidence, my reading of these portentous warnings was interrupted by the electric news, that, in a large degree, the belligerent forces have withdrawn from the Shenandoah Valley; that General Thomas, on the 16th, left his works and assaulted the besieging army under Hood, and in battles continuing through days, defeated and routed it. In the same moment came the agreeable intelligence that the enemy were routed and driven from the batteries they had planted on the Cumberland; that General Burbridge had got into the rear of Breckinridge and captured Abingdon in Virginia, and defeated the enemy at Glade's Springs and at Kingsport. General Canby reported at the same moment the success of two expeditions — the one from Memphis, and the other from Baton Rouge, which prevented all attempts to supply or reinforce Hood. Simultaneously, Major-General Sherman reports that he has arrived at the mouth of the Ogeechee, and taken Fort McAllister by storm. Thus he is firmly planted below Savannah, in full coöperation with the land and naval forces, has invested that city, and demanded its surrender.

The pretended rebel House of Representatives have passed a bill designed to force the slaves in the insurgent States to fight for the establishment of an empire, having African slavery for its corner-stone. We shall see whether this desperate effort improves the condition of the insurgents.

The Richmond *Inquirer* argues for the abolition of slavery with the zeal, if not with the charity, of Wilberforce. It seems now, to be a question, whether the United States armies shall effect Emancipation under the President's war proclamation, or Virginia shall abolish slavery, to baffle the United States armies. So that it is manifest that slavery in Virginia must perish in any case

December 27.

On the night of the 20th instant the enemy, under the pressure of the siege, secretly withdrew from Savannah, and Major-General Sherman entered the city, in which he took eight hundred prisoners, one hundred and fifty guns, with abundant ammunition, three steamers, and thirteen locomotives, one hundred and ninety cars, and a quantity of cotton. The enemy blew up their iron-clads and gun-boats. General Foster coöperating with Sherman, promptly cleared the river from Tybee to the wharves, and Savannah is again under the flag of the Union.

The combined land and naval expedition, under General Butler and Admiral Porter, proceeded to the mouth of the Cape Fear river, but the weather being unfavorable, they had not, at the date of our latest advices, been able to operate.

In the Valley of the Shenandoah, General Sheridan has a large force engaged in reconnoissance in the region of Gordonsville. General Thomas' victory at Nashville proves the most completely successful field triumph of the war. Virtually he destroyed half the enemy's force, and captured nearly all of his cannon. He was still in pursuit of Hood when last heard from. Stoneman's ex-

pedition on the border between Tennessee and Virginia seems to be very successful.

Congress has adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and the people are joyfully celebrating them, under the belief that the solution of our terrible political problem is revealed though not yet realized.

So closed that eventful year.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1865.

The Confederacy Beleaguered. Union Successes on Land and Sea. Fall of Fort Fisher. Wilmington Closed. Sherman Marching Through Carolina. Grierson's Raids. Confidence in the North. Demoralization in the South. Border States Abolishing Slavery. The Constitutional Amendment Adopted. Protecting the Freedmen. The Fortress Monroe Conference. Columbia and Charleston Evacuated. Wilmington Surrendered. The "*Stonewall*" Stopped. The Confederate Debt.

THE opening of another year found the Confederacy contracted to a narrow domain. Its Government and main Army were besieged at Richmond. All around, the Union flag was again floating over coasts, harbors and cities; and was firmly planted on the soil of every seceding State. Events at the various points of conflict were summed up in Seward's January circulars:

January 1.

The naval attack on Fort Fisher was vigorous. About four thousand troops were landed. General Weitzel made a reconnoissance, which satisfied him that an assault could not be wisely undertaken. The troops were reëmbarked. The fleet, according to last advices, remains at the mouth of the Cape Fear river. The public mind is disappointed, but not disturbed.

Except in regard to these incidents, the news of the past week are echoes of the capture of Savannah by Sherman; the rout of Hood, with his flight across the Tennessee into Alabama; the destruction of insurgent communications and military deposits in eastern Tennessee, and south-western Virginia, by Burbridge; a successful raid from Baton Rouge toward Mobile; and an equally successful reconnoissance by Sheridan on the Orange and Alexandria railroad.

Some of the St. Albans felons have been captured in New Hampshire. The Canadian authorities are active, but, thus far, there has been no delivery of offenders to us for punishment; nor have any judicial proceedings been instituted.

January 10.

Great destruction of rebel communications has been accomplished by General Grierson in Mississippi; and the insurgents have suffered severe loss by the burning of their storehouses at Charlotte, North Carolina.

Congress resumed its labors on the 6th instant. The debates are temperate; as the measures discussed are grave. It is a circumstance of much significance that the Legislature of Kentucky is earnestly debating the subject of slavery. The parties are divided between the policy of immediate abolition, and that of gradual emancipation.

January 16.

We learn through Richmond, that Rear-Admiral Porter's fleet was again before Wilmington; and that the land forces under General Terry had effected a landing on Friday.

Major-General Sherman is understood to have resumed his march. The reported agitation of the question of submission to the Union, in Georgia, is believed to be true, although not to the full extent claimed for it by the press.

A Constitutional Convention in Tennessee submitted to the people the question of abolishing slavery. The Convention in Missouri has definitely abolished slavery in that State.

January 24.

Fort Fisher, with its subsidiary works, fell on the 15th instant, under a combined land and naval assault. The defense was maintained by three thousand men, of whom about seven hundred were killed, and the remainder were captured. The loss on our side was severe. The capture must figure in history as one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. The port of Wilmington is now effectually closed against the insurgents and their European abettors. Since our fleet entered the Cape Fear river, five blockade-running vessels unwarily followed it, and were captured.

Major-General Sherman's forces have passed the Pocotaligo bridge, and reached McPhersonville, in South Carolina.

Indications of discontent and demoralization among the insurgents appear in their cabals and in their press. A silver dollar was sold at auction in Richmond, last week, for $64 of rebel money. Negro men were sold last week, at the rate of $5,000 in that spurious currency, the equivalent of $78 in gold. A growing popular confidence in the success of the Union has reduced the premium upon gold, in our market, eighty per cent, since the Presidential election.

We now entertain a hope that the Colonial authorities will vindicate the neutrality of the British Provinces. We learn at this moment, that the capricious magistrate, Coursol, has been removed from his office by the Governor-General.

January 30.

Authentic reports from Wilmington announce that the rebels evacuated Fort Caswell and Smithville. Our Army occupied them, and the naval forces immediately entered Cape Fear river. Two blockade-runners were captured, and the *Tallahassee* was destroyed. The military column has been reinforced; and it is now operating for the capture of Wilmington.

General Sherman's march in South Carolina continues, exciting profound alarm in Charleston, Augusta, and Richmond.

The enemy, on the night of the 25th, descended the James river, from Richmond, with gun-boats, and ironclads, expecting to pass the obstructions made

to protect the lines of the "Army of the Potomac." Although the movement was unexpected, it was resisted by our forts; and it altogether failed, with the loss of one vessel.

The Canadian judiciary have decided in the case of the pirate Burleigh, that he shall be delivered to the United States.

Military reverses have produced a high excitement in the rebel councils, and throughout the region in which they yet bear military sway. Seddon, the pretended Secretary of War, has been replaced by John C. Breckinridge. The self-styled Congress has required Jefferson Davis to confide the entire command of the rebel force to Lee. H. S. Foote, a prominent member of that body, was arrested by the rebel military police in the attempt to pass the lines on his way to this city. A resolution to expel him was lost for lack of what they call "a constitutional majority," and he was then censured by the House. While these proceedings were going on at Richmond, Foote appeared at Major-General Sheridan's camp and solicited leave to come to Washington.

As these dispatches imply, emancipation was making rapid progress in the "Border States." In Congress it was engrossing daily attention. Debate over the constitutional amendment to abolish slavery in all the States continued through December and January. Its language was like that of the Ordinance of 1787 and of the "Wilmot Proviso."

Crowded galleries attested the popular interest in the question, on the day when the final vote was taken. The Speaker's "aye" was received with applause, as were the affirmative responses of several Democratic members who voted for emancipation. Temporarily checked, it burst out again into loud cheering from all parts of the House on the announcement, "Passed by 119 yeas to 56 nays!" Adjournment was moved, and then followed a scene of congratulations and hand-shaking in galleries and lobbies as well as on the floor.

On the 31st of January Seward wrote announcing the passage of the Amendment, and saying that it "was immediately made known to the States. It has received the assent of several of them already, and sooner or later will become a part of the national organic law."

The need of some adequate protection for the newly-enfranchised race was perceived. But in regard to its precise character there were wide diversities of opinion. The "Freedmen's Bureau Bill" was the outcome of long and laborious consideration with occasional acrimonious debate. Projects, some sagacious, some impracticable, were proposed at nearly every stage of the discussion.

Great popular interest was aroused, mingled with some surprise, when it was stated in the newspapers that communications looking toward peace were actually passing between the President and the leading rebels. Nothing was accurately known of them, however, until after the "Fortress Monroe Conference." Seward's own account

of this meeting was given in a dispatch of February 7. He narrated how Francis P. Blair had visited Richmond, and returned with a note addressed to him by Jefferson Davis, in which the Confederate chief said he would send commissioners to confer with the President, "with a view to restoration of peace between the two countries," if assured they would be received. President Lincoln was willing to admit the commissioners, and authorize the Secretary of State to confer with them, provided the conference should be "with a view to the restoration of peace to the people of our one common country." On the 29th Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter, and John A. Campbell had presented themselves as the "Peace Commissioners." Major Eckert was sent down to meet them, and permit them to come through the lines, provided they accepted the change of wording to "our one common country." There was some uncertainty on this point for a day or so. But finally General Grant telegraphed to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War that "the party from Richmond had reconsidered and accepted the condition, and that he urgently advised the President to confer with them in person."

On the morning of the 3d, the President, attended by the Secretary of State, received Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell on board the *River Queen*, in Hampton Roads. The conference was altogether informal. There was no attendance of secretaries, clerks, or other witnesses. Nothing was written or read. The conversation, although earnest and free, was calm, courteous, and kind on both sides. The Richmond party approached the discussion rather indirectly, and at no time did they either make categorical demands, or tender formal stipulations or absolute refusals. Nevertheless, during the conference, which lasted four hours, the several points at issue between the Government and the insurgents were distinctly raised and discussed fully, intelligently, and in an amicable spirit. What the insurgent party seemed chiefly to favor was a postponement of the question of separation, and a mutual direction of efforts of the Government, as well as those of the insurgents, to some extrinsic policy or scheme, for a season, during which passions might be expected to subside and the armies to be reduced, and trade and intercourse between the people of both sections resumed. It was suggested by them that, through such postponement, we might now have immediate peace, with some not very certain prospect of an ultimate satisfactory adjustment of political relations between the Government and those now engaged in conflict with it. This suggestion, though deliberately considered, was, nevertheless, regarded by the President, as one of armistice or truce, and he announced that he could agree to no cessation or suspension of hostilities except on the basis of the disbandment of the insurgent forces, and the restoration of the national authority throughout all the States. The anti-slavery policy of the United States was reviewed in all its bearings, and the President announced that he must not be expected to depart from the positions heretofore assumed in his Proclamation

of Emancipation, and other documents. It was further declared by the President, that the complete restoration of the national authority was an indispensable condition of any assent to whatever form of peace might be proposed. The President assured the other party, that while he must adhere to these positions, he would be prepared, so far as power is lodged in the Executive, to exercise liberality. His power, however, was limited by the Constitution. And when peace should be made, Congress must necessarily act in regard to appropriations of money, and to the admission of representatives from the insurrectionary States. The Richmond party were then informed that Congress had, on the 31st, adopted, by a constitutional majority, a joint resolution submitting to the several States propositions to abolish slavery throughout the Union, and that there was every reason to expect it would be soon accepted by three-fourths of the States, so as to become a part of the national organic law. The conference came to an end by mutual acquiescence, without producing an agreement of views upon the several matters discussed, or any of them.

He wrote to Mrs. Seward:

I wish I were able to give you an account of our conference at Hampton Roads. But it is mail day and I can only write so much as shall show that I do not forget to write to you altogether. The first conference in war was a contrast to the last conference, when we were at peace. The condition of the South is pitiable, but it is not yet fully realized there. Our foreign relations are closing up finely.

Meanwhile, the war was vigorously going on. Continuing his record of its progress, he wrote:

February 7.

We have information, which seems reliable, that the insurgents are evacuating Mobile and falling back toward Selma. A column of General Sherman's Army has passed Murphy's Swamp, and arrived, unopposed, within twenty miles of Branchville; another column is threatening Augusta; while a third detachment has passed up the North Edisto river, and is threatening Charleston.

In a recent cavalry skirmish at Moorfield, in Western Virginia, Harry Gilmour, who led the cavalry raid into Maryland last July, was captured.

February 13.

The manœuvres of Major-Genearl Thomas with the "Army of the Cumberland," are exciting great alarm in Alabama. Rebel reports give us our only information concerning the advance of Sherman in South Carolina. It appears certain that on the 8th instant, he had broken communications across the Edisto between Branchville and Augusta.

Lieutenant-General Grant has extended and advanced his line to Hatcher's Run, below Petersburg, so as to materially affect the insurgent communication with North Carolina. The operation cost a severe battle. Ice in the rivers and harbors has delayed troops sent forward to reinforce General Terry in his operations against Wilmington.

The return of the so-called "Peace Commissioners" to Richmond seems to have been made the occasion for a vigorous effort to revive the flagging resolution of the insurgents, by exaggerating the consequences of our success. Our private information from Richmond is, that the panic existing there does not yield to the remedies applied by the insurgent physicians.

February 21.

Admiral Dahlgren, commanding the naval forces at Charleston, reported on the 18th, that the enemy were evacuating, and he was on his way to enter that important city, the cradle of disunion. The Richmond papers announce the same event, and give us the further information that General Sherman having permanently secured Branchville and Orangeburg, on Friday morning appeared above Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, which was abandoned to him by Beauregard.

The rebels claim to have removed the bullion in the mint from Columbia. They admit the destruction and loss of immense quantities of Government machinery and medicines. They state that Beauregard retired to a position twenty miles from Columbia, and that Sherman, with a large force, passed through Columbia to Waynesborough. They aver, also, that rebel soldiers plundered the town of Columbia while abandoning it to our forces.

The rebel papers report a furious cannonade by our land and naval forces, against Fort Anderson, a defense of Wilmington, below that city. They also report significant movements of our forces from Newbern toward the Weldon road above Wilmington, but they say, that, as yet, the telegraphic communication has not been broken.

The gold market is declining. Government stocks are in high demand. Recruiting is renewed. Exchanges of prisoners are going forward rapidly. Disaffection speaks out boldly in North Carolina, and a collision has occurred there between rebel troops and rebel deserters.

February 27.

On the 22d instant Major-General Schofield moved against Wilmington with the land forces on both sides of the Cape Fear river, and Admiral Porter at the same time advanced on the river. The insurgents withdrew, and the city was surrendered without resistance.

Mobile and Galveston, both of which are closely blockaded, are the only ports remaining in the possession of the insurgents. The air is full of reports of concentration, and reorganization, on the part of the insurgents.

President Lincoln, in reply to a resolution from the House of Representatives calling for information, now sent in a message detailing the origin, the incidents, and the result of the Hampton Roads Conference. Jefferson Davis transmitted to the Confederate Congress the report of his commissioners "showing," as he said, "that the enemy refuse to enter into negotiations with the Confederate States, or, any one of them separately, or to give our people any other terms or guaranties than those which a conqueror may grant, or permit us to

have peace on any other basis than our unconditional submission to their rule, coupled with the acceptance of their recent legislation.

An incident of that conference was detailed afterward, in an account said to have been prepared under the supervision of Mr. Stephens:

> Mr. Lincoln said he could not recognize another government, inside of the one of which he alone was President, nor admit of the separate independence of States, that were yet a part of the Union. "That," said he, "would be doing what you so long asked Europe to do, in vain, and be resigning the only thing the armies of the Union are fighting for." Mr. Hunter made a long reply, insisting that the recognition of Davis' power to make a treaty was the first and indispensable step to peace, and referring to the correspondence between King Charles the First, and his Parliament, as a reliable precedent of a constitutional ruler treating with rebels.
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> Mr. Lincoln's face then wore that indescribable expression which generally preceded his hardest hits, and he remarked:
>
> "Upon questions of history I must refer you to Mr. Seward, for he is posted in such things, and I don't profess to be. But my only distinct recollection of the matter is, that Charles lost his head."

The time now approached for counting the electoral votes. Congress had adopted a resolution excluding from the count those States which were in rebellion. The President signed it, but disclaimed "all right of the Executive to interfere, in any way, in the matter of counting the electoral votes."

As usual, the Senate proceeded to the Hall of the Representatives, on the second Wednesday in February, and Vice-President Hamlin, in presence of the joint convention, opened the certificates and formally declared that Abraham Lincoln had been elected President, and Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, for the ensuing four years.

The closing days of the session were busy. The Freedmen's Bureau Bill was perfected and passed. The questions in regard to confiscation, and of admission of Senators and Representatives from States recaptured by the Union forces, were earnestly discussed. Resolutions were adopted, recommending that, in making appointments to office, the preference should be given to Union soldiers. At Seward's suggestion, the President sent in messages in reference to approaching International Exhibitions in Portugal and Norway, and suitable resolutions were adopted.

Charles Sumner was now the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. His own tastes, as well as the long intimacy between him and Seward throughout the anti-slavery struggle, led him to study diplomatic questions carefully and closely, and made him a frequent visitor at the department. There he took special interest in studying the correspondence with England and France. With Sew-

ard's approval, he now offered a resolution, which was adopted, declaring the rebel debt, or loan, was simply an agency of the rebellion, which the United States "can never recognize in any part, or in any way."

The ram *Olinde* or *Stonewall* was known to have started out from the French coast, and to have arrived at Ferrol in Spain. One rumor was that she was to proceed to Charleston, to assail the blockading squadron. Another was, that she would enter Capes Henry and Charles, to make a destructive onslaught like that of the *Merrimac*. But on the 23d of February, Seward was able to write to General Grant:

We have this day received reliable information that the insurgent ram, intelligence respecting which at first excited some apprehension, is likely to be indefinitely detained either in Ferrol in Spain, or Lisbon in Portugal. It is consequently believed, that you will have no occasion to take into account the probability of her appearing in Hampton Roads, as an element of your military combination.

In his circular to Ministers, at the close of the session, he said:

Congress adjourned on the 3d of March, after having passed all the laws required for the military and naval defense. The session was less disturbed by party-spirit than any previous one during the civil war, except the extra session of 1861. Perhaps the most memorable proceeding of the late Congress will be, its submission to the States of an amendment of the Constitution for the abolition of slavery.

Thus far eighteen States have accepted and three have rejected the amendment. It need not be doubted that within one or two years it will obtain the majority required to give it effect.

You inform me that the delusion prevails in European circles that the rebel debts will be paid as a condition of peace. To correct that delusion you may safely say that, in my belief, the principal of the debt of Great Britain will be liquidated and discharged, before a single dollar, even of interest, of the rebel debt will be discharged by anybody. This nation might perish; but it could not, under the present Administration, incur the dishonor of begging a peace from insurgents.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1865.

Lincoln's Second Inauguration. The Cabinet. Relations of the United States with France and Mexico. The Armies Closing In. Successive Battles and Victories. Richmond and Petersburg Evacuated. Recruits and Deserters. Spies and Blockade-Runners. The President's Visit to Richmond. Seward Thrown from his Carriage. The News from the Front. Lee's Surrender. Popular Rejoicings. Last Meeting of Seward and Lincoln. "When this Cruel War is Over!"

THE morning of the 4th of March was rainy and windy; but in spite of the storm, a great crowd gathered at the eastern portico of the Capitol, to witness President Lincoln's second inauguration. About eleven o'clock it was rumored that the ceremonies would take place in the Senate Chamber. Noon, however, brought a clearer sky. The President came out on the platform, accompanied by his Cabinet, and the usual array of public functionaries. Received with loud cheering, he once more took the oath of office, administered this time by Chief Justice Chase. Then followed the pathetic and eloquent second Inaugural, whose fitness was less appreciated on this day of public rejoicing, than it was destined soon to be, in the hour of public mourning.

The Cabinet were at the President's side during the ceremony, and drove back with him to the White House at its close. As Cabinet officers held their places for no fixed term, but during the President's pleasure, no changes or reappointments were necessary; and the same advisers gathered round the green-covered table as before. There was one exception, however; Secretary Fessenden had been again returned by the Maine Legislature to his old place in the United States Senate. Governor Morgan was tendered a nomination as his successor in the Treasury Department, but declined. Mr. McCulloch, who had been the Comptroller of the Currency, was then made Secretary of the Treasury.

While the Secretaries were standing and chatting together, after one of the Cabinet meetings, the Postmaster-General, Governor Dennison, happened to notice the little old leathern-covered chair which Mr. Lincoln usually occupied when writing, and remarked:

"Well, I should think the Presidential chair of the United States might be a better piece of furniture than that."

Mr. Lincoln turned, and for the first time observed the worn, torn, battered leather. "You think that's not a good chair, Governor," said he, with a half-quizzical, half-meditative look at it. "There are a great many people that want to sit in it, though. I'm sure I've often wished some of them had it instead of me!"

Two days after the inauguration, Seward wrote to Mr. Bigelow outlining the foreign policy of the coming period:

WASHINGTON, *March* 6, 1865.

I note briefly a few points. The Senate is in extraordinary session. The French mission will be filled before the Senate adjourns.

Secondly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs knows all about the French tobacco at Richmond, and our position is satisfactory to him. But Richmond just now is likely to undergo a change of condition that may affect tobacco as well as other important things there.

Third, Congress has adjourned, and the policy of this Government in regard to Mexico remains unchanged. It rests with France to decide whether this is satisfactory. If we have war with her, it must be a war of her making, either against our ships or upon our territory. We shall defend ourselves if assailed on our own ground. We shall attack nobody elsewhere. All subordinate and collateral questions issuing out of the war are left by us to the arbitrament of reason, under the instructions of time. Our press and legislative tribunes will not say this now, and they cannot be expected to say it under the insults and irritations of the European press, and of hostile policies in European centers.

The inauguration was the most majestic and enthusiastic ever seen. We hear good reports from the Shenandoah Valley, and are hopeful of events all around.

In regard to the efforts to obtain recognition of the "Imperial" Government in Mexico by the United States, he said that "a person authorized by the power now dominant in Mexico has arrived in New York, and solicited an informal interview with me," which interview he declined to accord. He further stated that the United States Government would not recall from Mexico any of its agents accredited to the Republican Government there.

To Mrs. Seward, he wrote:

March 13.

We are at the end of Congress, Senate, and Inauguration. As the war begins to end, I find our foreign correspondence even more laborious than before. I am busy in convincing the maritime powers, who so promptly sided indirectly with the rebels, that we are not intending to make war against them all all at once. They are as nervous now, as we were when the war broke out. Yet they do not see that the cure for all apprehensions is, to drop the rebels and resume their old position. It is very hard for their statesmen to admit that they miscalculated our political strength and integrity.

The spring opens upon our armies elsewhere in a state of activity or of preparation. The dismay at Richmond rises to distraction. It is not doubtful that there has been a conspiracy to force Davis to resign. The most that the passage of the law to arm the negroes can effect will be to protract the war a few months. But even this seems impossible.

Now came the rapid series of military successes immediately preceding the crumbling of the Confederacy and the close of the war. Seward summed up the passing events in his circulars:

March 7.

General Sheridan is advancing up the Valley of Virginia, threatening the Virginia and Tennessee railroad; Grant remains with the "Army of the Potomac" before Richmond; Sherman has advanced northward from Columbia; Schofield and Foster are moving coöperative forces from the coast. We expect to hear soon of a demonstration against Mobile.

March 13.

We have direct reports from Major-General Sheridan so late as the 10th. He routed Early's forces at or near Waynesborough, between Staunton and Charlottesville, and captured eight guns, with thirteen hundred prisoners. More recent news is, that he has effectually destroyed the James River canal between Lynchburg and Richmond, and many bridges, with much of the track of the Orange and Alexandria railroad.

The "Army of the Potomac" presents a scene of constant and watchful preparation. Suffolk, in Virginia, has been reoccupied. The insurgent newspapers contain a report from Bragg, that he had repulsed General Foster at Kinston in North Carolina. Assuming the truth of this claim, it does not now seem to seriously threaten the operations of General Sherman. If the suspense in which we are held in regard to him begins to be painful, it is well to remember that the time he appointed for coming to the destination, whence we should be able to hear directly from him, has not yet expired.

The contentions at Richmond seem to border upon distraction. It is understood that the insurrectionary cabal has at last, under Virginia's dictation, passed a bill for arming slaves — leaving to the States the question, whether the negroes thus brought into the field shall be emancipated.

March 21.

The public attention is now fastening itself upon Richmond, and things surrounding it.

Major-General Sheridan, after having destroyed all the railroad and canal avenues on the north side of the James river, from Staunton to the Pamunky, has crossed the last-named river, and established himself at the White House. The march of Sheridan is allowed to have been effective beyond a parallel. Sheridan's force is now practically combined with the "Army of the Potomac," and henceforth may be in direct coöperation.

The battle of Kinston cost each party about three thousand men. The enemy have evacuated that town, and Major-General Schofield awaits there, or in its vicinity, the arrival of Major-General Sherman, who on the 11th captured Fayetteville, and appointed yesterday, the 21st, for his entrance into Goldsborough. Johnston and Hardee are understood to be concentrated in front of that place — perhaps at Raleigh.

The "Army of the Potomac" is still before Richmond. Significant political movements occurred there last week. The effort to bring negroes into the

rebel service was begun. The so-called Congress, on the eve of an intended adjournment, was detained by a message from Davis, announcing that Richmond is in imminent danger, and demanding extreme measures and virtually dictatorial powers, including a suspension of the *habeas corpus*, unlimited control over exemptions, and authority to seize gold for the uses of the rebel authorities. The so-called Legislature listened and adjourned, as is understood, without reviewing the policy of which Davis complained, and without conceding the most, much less all, of the extraordinary powers demanded.

We hear that troops have arrived in Mobile bay and that our naval forces have crossed the Bar below the city.

You will find in the public papers, Davis' account of an attempt to bring about a military convention between Lee and Grant, to make peace or gain time. It is true, as he says, that an overture of this kind was made by the rebel agents in the conference with the President and Secretary of State at Hampton Roads, but it was firmly though courteously declined.

March 27.

Major-General Sheridan is still at the White House, on the Pamunky, repairing the waste his corps suffered in the late expedition.

The enemy on the morning of the 25th made a sudden and violent assault upon Fort Steedman, situated on our siege line in front of Petersburg, carried the fort and turned its guns upon its late possessors. They at the same time attacked Fort Haskell, but were repulsed. By a rapid concentration of forces Fort Steedman was regained with all its guns, and the former condition of things was fully restored. Our loss is reported by General Grant to be eight hundred, that of the enemy at three thousand killed and wounded, and twenty-seven hundred prisoners.

Independent Union columns are pressing toward Lynchburg — one under Major-General Hancock, through the Shenandoah Valley, the other under Major-General Stoneman from Nashville through Knoxville.

Major-General Schofield reports that he entered Goldsborough on the 21st, and found it evacuated by the enemy. He made important captures of railroad machinery. Major-General Sherman had not arrived there on the 21st. The rebel press reports a signal victory gained by them over him at Averysborough on the 11th. They report also a victory gained by them over him at Bentonville on the 19th instant. But unofficial reports from Newbern, so late as the 21st, allude to engagements of Sherman's left column with the enemy at Averysborough and at Bentonville; and the reports state that Sherman's right column fought a battle, and routed the enemy at Mount Olivet, on the Wilmington railroad below Goldsborough; that the rebels retreated toward Raleigh, and that General Sherman entered Smithfield.

Continued desertions from the rebel forces indicate a great demoralization in their Army.

You will find in the public journals an account of the conviction, confession, and execution of Kennedy, one of the incendiaries, who went from Canada, and set fire to the hotels in New York. It is reasonable to hope that the en-

ergy with which justice is being administered, will bring to an end the war we have so long suffered, from the British colonies on our border.

April 4.

On the 29th instant, Major-General Sherman, who had come up from Goldsborough to City Point, had a conference there with the President and Lieutenant-General Grant. General Sherman immediately thereafter returned to his own command.

On the 28th instant the Lieutenant-General organized a large movable force below Petersburg, and so disposed of it as to oblige the rebel General Lee to weaken his batteries in intrenchments or leave the Southside railroad unprotected. The movement continued with alternating advance and retreat throughout the 28th, 29th, and 30th. On the 31st General Sheridan, in command of the cavalry arm, seized the Southside railroad, and sweeping backwards, flanked the forces of Lee and obtained a signal victory. On the 2d the main force, under the Lieutenant-General's immediate command, broke through the enemy's intrenchments below Petersburg, and then, by contracting their line to the Appomattox, above the city, completed their investment. Early on the 3d, Petersburg and Richmond were evacuated. General Weitzel entered the rebel stronghold, and the Lieutenant-General was in pursuit of the retreating rebel Army. The Lieutenant-General reports that in the engagements which preceded the evacuation of Petersburg, our forces captured fifty guns and twelve thousand prisoners. Here our information concerning this great movement ends.

The country has surrendered itself up to demonstrations of joy, and gratitude to Almighty God.

Major-General Hancock, with a large force, is still in the valley of Virginia, awaiting the Lieutenant-General's orders. Major-General Stoneman, with the cavalry of the Army of the Cumberland, is reported crossing the Blue Ridge, at Boone, in North Carolina, to coöperate with the armies under the Lieutenant-General and Major-General Sherman.

On the same day, he, for the last time, instructed Mr. Adams to urge upon Earl Russell, that "every day's persistence by Great Britain in an attitude of proclaimed neutrality, by the Government, which is violated with impunity by British subjects on the ocean, and upon our borders, increases the alienation which both Governments justly deplore. The time has come when the United States may not only rightly, but with serious earnestness, ask relief."

While the rebel armies were wasting away, those of the Union were rapidly augmenting. In response to a call for three hundred thousand more volunteers, issued in December, new recruits were coming in every day. In March a proclamation was issued, calling on all deserters to return to duty, and proffering pardon to those complying within sixty days. Great numbers availed themselves of the opportunity. Drafting was also formally begun, on the 15th of March, so

that the Union force was assuming proportions absolutely irresistible. A proclamation was issued declaring that the rebel emissaries who were furnishing arms to hostile Indians of the Northwest, should be arrested, tried, and punished by court-martial. Seward also issued orders that all persons found holding intercourse or trade with the rebels, by sea, should be arrested, and held as prisoners of war, and that all found violating the blockade would be compelled to leave the United States in twelve days, or be detained as prisoners of war.

The grave duties imposed upon the President and heads of departments, by this stormy period, were still further complicated, by the ever-recurring swarm of office-seekers, who deemed the opening of a new term of Administration a favorable time to renew their importunities. The harassed and wearied President, for relief and rest went on board his river steamer, and down the Potomac, to visit the Army. Arriving at City Point, in a crisis of military affairs, he witnessed the repulse and retreat of the rebels, and telegraphed to Stanton and Seward of the progress of the battle. On the day after its capture, he made his memorable visit to Richmond.

It was a sunny spring afternoon when the department doors were closed, on Wednesday, the 5th of April, and Seward went out for his customary drive, accompanied by his son and daughter, and a young friend of the latter. On their way up Vermont avenue, the horses, which were young and spirited, took fright, and became unmanageable. The driver lost control of them. Seward, in attempting to spring to the ground, was thrown violently upon the pavement. A crowd gathered to raise him, but found him unconscious. He was carried home and placed upon his bed. Physicians were sent for, and Dr. Norris, the Army Medical Director, making a careful examination, found his right shoulder badly dislocated, and his jaw broken on both sides. His partial return to consciousness was accompanied with agonizing pain. The Surgeon-General and others of the medical staff were summoned, anxious consultations were held; a telegram sent to Mrs. Seward, who was at Auburn, and every thing practicable done for his relief and comfort.

On the following day Mrs. Seward came. Nurses and watchers were provided. The dislocation was reduced; but it was found impossible to keep the jaw in position. Fever set in, and grave apprehensions were entertained, by his medical attendants, that his system would not survive the injuries and the shock.

Mrs. Seward wrote to her sister:

WASHINGTON.

We reached here at eleven at night, having been on the way thirty-four hours.

I find Henry worse than I anticipated; though all say he is better than he was the first two days. His face is so marred and swollen and discolored that one can hardly persuade themselves of his identity; his voice so changed; utterance almost entirely prevented by the broken jaw and the swollen tongue. It makes my heart ache to look at him.

Of course he is patient and uncomplaining; tries to help himself with the arm that is not rendered helpless.

Later.

I have now seen Surgeon-General Barnes, Surgeon Norris and Dr. Verdi. All agree that Henry is doing as well as the circumstances of the case admit. His chief and continual pain is in the broken jaw, which was set yesterday, with the most excruciating pain.

His mind is perfectly clear this morning. The first few hours after the accident, he was unconscious, then delirious through the first night; the second night restless, but rational; last night he slept half an hour at one time. Augustus, Donaldson, and the two male nurses from the hospital, shared in attentions to the invalid through the night.

I never saw a family of children more devoted to the care of a parent.

During the next few days the whispered consultations in the darkened sick room were occasionally interrupted by sounds of cheering and merry music in the streets outside. There was much popular anxiety as to "the accident of the Secretary of State;" but the newspapers of course took a hopeful view, and gave assurance of his speedy recovery. Meanwhile, the news of the great Union successes, at and around the rebel capital, spread abroad. Improvised meetings and processions were hourly occurring, and all Washington seemed pervaded with exultation.

When the President returned to Washington, he hastened to visit Seward in his sick chamber. It was in the evening, the gas-lights were turned down low, and the house was still, every one moving softly, and speaking in whispers. The injured Secretary was helpless and swathed in bandages, on his bed, in the center of the room. The extreme sensitiveness of the wounded arm, made even the touch of the bed clothing intolerable. To keep it free from their contact, he was lying on the edge of the bed, farthest from the door. Mr. Lincoln, entering with kindly expressions of sympathy, sat down on the bed, by the invalid's side.

"You are back from Richmond?" whispered Seward, who was hardly able to articulate.

"Yes," said Lincoln, "and I think we are near the end, at last."

Then leaning his tall form across the bed, and resting on his elbow, so as to bring his face near that of the wounded man, he gave him an account of his experiences "at the front;" Seward listening with in-

terest, but unable to utter a word without pain. They were left together for half an hour or more. Then the door opened softly, and Mr. Lincoln came out gently, intimating by a silent look and gesture that Seward had fallen into a feverish slumber, and must not be disturbed. It was their last meeting.

At the department, in consequence of the accident to the Secretary, his official functions were temporarily devolved upon his son, the Assistant Secretary, who, in the closing "circular on the military situation," said:

April 10.

The past week has been characterized by a rapid and uninterrupted series of military successes more momentous in their results than any that have preceded them during the war. Richmond and Petersburg, with all their communications and vast quantities of supplies and material of war, have been captured by our armies. The insurrection has no longer a seat of its pretended Government. Its so-called officials are fugitives. Its chief Army, after being reduced by repeated defeats and demoralization to less than one-third of its former numbers, has been retreating, closely pursued and hemmed in by the victorious forces of the Union, and encountering fresh losses at every step of its flight, until the triumph of the national armies finally culminated in the surrender of General Lee and the whole insurgent Army of Northern Virginia to Lieutenant-General Grant yesterday afternoon, at half-past four o'clock.

Henceforth it is evident that the war, if protracted, can never resume its former character. Organized operations of campaign or siege, carried on by disciplined and effective armies, are no longer possible for the insurgents. Depredations by marauding gangs, and defense of remote and isolated inland fastnesses, may, perhaps, still be continued, but even these can endure but for a time.

Not the least significant feature of these triumphs is the reception extended by the inhabitants to the advancing armies of the Union, their entire acquiescence, and, in many instances, their apparently sincere rejoicings at the return of its protecting authority over the insurgent district.

The insurrection has now no port or access to the sea; no fixed seat of its pretended Government; no coherent civil administration; no army that is not, in consequence of repeated defeats, rapidly dissolving into fragments; and the only ships that assume to carry its flag are those foreign-built vessels, which, from the day their keels were laid on neutral soil, have never ventured to approach within hundreds of miles of the scene of the insurrection; and have only derived their ability to rob and plunder from the concession to them of belligerent privileges, by powers which have repeatedly assured us of their disposition to be neutral in the strife.

On the following day proclamations were issued, based on the changed aspect of affairs as regarded foreign nations. One announced that, as the Southern ports had been recaptured, their blockade was no

longer necessary, and they would be closed to foreign trade, in accordance with law, until the President should declare them reopened.

The other gave notice to the foreign Governments, who had refused to vessels of war of the United States the privileges to which they were entitled by treaty, public law, and international comity, that henceforth their own vessels would be treated in precisely the same way by the United States, unless the obnoxious restrictions were withdrawn, as the United States were "now, at least, entitled to claim and concede an entire and friendly equality of rights and hospitalities with all maritime nations."

Orders were also issued to stop drafting and recruiting; to curtail purchases of arms and supplies; to reduce the military force, and remove restrictions on trade as rapidly as consistent with public safety.

"When this Cruel War is Over!" sang a lyric poet, who told of scenes of contentment and prosperity that were to come with peace. The song touched a chord in the popular heart, and during 1864 and 1865 it was frequently heard at public resorts. Now the wished-for time had come. With the surrender at Appomattox had ended all prospect of continuing the struggle. Joyous and enthusiastic crowds were going about the streets, exchanging congratulations. Flags were floating and music reëchoing the glad tidings. "The cruel war was over!"

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1865.

The Anniversary of Sumter. A Cabinet Meeting. Peace and Good-Will. The Restored Union. General Grant's Terms at Appomattox. Stanton's Outline of the Plan of Restoration. A Night of Blood. The Assassination.

FORT SUMTER had surrendered on the 14th day of April, 1861. Four years of battles had followed. Now the return of that anniversary was accompanied with the advent of peace. It was deemed a proper day to again raise the Union flag on the fort, with appropriate ceremonies. This year it happened that the 14th was also Good Friday.

Early that morning a messenger from the White House brought a note from Mr. Lincoln to the Acting Secretary of State — "Please call a Cabinet meeting at eleven o'clock to-day. General Grant will be with us."

When the hour came Secretaries McCulloch and Welles, Attorney-General Speed and Postmaster-General Dennison arrived, and the

State Department was represented by its Assistant Secretary. Mr. Lincoln, with an expression of visible relief and content upon his face, sat in his study chair by the south window, chatting with them over "the great news." Some curiosity was expressed as to what had become of the heads of the rebel Government — whether they would escape from the country, or would remain to be captured and tried. And if tried, what penalty would be visited upon them?

All the gentlemen present thought, that for the sake of general amity and good-will, it was desirable to have as few judicial proceedings as possible. Yet would it be wise to let the leaders in treason go entirely unpunished? Mr. Speed remarked that it would be a difficult problem, if it should occur.

"I suppose, Mr. President," said Governor Dennison, "you would not be sorry to have them escape out of the country?"

"Well," said Mr. Lincoln slowly, "I should not be sorry to have them out of the country; but I should be for following them up pretty close to make sure of their going."

The conversation turning upon the subject of sleep, Mr. Lincoln remarked that a peculiar dream of the previous night was one that had recurred several times in his life — a vague sense of floating — floating away on some vast and indistinct expanse, toward an unknown shore. The dream itself was not so strange as the coincidence, that each of the previous recurrences had been followed by some important event or disaster.

The usual comments were made by his auditors. One thought it was merely a matter of coincidences.

Another laughingly remarked: "At any rate it cannot presage a victory nor a defeat this time, for the war is over."

A third suggested: "Perhaps at each of these periods there were possibilities of great change or disaster; and the vague feeling of uncertainty may have led to the dim vision in sleep."

"Perhaps," said Mr. Lincoln, thoughtfully, "perhaps that is the explanation."

Mr. Stanton was the last to arrive, and brought with him a large roll of paper upon which he had been at work.

General Grant entered, in accordance with the President's invitation, and was received with cordial welcomes and congratulations. He briefly and modestly narrated the incidents of the surrender. Mr. Lincoln's face glowed with approval, when in reply to his inquiry, "What terms did you make for the common soldiers?" General Grant said: "I told them to go back to their homes and families, and they would not be molested, if they did nothing more."

Kindly feeling toward the vanquished, and hearty desire to restore peace and safety at the South, with as little harm as possible to the feelings or the property of its inhabitants, pervaded the whole discussion.

At such a meeting, in such a time, there could be but one question — the restoration or reëstablishment of the seceded States in their former relations, as members of the Federal Union.

The conference was long and earnest, with little diversity of opinion, except as to details. One of the difficulties of the problem was, who should be recognized as State authorities? There was a loyal Governor in Virginia. There were military Governors in some of the other States. But the Southern Legislatures were, for the most part, avowedly treasonable. Whether they should be allowed to continue until they committed some new overt act of hostility; whether the Governors should be requested to order new elections; whether such elections should be ordered by the General Government — all these were questions raised.

Among many similar expressions of the President was the remark: "We can't undertake to run State Governments in all these Southern States. Their people must do that, though I reckon that, at first, they may do it badly."

The Secretary of War then unrolled his sheets of paper, on which he had drafted the outlines of reconstruction, embodying the President's views, and, as it was understood, those of the other members of the Cabinet. In substance, it was that the Treasury Department should take possession of the custom-houses, and proceed to collect the revenues; that the War Department should garrison or destroy the forts, take possession of arms and munitions, and maintain the public peace; that the Navy Department should, in like manner, occupy the harbors, take possession of navy yards, ships, and ordnance; that the Interior Department should send out its surveyors, land, pension, and Indian agents, and set them at work; that the Postmaster-General should reopen his post-offices and establish his mail routes; that the Attorney-General should look after the reëstablishment of the Federal courts, with their judges, marshals, and attorneys; in short, that the machinery of the United States Government should be set in motion; that its laws should be faithfully executed and vigorously enforced; that every thing like domestic violence or insurrection should be repressed; but that public authorities and private citizens should remain unmolested, if not found in actual hostility to the Government of the Union.

It must have been about two o'clock when the Cabinet meeting

broke up. At its close, the President remarked that he had been urged to visit the theater that evening, and asked General Grant if he would accompany him. The General excused himself, as he had a previous engagement. The Assistant Secretary of State asked the President at what time it would be convenient for him to receive the new British Minister, Sir Frederick Bruce, who had arrived, and was awaiting presentation. He paused a moment in thought, and replied, "To-morrow, at two o'clock," and then added with a smile, "Don't forget to send up the speeches beforehand — I would like to look them over."

It was the ninth day since the carriage accident; and Seward still lay helpless and suffering, his symptoms alternately inspiring hopes of recovery, or grave apprehensions that he could not survive. The physicians held frequent consultations; the family took turns in watching at his bedside; and two invalid soldiers were sent to assist in his care. Aggravated pain and inflammation brought on occasional delirium; but every day, although unable to talk, he would intimate his desire to be informed of current events. He essayed to make a suggestion or two in reference to a Thanksgiving Proclamation, and in regard to the relations with Great Britain; but after enunciating a few words with difficulty, could not continue. He listened with a look of pleasure to the narration of the events at the Cabinet meeting.

Night came; and about ten o'clock, Dr. Norris, the last of the physicians who called during the evening, had taken his leave. The gas-lights were turned low, and all was quiet. In the sick-room with the Secretary were his daughter Fanny, and the invalid soldier nurse, George T. Robinson. The other members of the family had gone to their respective rooms, to rest before their turn of watching.

There seemed nothing unusual in the occurrence when a tall, well-dressed, but unknown man presented himself below; and informing the servant that he brought a message from the doctor, was allowed to come up the stairs to the door of Seward's room. He was met here by the Assistant Secretary, who refused him admission, explaining that the sleeping invalid must not be disturbed. He paused, apparently irresolute. When advised to leave his message, and go back to report to the doctor, he replied: "Very well, Sir, I will go," and turning away, took two or three steps down the stairs.

Suddenly, turning again, he sprang up and forward, having drawn a navy revolver, which he leveled, with a muttered oath, and pulled the trigger.

And now, in swift succession, like the scenes of some hideous dream, came the bloody incidents of the night — of the pistol missing fire

— of the struggle in the dimly-lighted hall, between the armed man and the unarmed one — of the blows which broke the pistol of the one and fractured the skull of the other — of the bursting in of the door — of the mad rush of the assassin to the bedside, and his savage slashing, with a bowie-knife, at the face and throat of the helpless Secretary, instantly reddening the white bandages with streams of blood — of the screams of the daughter for help — of the attempt of the invalid soldier nurse to drag the assailant from his victim, receiving sharp wounds himself in return — of the noise made by the awakening household, inspiring the assassin with hasty impulse to escape, leaving his work done or undone — of his frantic rush down the stairs, cutting and slashing at all whom he found in his way, wounding one in the face and stabbing another in the back — of his escape through the open doorway — and his flight, on horseback, down the Avenue.

Five minutes later, the aroused household were gazing, horrified, at the bleeding faces and figures in their midst — were lifting the insensible form of the Secretary from a pool of blood — and sending for surgical help. Meanwhile, a panic-stricken crowd was surging in from the street, to the hall and rooms below, vainly inquiring or wildly conjecturing what had happened. For these, the horrors of the night seemed to culminate, when later comers rushed in, with the intelligence that the President had also been attacked, at the same hour — had been shot at Ford's Theater — had been carried to a house in Tenth street — and was lying there, unconscious and dying!

CHAPTER XL.

1865.

The Country in Mourning. The President's Obsequies. Seward's Condition. The Great Reviews. The "Army of the Potomac." The Army of the West. The Troops Returning Home. President Johnson. Steps Toward "Reconstruction." Effects of the Assassination on Popular Feeling.

On the following day Secretary Stanton telegraphed to General Sherman:

WASHINGTON, *April* 15, 1865, 12 *M.*

President Lincoln was murdered about ten o'clock last night in his private box at Ford's Theater in this city, by an assassin who shot him through the head with a pistol ball. The assassin leaped from the box, brandishing a dagger, exclaiming, "*Sic semper tyrannis*," and that Virginia was avenged. Mr.

Lincoln fell senseless from his seat, and continued in that state until twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock, at which time he breathed his last. General Grant was published to be at the theater, but did not go.

About the same time Mr. Seward's house was entered by another assassin, who stabbed the Secretary in several places. It is thought he may possibly recover, but his son Frederick will probably die of wounds received from the assassin.

Vice-President Johnson now becomes President, and will take the oath of office and assume the duties to-day. I have no time to add more than to say that I find evidence that an assassin is also on your track, and I beseech you to be more heedful than Mr. Lincoln was of such knowledge.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

The country was plunged in grief. Indeed the whole civilized world was startled by the news of the bloody crimes at Washington. The cities were draped in mourning for the murdered President. Hourly bulletins of the condition of the Secretary of State gave little hope that he could survive his wounds. The number and the purposes of the conspirators were as yet unknown, and this uncertainty added to the general feeling of uneasy apprehension. Energetic efforts to ascertain and arrest the assassins were at once begun by the military authorities. Sentinels paced the sidewalk in front of Seward's house, to guard against another attack. Anxious inquirers thronged at the door. Letters and telegrams of condolence and sympathy poured in upon the afflicted family.

For several days, Seward lay in a critical state. His physicians had feared the injuries from the carriage accident might prove fatal, and now to these were added the frightful wounds inflicted by the assassin's knife. At intervals he was partly conscious, and then he would lapse for hours into a condition of apparent stupor. Of the scenes passing outside he had no knowledge, except as they were afterward related to him by his attendants. The funeral of President Lincoln, the inauguration of Vice-President Johnson in his stead, the surrender of Johnston, the capture of Davis, the arrest of the assassins, all took place while he was still unable to move. He used at a subsequent period to tell of his vague and dreamy memory of being propped up with pillows, and drawn to the window, to witness the passing funeral pageant of the President. The great black catafalque, with its nodding sable plumes, caught his eye, but he was physically too weak to grasp its full significance.

Mrs. Seward wrote, on the 11th of May, to Mr. Alward at Auburn:

Though the scenes of horror through which I have passed have neither hardened my heart nor paralyzed my hand, I still find it difficult to guide my pen,

I came here the 7th of April, two days after Mr. Seward was injured in falling from the carriage. I found him a great sufferer — so bruised and swollen was his face that it was difficult to trace any resemblance to his features as they were. His right arm was broken just below the shoulder, his lower jaw broken in three places, the foot, which caught as he attempted to leave the carriage, was sprained, and his body covered with bruises. He tried to leap from the carriage, hoping to do something to arrest the horses before Fanny and Mary Titus were dashed to pieces. Frederick had made the same attempt, but his recently broken arm was nearly powerless.

Mr. Seward was still in the condition I describe when his assassination was attempted the night of the 14th. Fanny and I had watched with him alternately, in company with a male nurse from the hospital, Augustus relieving us when necessary. That night Fanny was sitting by her father, when a noise in the upper hall attracted her to the door, where she found Frederick apparently remonstrating with a strange man. Frederick told her to close the door, which she did immediately, but, hearing blows, asked the nurse to go to the door. In the meantime the assassin, having inflicted three frightful wounds on Frederick, was coming into the room.

Robinson, the nurse, tried to prevent his entrance, was struck a number of times with a large bowie-knife, but still kept hold of the murderer while he sprang upon Mr. Seward's bed. Mr. Seward was awake, and says he knew the man sought his life, still he feared for Fanny, and, with great effort, rose up in his bed to interpose his shattered frame as a protection.

His throat was cut on both sides, his right cheek nearly severed from his face, when he fell upon the floor. The murderer then tried to pass round the foot of the bed to reach Mr. Seward from the other side. In the meantime, Fanny's screams had awakened the family. Augustus, with the aid of Robinson, succeeded in getting the man out of the room. Augustus received three wounds from that fearful knife. His head was cut twice to the bone, and one hand severely cut. While he was stepping into his room for a pistol, the man made his escape down the stairs, on his way wounding Mr. Hansell, a messenger from the department, who came out of a lower room and was going to the street door to give the alarm. Augustus followed the man down stairs, but was only in time to see him ride from the door on his horse, which he had left there.

I will not attempt to describe what I witnessed of this scene of horrors. Mr. Seward and Frederick both insensible; and Augustus, Robinson and Hansell covered with blood. Anna, with remarkable presence of mind, sent the servants for surgeons, who soon came.

One hour after Mr. Seward's wounds were dressed I thought him dying, but he revived, and, thanks to a merciful God, is still alive.

Frederick lay forty-eight hours motionless and unconscious. His skull was badly fractured in two places. There were marks of five blows with the pistol, which the assassin vainly attempted to fire. Partial consciousness returned to Frederick about the fourth day; but not until three different examinations by the surgeons, were all the pieces of bone (eight in number) taken from the

brain. After two weeks he was perfectly conscious, and could speak correctly and distinctly. His recollection returned gradually. His chief danger now arises from hemorrhages from his wounds, which produce such prostration that we are constantly apprehensive that he will die.

27th.

I have been confined to my bed since I commenced this letter. The wearing anxiety I feel about Mr. Seward and Frederick consumes my strength. Mr. Seward suffers greatly from the long confinement, and the splint which supports the broken jaw is a constant source of irritation. He is much wasted in strength, very thin and feeble; but the surgeons see no cause for alarm, and predict a certain recovery.

Frederick has now escaped hemorrhage nine days — all are hoping this danger may pass. God has been very merciful to us; if their lives are spared, we shall be filled with joy and gratitude.

It yet will be a long time, if our dear ones recover, before we can leave here. I make no calculations for the future. This baptism of blood seems to have obliterated much of my previous existence. But our calamities do not make us unmindful of the great loss our country has sustained in the death of our good President.

Long weary weeks of confinement to the darkened chamber followed. But Seward was fortunate in a constitution of strong recuperative power, and he had all the care that could be given by the highest medical skill, and the most attentive and affectionate nurses. Surgeon-General Barnes, Dr. Norris, Dr. Wilson, and others in the military service, were unwearied in their attendance. Dr. Verdi, who had previously attended the family, and medical advisers from far and near, were solicitous to render every possible aid. Mrs. Seward and her daughters passed sleepless nights of watching, though aided by trained nurses in their care of the sufferers.

Every hour of the day, and every mail, brought some new proof of the world-wide sympathy and sorrow, that had been excited by the event. It was impossible to respond to the flood of letters, or to see the throng of visitors, though the knowledge and remembrance of all these tokens of kindness, was soothing and cheering to the sufferers, and to the household.

Seward bore all physical pain and privation with patience and resignation. But he was impatient to be at work, in this period of grave governmental responsibilities. His broken jaw was fitted with a rigid iron frame, to keep the bones in place, so that they might reunite. This made it impossible for them to move. He could speak with difficulty, and could take only liquid nourishment. His right arm was swathed with splints and bandages. Nevertheless, long before his nurses deemed it wise to make the effort, he insisted upon being

propped up with pillows; and with pencil in hand, scrawled such thoughts or directions as he wished to communicate. Some of the scraps of paper on which were written these directions to his attendants, replies to inquiries, etc., have been preserved. Many are illegible. One of his attendants wrote afterward:

Toward his nurses, and toward all who came near him during his sickness, Mr. Seward was uniformly kind, even affectionate, and never did his philosophical firmness desert him. The greatest trouble to the physicians was his mental activity, which did not abate, even during his greatest physical weakness, and severest pains. He desired to express his mind about the condition of the country, and to fulfill his official duties as Secretary of State. It was this restlessness and activity, which prevailed upon the physicians to send for a skillful physician of New York, Dr. Gunning, who arranged an artificial wire apparatus in his mouth, which enabled him to speak without risk, even before his jaw-bone was healed.

Mrs. Seward wrote:

Tuesday, May 9.

Henry is taking some tea, preparatory to an interview with the President and Cabinet, in the red parlor.

Harriet sat up all night with the nurses; to-night, I shall divide the night with Augustus. Mr. Wharton and William are up with Frederick. Nurse Palmer is better; she comes every day. Some one doctor continues to remain in the house all the time.

William has resigned his commission, to take effect the 1st of June. He has a very complimentary letter from the Secretary of War accepting the resignation.

His daughter wrote on May 21:

Father slept many successive hours last night, and this morning appeared at the breakfast table, where he could not share the solids of the meal. But he took his old seat, and afterward paid a visit to the doves and received the doctor in the library. Last evening he played a little whist, and read the papers in the parlor.

Harriet is invaluable in father's room; she keeps well, and as bright and as merry as a bird, which is a great gratification to him.

Both the great armies were now encamped around Washington — the "Army of the Potomac" on the Virginia side, and the "Army of the West" on the Maryland side of the river.

Each, in turn, had a great review, previous to their final disbandment. The long columns marched through assembled thousands of spectators, who greeted them with enthusiastic cheering. It took several hours for regiment after regiment to pass in succession before the President and Cabinet, who stood in front of the White House. Seward was placed in a chair at his window which looked

toward the avenue, and from here he saw the review of the "Army of the Potomac." When the Western Army was reviewed he was enough stronger to be carried to General Augur's head-quarters, directly upon the street; and from here he witnessed the inspiring spectacle.

General Sherman, in his "Memoirs," says:

When I reached the Treasury Building and looked back the sight was simply magnificent. The column was compact, and the glittering muskets looked like a solid mass of steel moving with the regularity of a pendulum. We passed the Treasury Building, in front of which and of the White House was an immense throng of people, for whom extensive stands had been prepared on both sides of the avenue. As I neared the brick house opposite the lower corner of Lafayette square, some one asked me to notice Mr. Seward, who, still feeble and bandaged for his wounds, had been removed there, that he might behold the troops. I moved in that direction and took off my hat to Mr. Seward, who sat at an upper window. He recognized the salute, returned it, and then we rode on steadily past the President, saluting with our swords.

Mrs. Seward wrote:

Wednesday, May 24.

Until I saw these immense armies, I never had any adequate conception of the power of masses of human beings. Regiments after regiments of men, so closely packed that it would seem impossible for any thing to pass between them, have passed hour after hour. Brigades, divisions, and corps have followed each other until my eye is weary and my brain dizzy with the sight.

Yesterday, Sheridan's cavalry and the "Army of the Potomac;" to-day Sherman's hardy veterans, whose fatigue dresses and sun-burnt faces tell of long marches. Well may our nation have pride in such an Army! It seems to me invincible. I am glad to know that the representatives of foreign governments are looking at this wonderful exhibition.

Henry went to the head-quarters this morning, walking through the crowds on the sidewalks, between Donaldson and Martin, followed by Augustus, Dr. Norris, Fanny, and Derby. It was then nine; it is now three o'clock.

As soon as he had regained sufficient strength to endure the motion of the carriage, he commenced going out daily, accompanied by his son Augustus and his faithful attendant Donaldson. Very soon he was taking even longer drives than some of the doctors thought prudent. The hours of air and exercise thus gained materially helped his recovery. He was eager to be at work. President Johnson convened the Cabinet to meet at the house of the Secretary of State; and this was the first Cabinet meeting Seward attended after his injuries. A few days later he began his regular attendance upon their meetings at the White House, though his immovable arm and stiffened jaw rendered him almost incapable of taking part in the examination of papers or the discussion of questions.

It was during this period that the early steps toward "reconstruction" or "restoration" were taken. President Johnson, on his accession to office, had signified his desire and intention to carry out the policy already inaugurated by President Lincoln, in regard to the rebellious States.

Accepting the decision reached in the memorable meeting of the 14th of April, he essayed to apply and extend the principle then laid down. He said:

> I have been almost overwhelmed by the announcement of the sad event which has so recently occurred. I feel almost incompetent to perform duties so important and responsible as those which have been so unexpectedly thrown upon me. As to an indication of any policy which may be pursued by me in the administration of the Government, I have to say, that that must be left for development, as the Administration progresses. The declaration must be made by the acts as they transpire. The only assurance that I can now give of the future, is by reference to the past. The course which I have taken in the past, in connection with this rebellion, must be regarded as a guaranty of the future.

Mr. Lincoln had been desirous to get all the Southern communities back into their normal relations to the Federal Government, with as much speed, and as few hardships, pains or penalties, as possible. He had hoped soon to see their State Governments peacefully and loyally administered by themselves, and their Senators and Representatives again occupying seats in Congress. Perhaps if he had lived, he might have achieved his wish. But he had already encountered strong opposition from Republican presses and members of Congress. While he lived, his patient good humor and straightforward logic had helped him to successfully overcome the dissentients, who constituted only a minority of his own party.

Now, the story of his murder had roused a storm of public grief and indignation. The number of those who believed that the Southern States could not yet be trusted, and ought not to be readmitted to Congress, rapidly increased. Instead of a minority of the party, they soon became the majority. At the very threshold of the new Administration, Mr. Johnson was charged with "deserting Lincoln's policy" —when he was only endeavoring to adopt it. The injustice of the charge provoked his combative temperament to retort and counter charge. And so began a struggle, not to be ended during his term of office.

CHAPTER XLI.

1865.

Gradual Recovery. Anxiety to be at Work. The Country's Future. The North and South. Death of Mrs. Seward. The Funeral at Auburn. Tributes of Love and Memory.

THE maimed, haggard and distorted figure, swathed in bandages, that was now bending over a table loaded with papers at the Department of State, would scarcely have been recognized as the erect and active Secretary of former days. He had insisted upon being carried thither, helped up the long stairway by stout arms, and placed in his accustomed chair. It was a relief to him, to feel that he was accomplishing something there, however little, every day. Visitors thronged about him, with assurances of sympathy; pausing afterward to talk about the engrossing topic of the day, the future of the States so racked and torn by civil war. Among them was Colonel Forney, who, describing his appearance at this period, wrote:

It seemed as if, when thrown upon what appeared to be the bed of death, when he could scarcely speak, or eat, or sleep, Providence had so purified, as almost to inspire his intellect. Gradually, and almost imperceptibly, the physical frame of the veteran statesman responded to the skill of the surgeon, and the grateful attentions of family and friends. For days and weeks, he trained his reflections, and prepared himself for those new labors, which he felt must succeed his restoration to health. And when he was able to move, and to articulate, he surprised those who crowded to his couch, by the simplicity, the breadth, the vigor, and the comprehensiveness of his views. Acute, philosophical, and felicitous in his discussions, never before, not even in the buoyancy of health, and in the excitement of debate, has he more signally displayed those rare gifts.

It is not many evenings ago, since, as I was seated by his side, and listening to his suggestions, Surgeon-General Barnes entered his parlor, and told him in a low voice, that Mrs. Seward had had a long and pleasant sleep; and that reasonable hopes might now be entertained of her recovery.

"Ah!" he said, "Dr. Barnes, this is good news indeed; I now feel as if the wing of the angel of death had been lifted, and as if this was to be once more a happy and healthful household."

Under the influence of these good tidings, he dilated anew upon the bright prospects of the country; clearing away many of the doubts that trouble the minds of statesmen. I shall never forget these words, nor the manner in which he uttered them:

"Time alone is necessary to heal our wounds. These Southern people will come back in peace, and in obedience. They have been defeated by the ballot-box, and on the battle-field. Having resisted the one, and resorted to the other, they are now left completely prostrate. In this condition they have

neither interest, nor real inclination to renew a conflict, which has only brought beggary to their households, destruction to their favorite institution, and ruin to their fortunes. On our part, having proved our strength, it is right that we should now prove our wisdom. Patience, forbearance, magnanimity — these are the instrumentalities which, backed by unlimited and unexampled material forces, will reëstablish the Republic on enduring foundations."

Under the influence of such feelings, and inspired by such hopes, Mr. Seward proceeded to the duties of his office. His return to his department was welcomed by men of all parties. He had no rivals or critics now. His former enemies hastened to tender their congratulations. The foreign Ministers came to offer their best wishes for his welfare; and every member of the Government, from the President to the humblest officer, deemed it a pleasure to greet his appearance, in the position he had filled with such unchallenged ability and sagacity.

But now came the most crushing blow of all. The conspiracy which failed to compass his death, inflicted a more grievous harm, for it destroyed the life he valued more than his own. Mrs. Seward, while in feeble health and under the doctor's care at Auburn, had been summoned to Washington by her husband's injuries. The shock of the assassination, the days and nights of grief and care and unwearied watching, prostrated her with a slow fever. On the 21st of June, the longest and saddest day of that long sad year, she passed away from earth. So ended the loving and helpful companionship of forty years.

Her remains were taken to Auburn. In the garden she loved so well, her coffin was placed under a spreading tree, where friends and neighbors took their last look at her face. During the funeral prayer Seward sat by her side, with bowed head and helpless hands. From thence the funeral procession moved to St. Peter's Church, where Rev. Dr. Brainard read the burial service.

A local journal noted some incidents:

All places of business were closed, and the streets were crowded with mourning citizens. Governor Seward, borne down more with sorrow, than by the dreadful wounds inflicted first by accident, and then by design, followed the remains to the church, and then to the cemetery, attracting all eyes upon him, and awakening the profound sympathy of all. That humanity could bear up so bravely under such an accumulation of suffering seems wonderful.

The pall-bearers were Governor E. T. Throop, Lieutenant-Governor George W. Patterson, R. M. Blatchford, Thurlow Weed, James S. Seymour, George M. Grier, Christopher Morgan, Hollis White, David Wright, B. F. Hall, Abijah Fitch. Mr. Stoeckl, the Russian Minister, Major-General Hancock, Major-General Butterfield, and Brigadier-General Mitchell followed.

Then came the mourners, Mr. Seward sustaining, and himself sustained by Mrs. Worden (the sister of Mrs. Seward), and his daughter, followed by his

son, William, his brothers, Polydore and George, and many old and attached friends of the family.

At the cemetery, a bird perched in a tree, directly over the grave, and mingled its clear, cheerful, ringing melody with the solemn tones of the clergyman, as he committed the body to the earth, with the words "dust to dust, ashes to ashes."

During his stay in Auburn, and for many days after his return to Washington, every morning's mail brought letters of sympathy, and journals with touching tributes of regard. Thurlow Weed, in the *Times*, recalled his memories of the past:

For the first twelve or fifteen years of her married life, she was the charm of the cultured and refined circles in which she moved. Nearly twenty years ago, her health failed, and since that period she has withdrawn from society, devoting herself to her family, and the few friends whom she had early learned to value.

The attempted assassination of the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary has, whatever their fate may be, caused this death. Those only who know as we know, how devotedly she loved them, can judge of the intensity of her anxiety and suffering. The day but one after that fiendish attempt, by which both lives were suspended by a thread, she said to the writer: "It seems as if I had two hearts, one throbbing for Henry, and the other for Frederick."

Mrs. Seward was, in the highest sense, the companion, counselor, and friend to whom her husband turned, and upon whom he relied, on all occasions. Between them there was perfect trust. They shared each other's hopes and fears, joys and sorrows. Their household was one of uniform and undisturbed peace and purity.

In the *Tribune*, Horace Greeley said:

She had attained the age of sixty years, and had filled for thirty years an exalted position, without once exciting an enmity, or alienating a friend, and without ever meeting one who had either the power or wish to speak ill of her.

Intellectually gifted and cultivated far beyond the average, not merely of her sex, but of her time, she gave much heed and thought to public affairs, without neglecting or slighting any of the duties of a beloved exemplary wife and mother, and every pulsation of her heart beat strongly for Justice, Humanity, and Freedom.

A letter from Charles Sumner ran thus:

BOSTON, *July* 12.

MY DEAR SEWARD:

I have been gratified beyond expectation by the report of your restoration, and especially that you are now relieved of the torment in the mouth, which distressed me so much when I last saw you.

I have grieved with you, also. With sincere and most affectionate interest I followed that funeral procession from Washington to Auburn with the remains of one that I loved and honored much. Mrs. Seward was a noble

woman — all that you once told me she was, when you first spoke to me of her, before I ever saw her. I shall never forget her goodness to me, her kind counsels when I was an invalid, and her sympathy in my trials.

I last saw her early in the morning after the assassination, when she was moved with anxiety for you and her son. I was touched inexpressibly by the scene.

I hope you will be cautious in what you do, and will not compromise your returning strength. I tremble to think of what "Fred" has gone through, and hope that there will be no drawback to his recovery. Of course, his stages must be slower than yours.

CHARLES SUMNER.

Among the earliest letters that Seward was able to write with his own hand, were those in which he transmitted to his daughter some of these extracts. He said: "I send you George William Curtis' beautiful and discriminating tribute to your mother. He says just what I feel."

The tenderest of mothers, the truest and wisest of counselors, the most retiring, faithful, and patient of women, her influence will be forever felt in the tranquil wisdom and fidelity of her husband's service to humanity and his country. Her religious faith, her intelligent political confidence, her gentle and pervasive sympathy cheered her long hours of seclusion and illness, and strengthened the heart and hope of those even who seldom saw her.

On the 4th, he wrote: "That is a touching notice of your mother which is quoted in the Auburn paper from the Chicago *Journal*. It was a friend that mourned in those beautiful lines — Charles L. Wilson."

On Saturday last there gathered at Auburn the largest assemblage that ever attended the funeral of a woman in America, outside of the great seaboard cities, including many citizens and strangers of the highest public and social eminence. And, while this gathering at the house of sorrow was somewhat swelled, doubtless, by regret for and sympathy with the chief mourner, it was mainly due to the admiration and love won by the departed, during her life of nearly sixty years, chiefly passed in that community as child, maid, wife and mother — a community wherein there were many who differed widely in politics from her distinguished husband, and who, therefore, have regarded him at times with marked antipathy, and even bitterness; but not one human being who ever thought or spoke of her otherwise than kindly and reverently.

Yet the woman thus loved and honored had never achieved nor aspired to any personal distinction. She had not esteemed herself called to fulfill a "mission," nor to run a "career." The daughter of Elijah Miller, a pioneer and one of the earliest and ablest lawyers of Cayuga county, who became a judge, but never sought political power, being a Federalist, while his county and region were strongly Democratic; she, while yet quite young, became acquainted with and soon attached to William H. Seward, one of her father's

law students, five years her senior, whose wife she became about forty years ago. Five children were born to them, of whom four survive; three sons already known to the public, and a daughter some years junior to the youngest of them, whose life has thus far been given to study and to ministration to and tender communion with the parent now withdrawn from her.

Tall and graceful in person, Mrs. Seward was comely in form and features, without remarkable beauty. Well educated, a constant reader, and in thorough sympathy with the noblest impulses and grandest movements of her time, she might have been a social power, had she not chosen to consecrate all her energies to the duties of home. No one who met her, and solicited an expression of her views, on any current topic of wide and lasting interest, was ever left in doubt as to her convictions; but she never wished to shine in any circle but that of her loved ones, nor to rule save in their hearts. Her influence was always given to the side of justice, humanity, and freedom, but noiselessly and without heat, acrimony, or contention. She could not remember a time when she feared or dreaded the name of Abolitionist, yet she was rarely if ever seen in an anti-slavery meeting. She believed that woman would be accorded a wider and freer action in the future than was usual in the past; yet she did not feel called by this conviction, to eccentricities in dress, nor to haranguing public assemblies. She had a ready ear and heart for every hopeful project of philanthropy or reform, yet did not find any organization more congenial to her best impulses, or better calculated to afford them scope and opportunity, than a Christian church.

Cherishing a generous, hopeful interest in every effort to make laws juster or men better, and exercising at all times a liberal charity toward the poor and unfortunate, she yet regarded as first among her duties that of making her home a haven of rest and solace to her over-worked and care-laden husband, and rearing her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

Let nothing in this statement be so construed as to disparage or censure those noble women who have been impelled by convictions of duty, by a keen sense of inveterate social injustice and wrong, to choose a bolder, more conspicuous path, and to bear public testimony against hoary abuse and burdensome tradition. No one would more promptly or more earnestly repel this perversion than she whose memory we honor. She quietly, gratefully did the work that God had given her to do, without doubting or regretting that others were called to sterner efforts and loftier achievements. Heartily wishing success to every generous purpose, every manful endeavor, she was thankful that it had been made her first duty to lighten the labors, to strengthen the aspirations, and to cheer the onward footsteps of William H. Seward.

For several years past she has been an invalid, declining all society but that of her family and most intimate friends, and spending most of the time at Auburn with only her daughter and widowed sister, while her husband and sons were giving their time and thought, their hearts and hands, to the great work of national salvation. The tidings of the horrid atrocities of the night of the 14th of April hurried her at once to Washington — a journey far beyond her strength, and the condition of her husband and son impelled her to persistent efforts and watchings which would have taxed one in health and the

AFTER THE ASSASSINATION.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

prime of life. Her vital forces were wholly insufficient for them. She falls a victim to the fiendish plot which was intended to deliver slavery, at a blow, from its most formidable foes, but which has only consigned it to the irreversible condemnation even of those who had hitherto been its apologists. The blow which John Brown aimed, but failed to strike, has been effectually dealt by the relentless weapons of Booth and Payne. Christendom, recoiling in horror from the pistol of the one, the knife of the other, reads, with eyes suddenly unsealed, the gospel of Human Rights.

CHAPTER XLII.

1865.

Resuming Work. No Change of Foreign Policy. France and Mexico. The Amnesty Proclamation. Pardons and Passports. Withdrawal of the Concession of Belligerent Rights. Protest Against Reservations. Opening the Discussion of the *Alabama* Claims. Earl Russell's Answer. The Cape Spartel Light. Summer Excursions. Letters to his Daughter.

DURING several weeks the business of the Department of State was mainly conducted by Mr. Hunter, as Acting Secretary. On the third of June, Seward was able to say to Mr. Bigelow:

I am yet unable to write, and, practically, this letter is the first which I have dictated to an amanuensis. It is written in reply to your note of the 19th of May. In that note you give me the substance of a conversation with M. Drouyn de l'Huys, which bore upon two subjects, the most important of which is an anticipated hostility of the United States against France, in regard to Mexico. The policy of the late President in respect to France and Mexico is well known to M. Drouyn de l'Huys. You are authorized to inform M. Drouyn de l'Huys that that policy has undergone no change by the change of Administration, but will continue as heretofore.

The other topic is the policy of the United States in insisting upon a relinquishment, by the maritime powers, of their past relations with rebels in arms. That policy has been well considered by this Government, which must adhere thereto. The legality or propriety of granting belligerent privileges to the rebels against the protest of the United States, and in violation of all legitimate precedents, has never been acquiesced in by this Government. Further persistence therein, on the part of those powers, when hardly the shadow of insurrectionary combination remains, cannot be acquiesced in and will be unendurable. The gravity of the question herein discussed is such that, although this note seems to wear an unofficial form, yet you may regard it as having been approved by the President.

This foreshadowed the governmental action. Throughout the Administration of President Johnson the foreign policy of the United States was the same as during the Administration of Mr. Lincoln. The same Secretary of State conducted negotiations, in the same spirit, and with a view to similar ends.

Ten days later, in another note to Mr. Bigelow, he advised him of the appointment of a new Secretary of Legation and Consul for Paris, "whom, I am sure, you will find agreeable." These were John Hay and John G. Nicolay, who had been Mr. Lincoln's private secretaries during the past four years. He added:

The Belgian Envoy to Mexico did not make his appearance here. Application, however, was made by an agent of Maximilian, for a private interview with me, which was declined. I will look particularly at the address of the French Committee on Emancipation; and also at Montalembert's article, and do what I can.

It is proper that you should understand, however, that my house continues to be both a garrison and a hospital; my studies and official labors are tentative only, rather than real; my limbs and muscles require to be further strengthened and habituated to their ancient exercise.

One of the first occasions on which Seward's own signature was again appended to an official document, was the promulgation of President Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation. Under this proclamation amnesty and pardon was extended to the participants in the rebellion, and restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves. Those accepting this amnesty were only required to take an oath of allegiance, under regulations to be established by the Secretary of State. Those, however, who had abandoned high governmental trusts or positions to engage in the rebellion, as well as those concerned in piratical enterprises, maltreatment of prisoners, and other crimes, were excepted from the benefits of the proclamation. Great numbers in the various States promptly availed themselves of its provisions. In reply to inquiries from another class, Seward wrote:

The President will neither make promises, nor grant, either passports, or permits for return, to rebels now abroad. Applications for pardon will be considered only when the persons making them are residing in the United States; and, in any case, there must be an unreserved, not a conditional, appeal to the mercy and magnanimity of the Government.

England and France now withdrew their concession of belligerent rights to the rebels, though with a deliberation that was in marked contrast to the precipitancy with which they had granted it four years before. The formal announcement was not made till June, and by the time it reached America the Confederate armies had all been dis-

banded, paroled, or amnestied, and the Union troops had largely been mustered out of service. Coupled with the withdrawal was an extension of special privileges to Confederate vessels, which elicited from Seward a response addressed to Sir Frederick Bruce. In this note, after expressing gratification at learning "that Her Majesty's Government has determined to consider the war which has lately prevailed to have ceased," he added that he regretted to find the withdrawal accompanied by some "reservations unacceptable to the United States."

> It is my duty to state that the United States cannot admit, and, on the contrary, they controvert and protest against the decision of the British Government, which would allow vessels of war of insurgents or pirates to enter or to leave British ports, whether for disarmament or for assuming a foreign flag, or otherwise.

During the continuance of the war the British Government had declined to admit, or even discuss its responsibility for the damage inflicted on commerce by the cruisers from British ports, which had roamed the seas under the Confederate flag. Seward had, however, directed that all the complaints and claims of the ship-owners should be filed in the State Department, and the evidence in each case carefully collected and preserved. Mr. Adams, in accordance with his instructions, now recalled the attention of the Foreign Office to the subject. Earl Russell's answer was gracious and courteous in tone, beginning by saying:

> I now resume our correspondence at a time when the civil war has entirely ceased; when the whole territory of the United States is subject to the Government of the Union, and the United States have not an enemy in the world. I resume it, therefore, at a time such as was foreseen in your letter of the 23d of October, 1863, favorable for a calm and candid examination, by either party, of the facts or principles involved. I resume it, also, at a time when Mr. Seward has recovered from the injuries he received from an accident and the wounds inflicted by an assassin, and is, therefore, able to apply his remarkable powers of mind to the questions at issue. I take this opportunity of saying that no one rejoices more than myself at this happy recovery from the injuries so serious.

Then proceeding to point out that "the history of modern nations affords no example of an insurrection against a central Government so widely extended," he claimed that the action of Great Britain had not been unusual nor unjust, but was strictly in accordance with the precedents of international law. He concluded:

> Her Majesty's Government must, therefore, decline either to make reparation and compensation for the captures made by the *Alabama*, or to refer the question to any foreign state. * * * Her Majesty's Government, however, are

ready to consent to the appointment of a commission, to which shall be referred all claims arising during the civil war, which the two powers shall agree to refer to the commissioners.

Seward, in reply, remarked:

Earl Russell is understood by us, in submitting this proposition, as implying that, among those claims for redress or reparation, are cases of captures and spoliations made by the *Alabama*, and other vessels of her class, including even the *Shenandoah*, now still engaged in the same work of depredation, which piratical vessels, as is alleged by the United States, were fitted out, manned, equipped, and dispatched by British subjects in British ports. You are requested to inquire whether this construction of the Earl's note is correct.

The first treaty negotiation after the war was the joint convention with Morocco, for the establishment of a light-house at Cape Spartel. It was duly signed at Tangier, by the representatives of the United States, Austria, Belgium, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Sweden; the Sultan of Morocco agreeing to protect and defend the light; and the other powers to divide the expense of its maintenance.

During the summer, by the advice of his physicians, Seward spent as much time as possible in the open air. It was in accordance with his own taste to take daily walks, and occasional long drives, and now and then an excursion on the Potomac or Chesapeake. His physical condition was gradually improving; but few of his old friends could meet him without a shock. He was able to stand and walk, but his right arm was nearly helpless, and his swollen face and neck bore the scars, fresh and frightful, of the gashes inflicted by the knife. His mouth was still incumbered by the appliances to insure the uniting of the fractured jaw. He persisted in working; and would read his letters and dispatches; but was obliged to dictate his replies. Finding relief, and a saving of time in this method of work, he continued, during ensuing years, the habit of dictation to a short-hand writer; who would subsequently bring the written draft for correction or signature.

Already there were indications that his daughter's health, like that of her mother, had been undermined by the trying scenes through which she had passed. He wrote to her at Auburn:

I am reckoning the hours when I shall be able to join you either on the way to, or at Cape May. It is so hard to have you ill, so far away from me, and to be unable to reach you.

I pray God continually that I may see you and Frederick well.

It is Cabinet day, and I can work but five hours a day. So I must make a short letter.

July 17.

You will all proceed from Auburn, on Monday, by Canandaigua to Elmira, and be ready to leave there for Washington at five in the morning, on Tuesday, arriving here at seven and a half that evening. The next day, all being well enough, we will take the *Northerner*, and will sail for Cape May — a voyage of thirty-six hours, of which eighteen will be on the open sea.

Frederick, Anna, and myself met Augustus and Clarence at breakfast this morning, so that when you and William come, we may once more be assembled at the breakfast-table, and in the parlors. Oh! could we bring back the strength and ornament of our circle, that has been so sadly removed!

After this visit to the Cape, he again wrote:

August 19.

Here we are again; well, and but for the sadness of the necessity for leaving you behind, we are cheerful. We arrived last night. I write you in the midst of a melée preparatory to attacking the mass of business accumulated during my absence.

Mrs. Peale brought us three very fine, enlarged photographs of your mother. It is a blessing to feel that we have been connected with so noble and so pure a being. It is still more blessed to believe that the connection will be renewed hereafter.

August 21.

I find it much less lonely here since Frederick and Anna have returned. Our table, except for one whose place is forever vacant, assumes its family aspect. We shall be happy when you shall be able to give us the light of your cheerful countenance.

August 26.

This is the second day on which I have been disappointed in my expectation of receiving one of your cheerful letters. But I try to assure myself by resorting to the maxim that no news (especially in the days of the telegraph) is good news.

I give you what is left of the morning, my whole time being occupied with the double labors that Fred used to bear a half of.

Sad was the sight yesterday of Mrs. R. M. T. Hunter, whose husband (President of the usurping Senate of the Confederacy) is a prisoner of war, and with her family, is verging on starvation. She has lost two sons during their father's confinement.

Compassion urges pardon — policy stays our hand. They come to me, as if I were more inclined to tenderness than others, because I have been calm and cool under political excitement.

August 29.

I have just received your letter, which tells me many agreeable things; but, true to the female characteristic, places in a postscript the intelligence most important of all, that you are getting stronger every day.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1865.

Strained Relations with France. Republics and Empires. An Envoy from Tunis. The Fame of Abraham Lincoln.

Now that the war had ended in a way unexpected by the Imperial Court, it was not strange that some uneasiness began to be felt in Paris, as to the coming policy of the Washington Government. A confidential note from Mr. Bigelow said that the absence of the American fleet from the naval celebration at Cherbourg, and the possible absence of representatives of the United States at the Paris Exposition, were subjects of some anxiety and comment. Seward replied:

We intend neither to seek for controversies, nor to give voluntary offense; and we, therefore, are not looking about us for affronts or for indications of disrespect. In regard to the proposed Exposition at Paris, I have already apprised you of the course I have chosen to follow.

The presence and the operations of the French Army in Mexico, and its maintenance of an authority there resting on force, and not on the free-will of the people of Mexico, is a cause of serious concern. Nevertheless, the objection of the United States is broader, and includes the authority itself, which the French Army is thus maintaining. That authority is in direct antagonism to the policy of this Government and the principle upon which it is founded. The United States have practiced the utmost frankness on that subject. They regard the effort to establish permanently a foreign and Imperial Government in Mexico as disallowable and impracticable.

France, always regarded by the American people as their old friend and ally, had been drawn into an unnatural attitude of hostility to republican ideas, by the "Imperial" policy. Seward made various efforts to restore the old cordial feeling, saying in a dispatch:

The people of the United States cherish a traditional friendship toward France. These sentiments have survived the many national changes which have occurred in the two countries, and they may, therefore, be deemed to be independent of all merely partisan or dynastic influences. It is perceived, with much regret, that an apparent, if not a real, a future, if not an immediate, antagonism, between the policies of the two nations, seems to reveal itself in the situation of Mexico.

In another letter to Mr. Bigelow, referring to the *personnel* of the legation, he said:

Your experience is not very different from my own. This department has lost several of its most useful chiefs of bureaus, besides being deprived of the personal assistance of the Assistant Secretary, whose proper labors are

nearly equal to one-half the labors of the chief. I am glad that you are pleased with Mr. Hay. He is a noble, as well as gifted young man, perfectly true and manly.

Shortly after the close of hostilities, Mr. Amos Perry, the Consul at Tunis, wrote that his Highness, the Bey, had determined to send an envoy for the purpose of presenting his portrait and his felicitations to the Government of the United States, on the abolition of slavery and the restoration of peace.

Seward received the friendly overture with suitable acknowledgments. The Bey's envoy was General Othman Hashem, who was accompanied by aids-de-camp, and interpreters, the Tunisians speaking only Arabic. Mr. Perry himself came with them. Early in October they arrived in Washington, and were received with due honors. They were presented to the President, and entertained by the Secretary of State. The full-length portrait of the Bey, in his Oriental costume, was placed in the Department of State, where it still remains.

Replying to a Minister who thought that foreign courts might adopt further ceremonial observances of respect for the memory of Abraham Lincoln, Seward wrote:

> His name is to grow greater, and that of all contemporaneous magistrates and sovereigns to grow smaller, as time advances. Nothing that men or monarchs of this generation can do, can affect, in any way, a fame that, through process of immolatory sacrifice for human rights, becomes imperishable.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1865.

Meeting Old Southern Acquaintances. Letters to Provisional Governors. Reorganization and Restoration. The Constitutional Amendment. A *Sine Qua Non*. A Speech at Auburn. War's Changes. Lincoln. Andrew Johnson. The Plan of Restoration. Southerners and Englishmen. His Associates in the Cabinet Described. Republics in the Future. Letters to his Daughter. Slavery Abolished at Last.

In the hotels and streets of Washington now began to reappear the faces of Southern leaders, once so familiar, but for four years absent from the capital. Upon them, as upon Northern men, time and war had set their mark. Some were scarred in battle. Some were crippled in purse and estate. All showed how anxiety can help the advance of age. They had come to Washington now to avail themselves of the proffered amnesty of the Government, or to offer it their aid in trying to evoke order out of the Southern chaos.

Seward welcomed them with hospitality. To him, an enemy who had surrendered, was an enemy no longer.

"Come and dine with me to-day, Hunter," said he to his old senatorial associate from Virginia.

They sat at table talking of "old times before the war," and when Hunter raised his plate, he found his "pardon" duly signed and sealed, beneath it.

To Hilliard, who had been a Southern representative in Congress, he wrote:

What is now wanted is the reorganization of society in the insurgent States, upon such principles as will enable them to win back the confidence of the people who made the sacrifice required for the preservation of the national life. The country has, indeed, suffered much. But its life and integrity remain. It has escaped not only foreign intervention, but even the demoralization of foreign influence; and it may, therefore, be believed to have really strengthened, in the trials through which it has passed. I am glad to hear that we are to have you to coöperate in the work of reorganization and harmony.

His letters and conversation on the Southern problem were all of similar tone. In his official communications to Provisional Governors, he outlined the policy to be pursued.

To Governor Pierpont of Virginia, he wrote:

All applications for pardon are submitted to the Attorney-General, who examines them, with the aid furnished by the Provisional Government. He recommends such as seem unobjectionable.

The President reserves to himself the consideration of the question whether such pardons ought to be granted, and, if so, at what time.

To Governor Perry of South Carolina, he wrote:

The complaint against the presence of colored troops seems to be based upon two grounds. First, an alleged social objection to their presence because they are colored. Secondly, alleged misconduct on the part of such troops.

The last objection is one which assails the discipline of the Army. The Secretary of War will take the necessary step to secure proper behavior.

The first objection assumes that a difference is to be made between two classes of military forces. I have to remark on this, that the colored, as well as the white soldiers, are soldiers of the United States Army, and that no discrimination founded upon color, in the assignment to service, is intended, or can be made by the Gove rnment.

To Governor Sharkey of Mississippi, he wrote:

It is inexpedient at present to rescind the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, in the case which you have submitted. Anarchy must in any case be

prevented, as the process of reorganization, though seemingly begun very well, is, nevertheless, only begun.

To Governor Johnson of Georgia, he wrote:

The President of the United States cannot recognize the people of any State, as having resumed relations of loyalty to the Union, that admits as legal, obligations contracted, and debts created in their name, to promote the war of the rebellion.

To Governor Marvin of Florida, he wrote:

The steps toward reorganizing Florida seem to be, in the main, judicious. The presumption in favor of the insurgents who wish to vote, and have applied for, but not received their pardons, is not entirely approved. All applications for pardons will be duly considered, and disposed of. It must, however, be distinctly understood that the restoration to which your proclamation refers, will be subject to the decision of Congress.

To Governor Perry of South Carolina, he said in October:

The President and the whole country are gratified that South Carolina has accepted the congressional amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery.

Again to Governor Marvin of Florida, he said in November:

The President hopes you are mistaken in regard to a disposition of Florida, to make her resumption of loyal relations to the Union depend upon a condition, which seems to him to be improper and unadvisable. He trusts she will promptly accept the congressional amendment.

Autumn brought its usual political activity. As both President and Congress had been elected the previous year, the contests were only of local or State importance. The successful termination of the war left the Republicans in unquestioned strength. On questions of "amnesty," "restoration," or "reconstruction," there was some difference of opinion, and great curiosity to know the line of policy to be pursued toward States lately in rebellion. President Johnson's utterances were received with approval, when he declared that "treason is a crime, and must be punished as a crime," and "not regarded as a mere difference of political opinion;" that the "slaves went into the war as slaves, and came out free men of color." His amnesty and pardon to the mass of the Southern people; his exceptions of the leaders from its benefits; his restoration of the writ of *habeas corpus* in the Northern, and his appointments of Provisional Governors for the Southern States, all were received with popular satisfaction. The various Republican Conventions adopted resolutions of approval, and the results at the polls seemed to show general concurrence.

About the middle of October, Seward went to Auburn, and passed some days at home. At the close of his stay, his friends and neigh-

bors gathered to pay him a parting call. He came out to meet them, and their spokesman, Dr. Hawley, made him a touching "address of welcome, and of parting," to which Seward replied from the steps at his front doorway. It was the first time he had essayed to use his wounded jaw in a public address, and he spoke with difficulty, though distinctly. He remarked:

The civil war is ended. Death has removed his victims. Liberty has crowned her heroes; and Humanity has canonized her martyrs. The sick, and stricken, are cured; the surviving combatants are fraternizing; and the country — the object of our just pride and lawful affection — once more stands collected, and composed, firmer, stronger, and more majestic, than ever before.

We have lost the great and good Abraham Lincoln. He had reached a stage of moral consideration, when his name alone, encircled with a martyr's wreath, would be more useful to humanity, than his personal efforts as Chief Magistrate. He is now associated with Washington. The two American chiefs, though they are dead, still live, and are leading the entire human race in a more spirited progress toward fields of broader liberty and higher civilization.

In the place of Abraham Lincoln, we have a new President. To most of you he is personally unknown. The people around me are inquiring what manner of man Andrew Johnson is, and what manner of President he may be expected to be?

He then described Mr. Johnson's patriotic course in 1861, saying that at that time "in the South a leader was required; first a senatorial, and afterward a popular leader, to awaken sleeping loyalty and patriotism." That leader, while he must be a "capable, inflexible, and devoted patriot," should also be a "citizen of a hesitating 'Border State,'— a slave-holder, and a Democrat."

Andrew Johnson of Tennessee completely filled these complex conditions. Andrew Johnson accepted the new condition of his popular leadership, and thenceforward, he openly and honestly declared that slavery itself, the rock of all past dangers, should be uplifted, removed, and cast out from the Republic. Andrew Johnson was fitly appointed Provisional Governor in Tennessee — the first of a series of Provisional Governors — and was subsequently elected Vice-President; and in the end, constitutionally inaugurated President of the United States.

He then referred to his various colleagues in the Cabinet. Of the three Secretaries of the Treasury, he said that the fiscal system under which the nation had been "conducted through greater difficulties than any other nation ever encountered," was wisely projected, and effectually organized under Mr. Chase; and that in pursuing that plan, there had been no departure, or relaxation, by his successors, Mr. Fessenden and Mr. McCulloch. As to the War Department, he said he could bear witness that Mr. Cameron's brief administration was honest,

correct, zealous, and patriotic; while Mr. Stanton, in his longer one, had organized and conducted a war, achieving military results, which the world had regarded as impossible. "There is not one of those results, that is not more or less directly due to the fertile invention, sagacious preparation, and indomitable perseverance and energy of the Secretary of War." As to the Navy, he said it had practically enjoyed the administration of two sagacious and effective chiefs. "The Secretary of the Navy will himself, I am sure, approve this tribute to his assistant, Captain Fox. The department has achieved glory enough to divide between them." Of the three Secretaries of the Interior, Mr. Smith, Mr. Usher, and Mr. Harlan, he said that, amid the tumults of war, they had carried on the operations of their department not only in a way that had been found blameless; but had meanwhile, by steam overland connections, bound the Pacific and Atlantic coasts together indissolubly. As to the Postmasters-General, he spoke of the prudence and efficiency of Montgomery Blair, adding:

In his successor, Mr. Dennison, we find a practical statesman, who is giving special and peculiar cause for satisfaction. He is promptly restoring the transportation of mails throughout the late theater of war, and in that way performing an eminent part in the reconciliation of the American people.

I wish you all could understand Mr. Speed, the Attorney-General, as I do. I do not know whether he is to be admired more for varied and accurate learning, or what seems an intuitive faculty for moral philosophy. Firmer than most men in his convictions, and braver in his hopes of the progress of humanity, he is temperate, thoughtful, and wise, in the conduct of Administration.

These are they, who were, or are the counselors and agents of the President of the United States, during the eventful period through which we have passed. That they have always agreed from the first, in deciding the momentous questions with which they were engaged, is not asserted. A Cabinet which should agree at once on every such question would be no better or safer than one counselor. But this I do maintain and confidently proclaim, that no council of government ever existed, in a revolutionary period, in any nation, which was either more harmonious or more loyal to each other, to their chief, and to their country.

As to the political outlook, he said that while the peaceful constitutional relations between States and Federal Government must inevitably be resumed at some time, "that resumption might be hindered, or it might be hastened."

Every turbulent and factious person in the lately insurrectionary States is resisting, hindering, and delaying the work. But the case is precisely the same with ourselves. Manifestations of doubt, distrust, crimination and contempt, or defiance, in the loyal States, equally tend to delay the work of

reconciliation. Once we were friends. We have since been enemies. We are friends again. But, whether in friendship, or in enmity, in peace, or in war, we are, and can be nothing else to each other, than brethren.

A few evenings ago, an hundred Southern men, who recently had been leading revolutionists, visited my house at Washington. They were frank, unreserved, and earnest in their assurances of acquiescence and reconciliation, as I also was in mine. Happily a party of intelligent Englishmen were in my dwelling at the same time. I introduced the late rebels to the representatives of sympathizing England, and I said to the parties: "You lately, each of you, thought that the Southern men preferred British rule to citizenship in the United States." While the Englishmen individually disclaimed; both parties promptly answered, that the idea was not merely a delusion, but an absurd mistake. They now knew that, even during the excitement of the war, the American citizen, whether North or South, really preferred his own countrymen, of every section, to any other people in the world.

Finally, he summed up his hopes of the future:

Marching in this path of progress, and elevation of masses, is what we have been doing. It is a national march, as onward and irresistible, as the late conflict between free and slave labor was vigorous and irrepressible. We shall see republican institutions wherever they have been established, speedily renewed, and reinvigorated. When I shall see this progress worked out on the American continent, I shall then look for the signs of its successful working throughout the other continents.

The speech was listened to with deep attention, and widely published, read, and discussed. It was accepted as indicating his position and policy.

Returned to Washington, he wrote his daughter:

November 9.

Your last Sunday seems to have been spent under duress of a snow-storm. Mine was consumed in writing dispatches. It was a vicious day, but I recked it not. Political elements were raging around the national house.

The Tunisians have gone — to-day we receive the Argentines. When you come home you will find our house the chief resort of the recently rebels.

You are having the Indian summer now. It is well to enjoy it. The winter of our discontent is coming, with the always excitable session of Congress.

November 15.

We are pained and saddened by the suicide of Preston King. It seems almost time for me to leave this troubled stage. My companions fall off around me. I find myself, every day and night, trying to recall your dear mother, and to extort from her some counsel, or at least, to win some sympathy. How could it be that Preston King should not desire to remain and see the fulfillment of his work and wishes for the country and for humanity?

November 18.

I hope William will find some one to help in his labors. It is the destiny of life; those who can, and will work, have all the work to do. Those who cannot, or are indolent, have less than is necessary for their own health or cheerfulness.

My occupations increase, but I am cheerful. The approach of Congress prognosticates trials of many sorts, from the ill-assortment of tempers, and the absence of a spirit of conciliation; when conciliation is the interest and duty of all. It will tax all our powers of patience and equanimity.

November 19.

I have your letter of Friday. You must not strive too much, or labor too hard to improve yourself. You already are wise beyond your years, and good beyond your sex. I am satisfied with you, and if it were lawful, I should be proud of you.

As for me, you need not be anxious. For good and evil, my days have been many, and my work here is nearly done. Of ambition, the world will find I was never the slave. What I have had, is satisfied. I look for rest, for a little while, if I remain — and we have none of us known, neither young nor old, that we are to stay, or not to stay, longer. My contentment and happiness is to be in my children, whom I love for their sake, and mine own, and still more for their dearly beloved mother's sake.

November 25.

I am glad that you have gathered your mother's papers. They will be precious even now, and they will become more so every day. She loved knowledge, not so much because it was knowledge, as for the reason that it disclosed the treasures of truth.

The rumbling of congressional ambitions is all around me. I wait for the grand convocation, before I consent to be disturbed.

November 28.

Our house was filled last night in all its rooms with visitors, claiming attention, patronage, or something else, besides a number, as usual, giving counsel.

How to steer clear of the partisan and personal contentions of Congress, is now my chief responsibility. The military ambitions for the next Presidency begin to reveal themselves. I am favored with courtesies on all sides — but I am forgetting my rule, which is, to record nothing that is not official and necessary, about my contemporaries, or their strifes. It is very desirable to write letters, but very much better not to complicate public affairs, by criticisms.

December 1.

I have some thoughts (yet confined to myself) of taking a winter voyage to Havana, and other West India Islands. I wish you to get ready, and get here, so that if I can bring it about, you may be with us.

I should be glad to make it a family party. But all is too uncertain yet, to allow me to speak of it, above my breath. I feel that it might help to restore me to my former strength and spirits. So much annoyance attends me about the face, that I am impatient to be better.

December 2.

We are in the midst of the preparatory jumble of Congress. Every wild thought and inconceivable jealousy is afloat. Interests of cupidity and ambition, mingled with passion and prejudice. The President is suspected of every thing, and guilty of nothing. Well, we must live through this, the clearing-up shower of faction!

In December came news that Alabama had ratified the proposed Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery. This being the twenty-seventh State, filled up the needed complement of three-fourths.

On the morning of the 18th of December, there was spread out on his table awaiting his signature, the great parchment sheet, in which "William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, to all to whom these presents may come, greeting," made formal proclamation of the fact that the Amendment "has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States."

By its side lay the successive ratifications from Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut, New Hampshire, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama.

It was with especial gratification that he affixed his name to this the crowning and closing act of the long struggle. In 1848 he had declared at Cleveland, "Slavery can be and must be abolished, and you and I can and must do it." And now the prediction was fulfilled.

CHAPTER XLV.

1866.

A Visit to the West Indies. The *De Soto*. Gales in the Gulf Stream. A Cruise in the Caribbean Sea. Porto Rico. St. Thomas. Hospitalities and Courtesies. Santa Anna. The Story of St. Thomas. Santa Cruz. A Garden Spot. How the Danes Govern. San Domingo. President Baez. Recognition by the United States. The Palace, Prison, and Tomb of Columbus. The Bay of Gonaives. Port au Prince. Hayti and its People. Reception at the Palace. The Future of the Island. Havana. Captain-General Dulce. The Students. The Homeward Voyage.

On a foggy, frosty morning in January, the United States steamer *De Soto*, Captain W. N. Walker commanding, was running down the Potomac river at eleven knots an hour. On board, as passengers, were the Secretary of State, his son and daughter-in-law, and her sister.

The Secretary had decided to take a trip into the genial air of the tropics for a month. Besides helping him to regain health, it would give an opportunity to see the West India Islands, to note their political condition, and to study in person the problems arising out of their proximity to the United States. The *De Soto* belonged to the West India Squadron. Her cruise would be in the line of her duty, and she would bring him back to Washington before Congress, now in holiday recess, would advance more than a fortnight in its session.

Passing Alexandria, whose wharves looked deserted and desolate after the bustle of war; passing Fort Foote, with its frowning four hundred-pounders; and Fort Washington, with its imposing parapets, tolling the bell and lowering the ensign in passing Mount Vernon; sighting Occoquan and Acquia Creek, Belle Plain and Indian Head; examining with the glass the deserted ruins of the rebel batteries that once blockaded the Potomac from Freestone to Matthias Point; noting the spot where Ward was killed; tracing the line where Booth crossed; meeting only a dozen schooners loaded with hay and oysters, where recently rode whole fleets of warlike ships and transports, they soon left Point Lookout behind them, and emerged amid drizzling rain and sleet into Chesapeake bay. Its shores were white with snow; and, as it widened, gradually receding from view.

After their New Year's dinner, and a quiet evening around the cabin table, the passengers were called on deck to take their last look at the United States. All that was to be seen of them, were two bright lights shining on the ship's wake, and marking Cape Henry and Cape Charles.

The next day was spent in traversing the Gulf Stream, with waters whitened, troubled and tossing, air hot, damp and steaming, and clouds of vapor rolling and scudding off to leeward. The next, and two days following, were passed in the pitching and rolling of a northwest gale, such as was reasonably to be expected in January, in the vicinity of Hatteras, and the Bermudas. Sun, moon and stars were all alike invisible. But on the 6th the *De Soto* crossed the Tropic of Cancer and soon entered the region of the Trade Winds, "which is Nature's highway of commerce."

Blue sea, bright skies, and scorching sun welcomed her into the Torrid Zone. Myriads of flying fish were glancing from the waves, and occasionally a bird, perched in the rigging, gave the same notice that his ancestors had given to Columbus, of the nearness of invisible islands. Now, summer clothes were in demand, and everybody found the deck more pleasant than the cabin.

When evening drew on, and stars came out, all sat chatting there,

without wraps or overcoats. Late at night, on the 7th, the captain pointed out the four bright stars of the "Southern Cross"—a constellation that the United States never look upon. Below it, in the dim distance, was an obscure, dark line. "That is Porto Rico."

On the morning of the 8th appeared at the eastward, the rocky little isle of Derecho, uninhabited save by gannets and sea-gulls. Then came the mountainous outlines of the Mona Passage, and then a summer day cruise along the shores, and under the lee of Porto Rico, on the calm waters of the Caribbean Sea.

Sitting under the awning on deck, the travelers could trace the clear cut mountain ranges of the interior, and the broad level country stretching out from their base, covered with luxuriant growth of sugar-cane, palms, and coffee trees, dotted here and there with the white buildings of the plantations. The view called up recollections of the island's early history, its discovery by Columbus, in the same year that he discovered Cuba, its romantic traditions of Ponce de Leon, who went there to find El Dorado, and sailed from there to find the Fountain of Youth; which he thought he had reached, when on Easter morning, he landed in a region of such rare verdure, and such charming flowers, that he at once named it "Florida." The Porto Riquenos have many stories of him. As for their island, they claim it is more salubrious than Cuba; that it produces more to the acre; that it rivals Ireland in freedom from snakes; and that in the matter of fidelity, it beats the "Ever Faithful Isle," having, during four centuries, never allowed invader or revolutionist to displace the banner of Castile.

On the morning of the 9th, the voyagers were looking from the bow of the steamer at a beautiful panorama. Out of a blue and tranquil sea were islands rising on every hand, of varying size and form, some seeming isolated rocks, some resembling green hillocks, some like faint outlines of distant mountains. Largest of all, and directly ahead, was St. Thomas, with its high, steep hills covered with verdure to the top, but terminating at the base in abrupt craggy cliffs and reefs. Coming nearer, the white fantastic shape of "Sail Rock," and the "tinted cliffs" loomed up. Then opened to view the harbor, a deep hollow, almost encircled by steep hills, crowned here and there by a fort, a signal station, or a picturesque-looking villa; while the town itself, with its rows of square yellow houses, with square red roofs, and its circular-headed trees, presented an appearance somewhat resembling that of a German toy village. Sailing vessels, large and small, under various flags, and here and there a large ocean steamer, were riding at anchor. Altogether, it was a picture so vivid in color-

ing, and so suddenly spread out, that it was like the drop-scene of a theater. And this effect was heightened when there came dancing off over blue waves, a little white boat bearing a red flag with a white cross, and rowed by men with white clothes and black faces, to bring the *De Soto* her pilot.

And now it was easy to see why Columbus had called these the "Virgin Islands." As a good Catholic, when he had an island to christen, he usually drew the name from the calendar of saints. This group, which seemed to be a myriad of little islets, he named in honor of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand followers, whose bones are still exhibited at Cologne.

Later, when irreverent Dutch, English, and Spanish navigators got among them, some of the Virgins were re-christened with odd enough names, based usually on some fanciful resemblance, as seen from the ship's deck. Thus one is the "Hat" (Sombrero); another the "Thatch," while others are the "Turtle," the "Crab," the "Snake," the "Prickly Pear," the "Fat Girl," "Beef Island," and "Jost Van Dykes."

Three days were spent at St. Thomas. Hospitalities and courtesies to the American Secretary of State were proffered on every side. Salutes from the fortifications, a dinner at the Government house, official visits from foreign Consuls and local authorities, beside many civilities from private citizens, merchants and sea captains. Under the guidance of the United States Vice-Consul, Mr. Smith, he visited various points of interest.

The streets of the town presented an ever-varying scene of activity, with its medley of all nations, races, and languages. The rows of Spanish-looking houses, with great arched doors and windows in the airy upper story, surmounting a basement stronghold of thick masonry, to retire to in case of a hurricane or an earthquake; the absence of carriages or wagons; the horses and donkeys loaded with sugar-cane and tropical fruits; the crowds of negroes and mulattoes traversing the streets in all directions, with burdens on their heads, all laughing, talking, vociferating and gesticulating; the rooms without fireplace, chimney or carpet, but full of cool, easy chairs, fans, shades and screens; the profusion of shrubs and flowers, even in midwinter; the wealth of cocoanuts, oranges, lemons, bananas plantains, shaddocks, sour-sops, limes, sapodillas, aguacates, guayavas, and other fruits known and unknown; the coffee trees, the india-rubber trees, the agaves, the cacti of every sort; the luxuriant vines and creepers, of which the rose and the jessamine were the only familiar acquaintances; the fish market, with fish of red, blue, green, and yellow, tints un-

known to northern waters; the church edifices — Episcopal, Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, and Hebrew — betokening universal tolerance; and at the wharves the flags of Spain, England, France, Russia, Italy, Sweden, Germany, Holland, Chili, Brazil, and Hayti, betokening universal free trade.

On the way up to the Governor's residence two ancient, castellated-looking edifices were pointed out — one known as "Blackbeard's" and the other as "Blubeard's Castle" — that were probably, in old times, strongholds of the buccaneers.

On another height was a pleasant, airy villa overlooking the bay, which the Mexican ex-President, General Santa Anna, was occupying for the winter. In response to his message of welcome and good wishes, Seward called to visit him. He rose from a table covered with papers, to bid the American Secretary welcome with Castilian courtesy, and then sat down to chat awhile on the past, present, and future of Mexico. He was a large, fine-looking man, of Spanish features and complexion, dark, keen eyes, and dark hair, and showed no signs of bodily infirmity save a slight limp. One would have pronounced him between fifty and sixty instead of being, as he really was, nearly seventy. Briefly recapitulating his position in reference to Mexican national politics, he said he was a Republican and a Conservative; that his countrymen had failed in maintaining their independence because they lacked organization and a head; that partisan dissensions between them had opened the way to the French invasion, but that French domination was repugnant to them. While he seemed to have little confidence in the abilities of Juarez or hope of his success, he said that the Empire of Maximilian was a delusion and a failure; that it was losing instead of gaining strength, and that it was a drain instead of a source of revenue to the French exchequer; that the day was approaching, perhaps not far remote, when the Mexicans would re-unite for nationality and liberty, and when so united would succeed; that, as for himself, he was impatient for the coming of that time; that he once sacrificed one leg in fighting for his country, and was now ready, if need be, to sacrifice the other; that in the coming contest he looked and hoped for American sympathy and aid.

Finally, at parting, he placed in Seward's hands a copy of a recent pronunciamento, in which his views and purposes were more fully set forth.

St. Thomas has a brief but suggestive history. About two hundred years ago the Danes took possession of the rocky little island, and planted some colonists on it, who tried to raise a few hogsheads of sugar. There was a capacious harbor on the southern side, but no

HARBOR OF ST. THOMAS.

ST. THOMAS.

great importance was attached to that, in days when unclaimed harbors were plenty and ships were few. The Danes kept the port open to everybody without commercial restriction, for the poor colonists were only too happy if anybody would come into that unfrequented region to trade with them.

Among the first to come were those dreaded visitors, the "Buccaneers," the pirates of the Caribbean, whose name for a time was a terror in both hemispheres. When they had captured a gold-laden galleon, not daring to take their plunder into any Spanish port, and not being able to beat against the Trade Wind, to reach the French and English settlements in the Windward Islands — they steered for the snug quiet harbor of St. Thomas, so placed that their craft would have a favorable breeze both going and coming; would find a safe anchorage; and would be out of the way of frigates or custom-houses. Here they divided their plunder or quarreled over it. Very soon traders, afar off, began to hear that there were people at St. Thomas with pockets full of gold, which they were eager to squander; so merchants flocked in with every thing that such people would like to buy. Then there were others who found it equally convenient; smugglers, who wanted a place from which to run contraband cargoes to Porto Rico and Santa Cruz; vessels in distress, that wanted a port to repair and refit; merchant vessels in time of war (which was nearly all the time), seeking a neutral port for refuge from enemy's cruisers. To all these, St. Thomas offered a safe anchorage of easy access, without restrictions and a good market. It grew, throve, and prospered beyond the anticipations of its founders. It was the one free port of the West Indies, and soon became a center of trade. "Free-traders" (which in those days included free-booters) brought it business, life, and consequence. In later years, when the pirates were dead, and the smugglers suppressed, and Free Trade came to mean only freedom from imposts, it continued to grow. The settlers named the city after the Danish Queen, Charlotte Amalia, and the Danish Government wisely abstained from collecting revenue, preferring to let natural laws build them up a great commercial port.

When steamers began to take the place of sailing packets, they naturally followed the same channels of trade, and so St. Thomas has come to be a place where steam lines converge. Furthermore, it happens to be so centrally placed that lines drawn from England to Central America, from Spain to Cuba and Mexico, from the United States to Brazil, from the Windward Islands to the Leeward ones, all meet, and cross each other here. St. Thomas has been, not inaptly, described, as "the place which is on the way to every other place," in the West Indies.

There are in the world a few isolated points, whose possession enables the power that holds them to control trade, and to direct military and naval operations with special advantage. Gibraltar, Aden, the Dardanelles, Sebastopol, Elsinore, Hong Kong, Singapore, Panama, Havana, Quebec, West Point, and Key West, are such places. St. Thomas is one of these. Happily it early fell into the possession of Denmark, an enterprising power, strong enough to keep it; but not strong enough, nor aggressive enough, to use it as a base of warfare. It has peculiar advantages for a naval station, as it has for a commercial port. Dangerous reefs and breakers surround it, so that it would be difficult to land troops to attack it; and it would be easy to repel such attacks by fortifications on its commanding heights.

Its harbor is capacious enough for a large fleet, and its entrance, though safe and easy, is through a narrow strait, which even the diminutive forts and antiquated ordnance of the Danes are able to defend. It would have been of great value to the United States, had they owned it during the civil war. Fortunately for them, it was in the keeping of a power not only just, but friendly. The United States vessels always found St. Thomas a port where they were sure of repairs, supplies, and a welcome.

On the 12th the *De Soto* ran over to the neighboring island of Santa Cruz. Mr. Moore, the acting Consul, had carriages in readiness at Frederikstedt; and in them the party traversed the island from one end to the other. It was a drive of about twenty miles over a road of easy grades and curves, and, throughout its whole extent, almost as smooth as a floor. On each side of it was a continuous row of cocoanut and mountain cabbage palms. Similar avenues diverged from it, and crossed it at various points. The fields by the roadside, and as far as visible, were planted with sugar-cane and tropical fruits. There were no fences or hedges; and the general aspect of the landscape was that of a great garden, luxuriant vegetation covering every hill and dale, with here and there a group of white buildings amid the trees. These were the mansions of the owners of the sugar estates, each surrounded by its mills, and laborers' cottages. The laborers themselves were of all shades of color, all busy, and for the most part, tidy, intelligent, and thrifty looking.

The travelers arrived at Christianstedt about noon. The Governor received his guests with military honors, and a collation. After an hour or two spent in looking at the Government buildings and walking through the streets of the quaint, substantial, little capital, they returned to Frederikstedt, the Governor and his Staff accompanying them.

Seward was much interested in the conversation of these intelli-

SANTA CRUZ.

CHRISTIANSTEDT (SANTA CRUZ).

gent and well-informed Danes. He inquired particularly in regard to the laws, and general polity which had prevailed in the government of these islands. Besides the little islets, there are but three of any considerable magnitude — St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz. One of these is the garden spot, and another the favorite harbor of the West India group. Using them with judgment, and treating their inhabitants with paternal kindness, the Danes have governed these islands wisely and well, and have led their people gradually into the paths of industry, morality, and competence. Denmark alone, of all the European powers having West India possessions, had successfully solved the problem presented by Emancipation.

"As you know, sir," remarked one of the officers, "Emancipation in the other islands reduced many of the whites to poverty, drove others to Europe, decreased population, ruined trade, left towns to decay, and fields to run to waste. But here, careful forethought, and strict administration, have maintained prosperity."

"I observed that everybody I saw was at work. There were no loungers."

"There are none. Every proprietor cultivates his land, because it is his interest to do so. Every laborer works under a contract regulated by law for his advantage. He has, besides his wages, a piece of land where he can raise vegetables for his family, or for market. He is given a half or a whole day in each week, to cultivate it, and is expected to do so. Every land-owner has to keep the road good which passes his property, and to keep up its rows of palm trees, by replacing any that die or are destroyed. Every child has a school-house within walking distance, and is required to attend it unless sick."

"You are about to experience the effects of emancipation in your Southern States, Mr. Seward. Would not some stringent laws, like these, avert the danger of their falling into disorder or decay?"

"Possibly. But our system of government, you will remember, is very different from European ones. It is one of our doctrines, that the best government governs least. We try to guard the rights of person and property, but trust greatly to individual enterprise. Our people are impatient of too close a supervision of their business affairs, and think they can manage them better than any government can."

"It must be conceded that they have done so, thus far."

It was just dusk when he parted from his hospitable friends, who accompanied him to the wharf. In another hour he was taking his last look, from the *De Soto's* deck, at the

"Isle of the Holy Cross,
Gem of the Carib Sea."

Now came more voyaging on the sunny Caribbean. The steamer ploughed it with favoring breeze, on even keel. It was pleasant not only to sit, walk, or read on deck, but even to eat and sleep there. So, much of the day and night were spent under the sun and stars. Porto Rico was again in view, and in the distance were looming up the mountains of San Domingo.

Sunday was an appropriate day on which to arrive at the city bearing its name. On the morning of Sunday, the 14th, the *De Soto* cast anchor in the roadstead off San Domingo, the oldest city of the Western hemisphere, dating back to the days of Columbus, of whom it was first the creation, then the prison, and then the tomb. Seen from the steamer's deck, it looked like an ancient Moorish stronghold. A wall of masonry seemed to run completely round it, flanked by bastions, and a fort commanding the entrance to the river Ozama. Many of the buildings were large and imposing, but sadly dilapidated; some nearly in ruins.

Salutes exchanged with the fort, and visits from the American Consul, and other officials, were followed by a walk up from the wharf through the long, narrow, unpaved streets. The houses were of the style of architecture in vogue in Spain three hundred years ago. On the main streets, where most of them were used for shops, repairs had kept them in tolerable condition. In many other quarters they had become mere ruins, or hovels for the poor. The inhabitants seemed to be of all shades of complexion, save that few were entirely white, and few entirely black, and nearly all having Spanish cast of features.

Proceeding to the National Palace, it was found to be well preserved, handsome, and well furnished. A broad flight of stairs guarded by soldiers in the Dominican uniform, led to the reception-room. In this were President Baez and his Cabinet, all swarthy, Spanish-looking, and well-bred gentlemen. The President, a man of medium height and prepossessing appearance, seated himself with Seward on the sofa at the head of the room, while the others occupied seats on each side. The interview was deemed an important one, for though unofficial, it involved the question of the recognition of the Dominican Government by the United States.

President Baez briefly recapitulated the events that had preceded his advent to office, and pointed to his Ministers, among whom were Generals Cabral, Pimentel, and Serrano, each of whom had been chief of a revolutionary party, and head of a military force, now all united in one administration, to give peace to the country. He closed by frankly admitting that his Government still needed one thing to give it stability, and that was recognition by the United States.

Seward, in reply, adverted to the history of the struggle in the American Union against slavery — the long period during which the slave power dominated the national policy, and refused recognition to either Hayti, Liberia, or the Dominican Republic, because they were republics founded by freedmen. All this continued until 1861, when the slave-holding policy of the United States was reversed, though not without civil war and attempted dismemberment. When the doom of slavery was declared, the Government promptly recognized Hayti and Liberia, and established diplomatic relations with them. The same course would have been pursued toward the Dominican Republic, but that revolutionary movements there left it uncertain as to which of the chieftains, of opposing factions, was really the President of the people's choice. That uncertainty had been happily terminated, and there was little doubt that the formal recognition would now be made. Adverting, also, to the attempted subversion of the Dominican Republic, with a view to making it again a province of Spain, he said:

> We have built up in the northern part of the American continent a republic. We have laid for it a broad foundation. It has grown up on our hands to be an imposing, possibly a majestic empire. Like every other structure of large proportions, it requires outward buttresses. Those buttresses will arise in the development of civilization in this hemisphere. They will consist of republics like our own, founded in adjacent countries and islands, upon the principle of the equal rights of men. To us, it matters not of what race or lineage these republics shall be. They are necessary for our security against external forces, and, perhaps, for the security of our internal peace. We desire those buttresses to be multiplied, and strengthened, as fast as it can be done, without the exercise of fraud or force on our own part. You are quick to perceive the use of the main edifice in protecting the buttress you have established here, and thus it happens the republics around us only impart to us the strength, which we in turn extend to them. We have, therefore, no choice but to recognize the Republic of Dominica, as soon as it shall afford the necessary guaranty of its own stability.

From the Palace the party went to the Cathedral, a fine old structure of massive masonry, in heavy mediæval style. It was in good repair, with numerous pictures, and altars, and shrines profusely decorated. Under a slab in the central pavement was pointed out the place where the remains of Columbus were interred, until their removal to Havana, during the present century. In one of the chapels was shown the wooden cross which Columbus planted, on his first landing on the island.

Next was a visit to the ruins of the Convent of Santa Clara, and those of the palace of Diego Columbus, at one time Governor. Of

ruined arches, dilapidated chambers, broken walls, steps and terraces, enough were remaining, to show how massive and magnificent the edifices were. As the travelers entered their boat to return to the steamer, the ruins of the prison where Columbus was confined were pointed out, standing on the bluff on the opposite side of the river.

As the *De Soto* steamed away from the harbor, and past the adjacent forests of tropical luxuriance, with trees of immense size, and underbrush thick, wild, and varied, the conversation on the quarter-deck turned on the eventful history of the island — an instructive and a sad one. This island was deemed the most valuable of the discoveries of Columbus, on account of its varied climate, its wealth of productions, vegetable and mineral, and its spacious harbors. It was here that the Spanish made their first settlement, and opened their first port for trade. The city of San Domingo was founded as the capital of the newly-acquired dominions of the Crown, and was chosen as the site for a Cathedral, with a Bishop, who still retains the old title of "Primate of the Indies." The islanders, whom the Spanish found there, were a docile and unwarlike race. Under their hard taskmasters, they soon succumbed and perished. Laborers were needed, and so slaves were brought from Africa. These, of a sturdier stock, increased and multiplied far beyond the number of their masters. In the course of two centuries the western part of the island had passed into the hands of the French. When the Revolution of 1793 swept over France like a tornado, uprooting old traditions and institutions, it abolished slavery in all French colonies and islands. When the Revolution had passed and the Empire was founded, an attempt was made to restore the African race in Hayti to a modified form of slavery, in order that the colony might be more profitable. The negroes resisted, revolted, and finally through war, achieved independence, and claimed the whole island. In 1824, the eastern or Spanish end of the island having an infusion of more white blood, separated from the French or western portion, where African blood predominated. Wars over boundary lines ensued. So, at last, an island whose natural advantages and products are not surpassed in the world, was left to imperfect and neglected cultivation, its fields not half improved, and its cities belonging to the past rather than to the present.

To fully comprehend this story and trace its results, one must visit also the Haytian Republic; and thither the American Secretary now took his way.

On the morning of the 16th the *De Soto* was steaming up the long Bay of Gonaives, between high mountains on either hand, gradually narrowing, and closing in, till it ends at the city of Port au Prince.

This was a day's journey; and so it was after sunset when the steamer cast anchor in the harbor of the Haytian capital. Scattered lights, gleaming on the shore, marked its site. A friendly hail in the darkness announced a boat, with Mr. Peck, the American Commissioner and Consul-General, and Mr. Conard, the Commercial Agent, who had come off to greet the Secretary.

Morning showed a picturesque scene — lofty bluffs forming an amphitheater, and at their foot the white houses of a city, rising from the water on a gentle eminence, crowned with fortifications and a national palace — wharves filled with shipping — ocean steamers at anchor — two of them being Haytian men-of-war. One of these was the *Galatea*, which had just been purchased from the United States, and was manned by a crew of "contrabands" and colored men from New York. After the usual exchange of salutes, came the landing. Through piles of logwood and heaps of coffee-sacks, the travelers found their way to the Consulate to breakfast, followed by a drive through the town.

Less ancient looking than San Domingo, its edifices, while not so massive, were in better preservation. The streets were rough and badly paved, the houses of the usual West Indian forms of architecture, long, low, and generally spacious, with airy galleries and verandas, abundance of windows, carefully protected from the sun by Venetian blinds. White faces were the exception; nearly everybody being of African complexion and feature. To American eyes it at first seemed odd enough to find not only the laborers, but officers in uniform, well-dressed gentlemen and ladies, men of business, and people in authority, all black, all busily employed, and all talking French with a briskness, and a polite and easy air, that, but for the pervading sable hue, would lead the traveler to imagine himself on the quay of a city in France.

The paved and spacious market-place presented a busy scene, filled with country people, surrounded by the heaps of tropical productions they had brought; and the rows of patient little donkeys that had brought them.

But the ship's steward told marvelous tales of the prices he had paid — $16 for a fowl, and $100 for a day's dinner! This, however, was in Haytian currency, which was rather depreciated; he having exchanged, at the Consulate, six gold dollars, for a hundred of the paper ones.

While Seward was at breakfast, two aides-de-camp of President Geffrard were announced. They were handsome young men of tawny complexion, attired in a brilliant uniform of blue and crimson. They

were evidently well-bred gentlemen, of French education, but speaking English fluently. They came to invite the party to the President's Palace; and to proffer his carriage to carry them there. The carriage was a barouche attended by servants in green and gold livery, and followed by a guard of dragoons.

At the gate of the Palace the troops were drawn up in line to give a military salute. There were several regiments, all neat and soldier-like, many in gay uniforms, resembling those of French Chasseurs, Tirailleurs and Hussars. The band played airs of welcome; and amid the strains of the "Star Spangled Banner," Seward was ushered into the state drawing-room. Here was the President, an erect, fine-looking man, of very dark complexion, with gray hair, courteous address, and pleasing expression. He wore a uniform resembling that of a French field marshal. He received the American Secretary of State with warm and gracefully-expressed compliments; and conversed in French, very fully and fluently, upon the condition of affairs in Hayti and the United States.

The President was attended by several of his Ministers and Secretaries. Mr. Elie, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a statesman of enlarged views, and General Roumain, who had been Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, were both in civilian's dress, and both so light in color that they might easily be deemed white men. The Ministers of War and Navy, on the other hand, were entirely African in hue, and wore official uniforms. In manner and conversation they were polished, educated, and experienced public men.

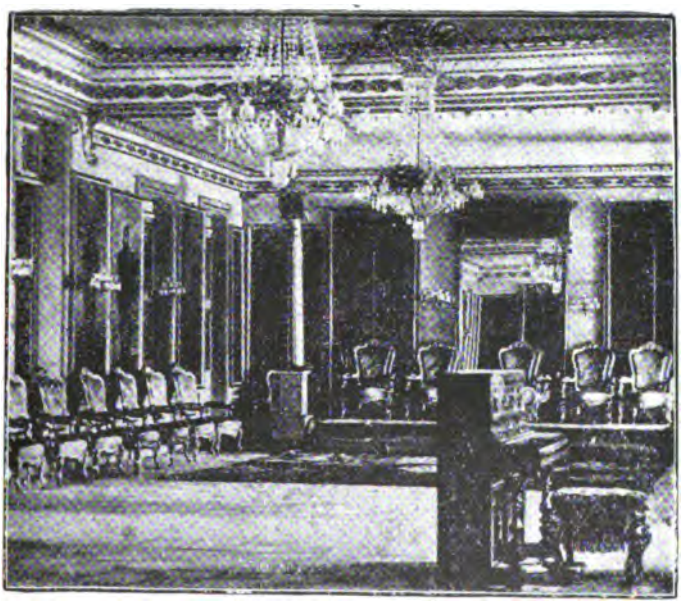
Madame Geffrard and her two daughters now entered the room, and received their guests. They were ladies of refinement and education, all dressed in accordance with Parisian taste; and all spoke French only. The drawing-rooms were richly and tastefully furnished, some of the decorations being copied from those of the imperial palaces in France. Among the pictures, was one of Mr. Lincoln; among the busts, was one of Washington, and another of John Brown.

After leaving the Palace, the Cathedral was visited. It was a large, substantial structure, of stone and wood, handsomely decorated and furnished. The pictures were numerous; some of them fine, a few of them old, and nearly all of them by French artists.

Then the two Houses of Congress — that of the Senate and that of the Representatives. Neither was in session at the time. The rooms were not large, as the bodies themselves were not; but resembling, in most respects, the legislative chambers of one of the American States.

Here were portraits of several of the Presidents of Hayti, one or two historical paintings, another likeness of John Brown, and one of

SAN DOMINGO.



IN THE HAYTIAN NATIONAL PALACE.

Wilberforce. The portraits of Boyer, Petion, Rivière, and others were pointed out.

"But there is one portrait which I do not see, that I should have expected to find most prominent of all."

"Whose is that?" said the officer.

"Toussaint L'Ouverture."

"Oh, Toussaint L'Ouverture! There is no portrait of him here. He was a brave man. But we do not consider him a Republican."

A fresh illustration that a "prophet is not without honor save in his own country."

Once more on the deck of the *De Soto*, and passing down the Bay of Gonaives, the travelers had full view of the luxuriant vegetation on the hillsides. Most of these were in forest; on the lower portion the mahogany, the satin wood, lignum-vitæ, logwood, and palms. But higher up the Northern oaks and pines appeared, and it was said that two hours' ride on horse-back would bring one to heights having a magnificent prospect, and a temperate instead of a tropical climate, where apples, peaches, pears, and other Northern products are easily raised.

Of course, among the party gathered on the quarter-deck under the star-light, the topic of discussion was the unique republic just visited. So far as they had seen, it appeared to be neither the great success in solving the African problem, which philanthropists would willingly believe it; nor, on the other hand, the failure in that regard, which it is so often represented to be. Its people had not achieved the agricultural results that might have been expected on a soil of such unsurpassed fertility; and in manufactures they had achieved nothing. The sugar-mills, erected by the French, were going to ruin, and the old coffee trees were dying out, with no effort to replace them. Frequent wars and revolutions had checked enterprise and led to national poverty. Yet, on the other hand, it could not be asserted that emancipation had rendered the people idle or degraded. Every thing at Port-au-Prince wore an air of activity. The people seemed busy, steady, and self-reliant. However, as Seward remarked, "The true test by which to measure the Haytians is not to compare their present condition with that of their former white masters, or with that of white nations, older and more advantageously situated; but to compare their own condition now with what it was when they were slaves. There can be no doubt that a vast stride in advance has been made by them when viewed in that light. It is reasonable to suppose that this progress will continue, especially when aided by the free schools they are now establishing; and when strengthened by permanent and tranquil

posing cathedral, churches, and palaces, its handsome Tacon theater, its attractive Paseo, with long lines of lights, and ladies in volantes, its hospitable-looking dwellings, with windows wide open and extending to the ground, bringing the chatting groups within, of ladies and gentlemen, children and servants, almost as fully in view as if they were in the street.

The Captain-General, with his Secretary and Aides, came to call upon the Secretary of State, to offer him many kind hospitalities, and to proffer a country seat for his use during his stay. General Dulce was a small, spare man, with pleasing face, and features expressive of energetic character. He and Seward had much to talk of in regard to international questions, upon which correspondence had passed between them.

On the 22d, there was a State dinner at the Captain-General's Palace, an assemblage of about fifty, most of them officers of the Government, civil, military and naval. From the Palace, the party adjourned to the Tacon Theater, under the escort of a military guard of honor.

Several hours of one day were devoted to a visit to Susini's ingenious and enterprising manufactory of cigarettes, and to the extensive cigar manufactory of Partagas.

Each day of Seward's stay, came numerous visitors, American residents and Cuban acquaintances, to call on him at the hotel. Many who were unable to speak English or French, wrote on their cards their cordial expressions of welcome and friendship.

On the last evening in Havana, the halls and passages of the hotel began to fill up with well-dressed young men, mostly students of the University, who had come to pay their respects in a body. They were introduced one by one, each leaving his card. Many expressed some sentiment of warm admiration, either for him personally, or for the principles of the U. S. Government, expressions marked with deep feeling and earnestness. With the students came some of the professors, and other persons of note. Meanwhile, the Artillery Band, consisting of some sixty performers, was drawn up in hollow square in front of the hotel, with their lights, and music stands, and continued playing until a late hour.

When the serenade was over, a Havana friend told Seward a bit of gossip about its history — which "*si non è vero, è ben trovato.*" The story was, that the students being nearly all native Cubans, were, most of them, ardent Republicans, if not revolutionists. They thought they saw in Mr. Seward's visit a long coveted opportunity for a Republican demonstration, and speeches, such as the Spanish Government had rigorously and vigilantly repressed.

They said, one to another: "The Government cannot refuse us permission to show hospitable courtesy to Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State of the United States, and having once the right to open our mouths, we can talk of liberty and republicanism, naturally suggested, as such topics are, by his whole history."

So they sent a committee to the Captain-General, to ask the needed permission to give a serenade to Mr. Seward. General Dulce received and heard them very courteously, and replied:

"Certainly, gentlemen, by all means. You have my permission, of course. Mr. Seward is worthy of all the attention we can show him; and I am glad you are disposed to unite in doing honor to the great statesman."

The committee, delighted with the unexpected success of their mission, were bowing their thanks, and taking their leave, when the Captain-General called them back.

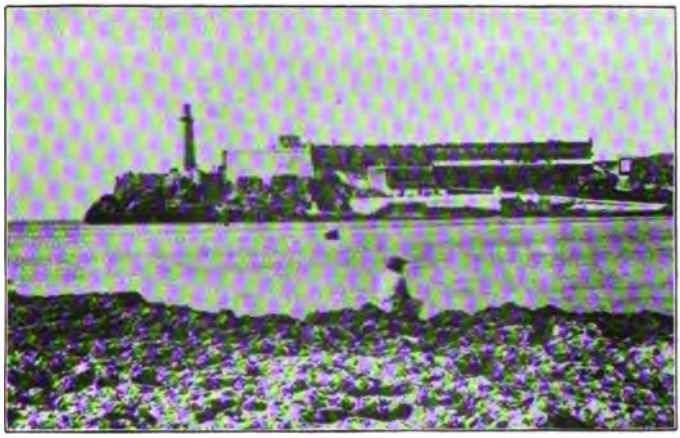
"You should have a good band, gentlemen, for such an occasion. And, now I think of it, there is no band in Havana that is equal to my Brigade Band. I approve your project so highly, that I will join in it myself. I will send my band to play for you."

The discomfited committee looked at each other, but, of course, could not object to this generous offer. The result was, that the Brigade Band, a magnificent one of sixty musicians, came and spread itself in a hollow square, all over the street in front of the hotel, and played away, air after air, without intermission, until one o'clock. The students, who had gathered on the hotel steps in hope of an opportunity for their demonstration, found no place or time for speaking. They lingered till toward midnight, and then, dropping off one by one, gave it up in despair, until the scene was deserted.

Seward, taking mercy on the tired musicians, sent to the leader, with his thanks and compliments, a request that they would not fatigue themselves longer. So ended the meeting and the serenade.

On the morning of the 23d the head of the *De Soto* was again turned toward the sea, and she was steaming slowly out past the Moro Castle, homeward bound. Flags were waving from the consulates and ships, and a crowd of friends, Spanish and American, were gathered on the wharf to wave hats and handkerchiefs, and shout their last adieus. A steamboat, chartered by the students, pushed off and accompanied the *De Soto* down the harbor, with farewell salutations. At the Castle they gave three parting cheers. The crew of the *De Soto* responded as she passed out of the harbor, and was again upon the ocean.

The homeward voyage was in pleasing contrast with the outward one. Sunny weather and quiet seas attended the voyagers all along



THE MORO CASTLE, HAVANA.

THE CAPTAIN GENERAL'S PALACE, HAVANA.

the Florida coast; and even Hatteras offered no objections to their passing it. Wind, steam, and current all helped the *De Soto* as she made her sixteen knots to the hour, on even keel.

But, after the second day, the air around was no longer tropical. Overcoats and wraps were in demand on deck, and fires were started in the cabin stove. The mercury dropped to forty degrees; and in the distance the coast looked white. The mid-summer poetry of the trip was gone, and now came stern winter reality. But the *De Soto* successfully avoided all gales on the Chesapeake, and floating ice in the Potomac.

At noon, on the 28th, the dome of the Capitol at Washington was in sight, and before nightfall the travelers were on land again, and driving back through Pennsylvania avenue to their home.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1866.

Breach Between President and Congress. Veto of the "Freedmen's Bureau Bill. "The Clearing Up Shower." Speech at the Cooper Institute. A Difference of Opinion between Pilots. The Vessel Safe either Way. "The Nervous Man and the Man of Nerve." The Mexican Republic. Maximilian's Empire. Bancroft's Address. Europe in the War.

RETURNED to Washington, Seward found the mutual distrust between President and Congress was increasing. The debates at the Capitol had resulted in the passage of the "Freedmen's Bureau Bill:" which the President vetoed on the ground that the States especially affected by it were "as yet without representation in Congress," while it provided for "unlimited distribution of public lands," and would provoke "enmities between white and black inhabitants." An attempt to pass the bill over the veto failed; but the breach with the Executive rapidly widened. When the Civil Rights Bill was passed in March, and vetoed by the President as being "unconstitutional," the opposition to him had grown strong enough to pass the bill over the veto and make it a law.

Here, it was hoped, the contest might end, or be transferred to the courts. But instead of being an end of conflict, it proved only the beginning. In the struggle now opening between the Executive and the congressional majority, Seward looked on, with none of the heated feeling manifested by the ardent supporters of "congressional policy"

on one hand, and of the "President's policy" on the other. He saw, on both sides, friends with whom he had labored, before and during the war, to defend the flag and to emancipate the slave. He saw that, bitterly as they were now denouncing each other, they were seeking the same end — the restoration of a peaceful Union. He also foresaw that both must, sooner or later, use the same means to accomplish that end; for both already claimed to aim at magnanimity to the conquered, protection to the emancipated, self-government and representation to the recently rebellious States. But, as to the times and seasons and ways of applying these remedies, the two contesting parties were "wide as the poles asunder." Of the ultimate result he had no doubt. As he said in one of his letters: "After having gone through the great storm, I suppose we can live through the clearing-up shower."

On Washington's Birthday he was invited to speak at the Cooper Institute in New York, on the question in dispute. The meeting had drawn an immense crowd. Among its officers, were Hamilton Fish, E. D. Morgan, William M. Evarts, Moses H. Grinnell, Daniel S. Dickinson, Charles P. Daly, George Opdyke, Francis B. Cutting, A. A. Low, R. M. Blatchford, Shepherd Knapp, H. B. Claflin, William H. Webb, Marshall O. Roberts, Thurlow Weed, and William E. Dodge. Seward said:

> I am not here to say that the nation is in peril or danger — in peril if you adopt the opinions of the President; in peril if you reject them; in peril if you adopt the views of the apparent, or real majority of Congress, or if you reject them. It is not in peril any way; nor do I think the cause of liberty and human freedom, the cause of progress, melioration, or civilization, is in danger of being long arrested, whether you adopt one set of political opinions, or another. The Union has been rescued from all its perils. The noble ship has passed from tempest and billows, within the verge of a safe harbor; and now it is merely the difference of opinion between the pilots. I should not practice my habitual charity, if I did not admit that I think them both sincere and honest. But the vessel will go in safety, one way or the other. The worst that need happen will be that the vessel may roll a little, and some honest, capable, and deserving politicians, statesmen, President, or Congressmen, may get washed overboard. I should be sorry for this; but if it cannot be helped, it can be borne. If I am one of the unfortunates, let no friend be concerned on that account. As honest, as good, as capable politicians, statesmen, Congressmen, and Presidents will make their appearance hereafter, to command the ship, as well, and as wisely, as any that have heretofore stalked their hour upon the deck.

As to the two contestants, he said that the President "was a man of decided convictions," while the congressional leaders seemed equally

resolute in "trying to decide not to coincide with him." "Both," he remarked, "have appealed to us outsiders, to pronounce between them."

Pointing out, that sooner or later, representatives from the Southern States would be received in Congress, he said, even if the plan of administering government in those States, by military force, was temporarily adopted, it could not be permanent. While different opinions might exist as to the time for slaying the fatted calf, and the amount of discipline to be inflicted on "our prodigal brethren;" yet everybody was determined to bring them back again, to their constitutional seat at the family table.

Enforcing this view of the matter, with various graver arguments, he adduced one illustration, long remembered and quoted. This was a reference to the play of "The Nervous Man, and the Man of Nerve." In that drama, a projected marriage between the son of one, and the daughter of the other, is thwarted by the unexpected intelligence of a run-away match. But when the lovers re-appear, to ask forgiveness, the two fathers are surprised to find that the run-away match is precisely the union they had planned. This puts the "man of nerve" into great good humor; but throws the "nervous man" into a towering rage. When his outburst of passion has somewhat subsided, the "man of nerve" says:

"Well, now, old friend, why won't you forgive him? Have you not got the whole matter your own way, after all?"

"Why, yes," replies the "nervous man," "I have it my own way; but I haven't had my own way of having it!"

"This," remarked Seward, "I think is the difference. Both have got the Union restored, as they originally planned it should be. They have got it restored, not with slavery, but without it; not with secession, but without it; not with compensation for emancipation, but without it; not with compromise, but without it; not with disloyal States or representatives, but with loyal States and representatives; not with rebel debts, but without them; not with freedmen and refugees abandoned to persecution, but with the freedmen employed in self-sustaining industry, and refugees under the protection of law and order. The "nervous men" hesitate, delay, debate and agonize — not because it has not come out right, but because they have not, individually, had their own way in bringing it to that happy termination."

Back again in Washington, in his writing chair, Seward now took up the diplomatic problems. Foremost among them was the Franco-Mexican question. The Marquis de Montholon, a sagacious diplomat,

whose family had long been identified with the fortunes of the Napoleons, was now the French Minister, and the subject was discussed with him, as well as through Mr. Bigelow, with M. Drouyn de l'Huys. The Emperor, at the close of 1865, had said in effect, "that France is willing to retire from Mexico, as soon as she may; but that it would be inconvenient for her, without first receiving from the United States an assurance of a friendly, or tolerant disposition to the power, which has assumed an imperial form in the capital city of Mexico." This Seward regarded as quite impracticable. He said, "the real cause of our national discontent is, that the French Army now in Mexico is invading a republican Government there, for the avowed purpose of suppressing it, and establishing upon its ruins, a foreign monarchial Government."

In February he expressed his gratification to M. de Montholon, at receiving assurances "that the French Government is disposed to hasten, as much as possible, the recall of its troops from Mexico," and M. Drouyn de l'Huys' explanation of the motives and objects of the French in undertaking the expedition. He added, "Nevertheless, it is my duty to insist that whatever were the intentions, purposes, and objects of France, the proceedings are regarded by the United States as having been taken without the authority, and against the will and opinions of the Mexican people. The view which I have thus presented is the one which this nation has accepted. It, therefore, recognizes, and continues to recognize, in Mexico, only the ancient Republic, and it can, in no case, consent to involve itself, either directly, or indirectly, in relation with, or recognition of, Prince Maximilian."

Replying to the intimation of M. Drouyn de l'Huys, that "it depends upon the Federal Government, to facilitate the withdrawal of the French from Mexico," he said he would "give reassurance of our desire to facilitate the withdrawal of the French troops," and for that purpose, "to do whatsoever shall be compatible with the positions we have heretofore taken. Further or otherwise than this, France could not expect us to go." And in conclusion, he remarked that "the United States assert, that no foreign nation can rightfully intervene by force to subvert republican institutions, and establish those of an antagonistical character."

To Mr. Motley, at Vienna, he wrote:

> You were right in informing Count Mensdoff that our Government aims to bring about the evacuation of Mexico by the French forces, as soon as possible. Practically, what we are saying and doing on that subject is no diplomatic secret. It is done by correspondence of this department with the Government of France, and the correspondence itself is in train of publication.

Mr. Bancroft, in his address before Congress in February, somewhat sharply arraigned and censured the European Cabinets, for their leaning toward the side of the rebels, in the American civil war. This brought numerous criticisms and disclaimers from European presses and statesmen. Seward remarked in a letter to Mr. Sanford:

The European politicians who find fault with Mr. Bancroft's address, ought to have remembered, during the period of 1861 to 1866, that the American people had sensibilities, which were then as keen, and as roughly treated, as those that any other nation now indulges. Belgium has no right to complain. She suffered intrigues injurious to the United States, to be carried on, with her approval and coöperation, in Mexico. When they send legions to this side of the Atlantic to overthrow republics, they necessarily submit themselves to the censure of all free States. Republics have equal rights and immunities with monarchies. American States have rights no less than those they concede to European States.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1866.

Diplomatic Negotiations. Claims on Foreign Governments. Depredations of English Built Cruisers. The Confederate Cotton Loan. Project of Obtaining a Harbor in the West Indies. Congratulation to the Emperor of Russia. Fox and the *Miantonomah*. The Fisheries. "Tribute of the Nations." The 14th Amendment.

DIPLOMACY, during the war, had been a "sea of troubles." But now the reefs and breakers began to disappear, and the waters grew smooth again. From every Foreign Court came assurances of friendship — all sincere enough — for it could no longer profit any to quarrel with the United States. With peace, and a restored Union, Seward found his labors lightened. His suggestions for international action were now all courteously received and duly considered. While hostilities continued in the United States, it was useless to attempt to enforce claims, however just, against foreign Governments. Now this class of subjects could again receive attention. The most feasible, and usually the most equitable way of settling such questions, was by joint commissions, to examine the claims, fixing the amounts found justly due, and rejecting claims found baseless. Each nation appointed one commissioner, and the two selected a third, to act as umpire. Few nations would decline to accede to a mode of procedure so fair and reasonable. Treaties for such adjustment of claims

were made with Ecuador in 1862, with Peru and Great Britain in 1863, with Colombia in 1864, with Venezuela in 1866, with Mexico and Peru in 1868.

Two negotiations were begun this summer, each of which resulted, subsequently, in an important treaty. One was initiated by a dispatch to Mr. Wright at Berlin, instructing him to "suggest to Count Bismarck" that it would be consistent with the dignity of Prussia to "recognize the principle of naturalization, as a natural and inherent right of manhood," by a treaty on that subject. The other was an instruction to Mr. Adams, to reopen, with the new Ministry of Great Britain, the subject of the "Alabama Claims." Seward wrote:

You will herewith receive a summary of claims for damages by depredations committed on the high seas by the *Sumter*, the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, the *Shenandoah*, and other ships of war, which were manned, armed, equipped, and fitted out in British ports, and dispatched therefrom, by or through the agency of British subjects, and which were harbored, sheltered, provided, and furnished during their devastating career, in ports of the realm, or in ports of British colonies, in nearly all parts of the globe.

He remarked that "it would not be denied even in Great Britain, that a large number of the Queen's subjects" were "active allies with the insurgents, and aided them with supplies, arms, munitions, men, and ships of war." Finally, he added:

The United States and Great Britain are two of the leading national powers in this age. The events of the last five years have proved that harmony between them is indispensable to the welfare of each. That harmony has been broken; nor does there exist the least probability that it can ever be completely renewed, and restored, unless the serious complaint which you are now again to bring to the notice of the British Government shall be amicably and satisfactorily adjusted.

The holders of the Confederate Cotton Loan in England were still cherishing the belief that the bonds would be paid by the United States, or by somebody. They appealed to the Treasury Department for information on that point. The Secretary of the Treasury referred the letters to the Secretary of State. Seward's reply was brief:

I am of the opinion that neither the nature of these several communications, nor the matters described therein, nor the form in which they are therein treated, nor the character of their authors, nor that of their agents, are such as deserve consideration on the part of the Government of the United States.

During the war, some of the West India ports had been of great service to the rebels. Their blockade-runners and cruisers found shelter, protection, and supplies, while war vessels of the Union were

met by vexatious restrictions. The islands were held by neutral powers, and contained many warm friends of the Union. Yet merchants, mechanics, and sailors, who saw in the Confederate enterprises an easy avenue to trade, could hardly be expected to refuse the opportunities of a season of commercial activity. Seward's visit to the West Indies confirmed him in the opinion that it would be wise for the United States to own a West Indian harbor for its Navy. Such a position would be of advantage in war, and an aid to commerce in peace. Out of his reflections and observations came the purpose to try if such a harbor was obtainable. He discussed the subject with General Raasloff, the Danish Minister, and through him, with his Government. But the idea of parting with a harbor, or an island, was too novel to be at once received with favor. The topic was dropped, to be, however, renewed a few months later.

On receiving news of the attempted assassination of the Emperor Alexander II, Seward sent an instruction to Mr. Clay to seek a personal interview with the Emperor, to congratulate him, in the name of the United States, upon his escape, and assure him of the sincere respect, affection, and friendship of the American people. Shortly after, to give additional expression to the general feeling, Thaddeus Stevens introduced a resolution, which was adopted by both houses, saying:

> The Congress sends greeting to His Imperial Majesty and to the Russian nation, and congratulates the twenty millions of serfs upon the providential escape from danger of the sovereign, to whose head and heart they owe the blessings of their freedom.

It was determined to send a special Envoy, in a national vessel, to carry this to the Russian Emperor. Mr. Fox, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was selected, and it was decided that he should go in the *Miantonomoh*, a "two-turret monitor." Much interest was felt in this enterprise, in view of the fact that no vessel of this sort had ever ventured to cross the Atlantic. Bespeaking for Mr. Fox the courteous attention of diplomatic and consular officers, Seward wrote:

> It is universally acknowledged that the professional experience and ability of this gentleman have materially contributed to the recent triumph of our arms in this branch of the service, and to the improvement and development of our naval force.

The voyage was successfully made in June. The Envoy and his ship were greeted with welcomes and hospitalities at the ports of Northern Europe. His reception at St. Petersburg was cordial and enthusiastic. Honors and presents were proffered, and deep feeling manifested, as Mr. Fox wrote, "wherever and whenever the name of our country was mentioned."

Foreseeing that the termination of the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty might renew troubles about the fisheries, Seward wrote to Mr. Adams:

I send you a very suggestive letter from Mr. Richard D. Cutts, who was employed as surveyor for marking, on the part of the United States, the fishery limits under the Reciprocity Treaty. Mr. Cutts' long familiarity with the subject entitles his suggestions to respect. It is desirable to avoid any collision or misunderstanding with Great Britain on the subject. With this view, I inclose a draft of a protocol, which you may propose to Lord Clarendon for a temporary regulation of the matter.

Mr. Cutts' letter remarked that some of the colonial laws, especially those of Nova Scotia, were of very stringent character; that seizures were made on the slightest suspicion, or on false charges, heavy bonds were required before suit could be instituted to recover, and that the owner of the vessel was liable to be mulcted in treble costs, besides the loss of vessel and cargo. The protocol offered by Seward proposed the appointment of a mixed commission to define limits, establish regulations, and modify penalties. Their action, however, was not to be final, until approved and accepted by the British Government and the American President and Senate.

Among the official visitors whom this year brought to Washington was Baron Beaulieu, the special Envoy sent from Belgium to announce the accession of Leopold II to the throne. He and his suite were the recipients of various official courtesies. After their presentation there was a State dinner in their honor, members of Cabinet, Supreme Court, the Diplomatic Corps, and the Army, being invited to meet them. Another visitor was General Dulce, the Captain-General of Cuba, who had rendered such effective help in breaking up the African slave trade, and by whom Seward had been received and entertained at Havana during the previous winter. After dinners and receptions at the Spanish Legation and the house of the Secretary of State, he was taken by Seward on the *Northerner* to visit Mount Vernon, accompanied by Mr. Tassara, the Spanish Minister, and the new British Minister, genial and hearty Sir Frederick Bruce.

But the incidents of chief importance, in diplomatic eyes, were the coming to Washington of the family of President Juarez of Mexico, the attentions bestowed upon them, and the evident warmth of their welcome. The French and Imperial forces were not only holding the capital, but had driven the Republican Administration, with its little band of followers, into the mountains of Chihuahua. President Juarez deemed it prudent, for the security and comfort of his family, to send them to the United States. Adhering tenaciously to the policy he had long before announced, Seward recognized only

the Republican Government in Mexico; and would lend no countenance to the claim that an imperial throne had been definitely established there. The agreeable acquaintance with the Juarez family, begun at Washington, ripened into closer friendship subsequently, in Mexico.

The Diplomatic Corps was divided in sentiment on the Franco-Mexican question. Those whose Governments had recognized Maximilian (and most European Governments had), were forbidden, by official etiquette, to hold intercourse with the Mexican Legation representing the Republic. But on the other hand, the Central and South American Republics were in hearty accord and sympathy with them.

A year had now elapsed since the assassination conspiracy and the sad events which followed. Seward had recovered enough of vigor to devote as many hours as formerly to the work at the department, and to receive and converse with visitors morning and evening. But his face was still swollen and disfigured by his wounds. His right arm was nearly powerless, his form was bent, and his strength seriously impaired. He maintained, in a great degree, his old cheerfulness, and pursued his daily labor with unflagging perseverance. He took long walks and drives; and sought, by active exercise in the open air, to restore tone to his system. His efforts in this direction were rewarded with only partial success.

The world-wide feeling excited by the news of the assassination at Washington had found expression in communications from every part of the habitable globe. An avalanche of letters, and resolutions of condolence and sympathy, had poured into the State Department by every mail, for weeks and months. Emperors, kings and queens, sultans, pachas and grand-dukes, presidents and governors, ministers of state, cabinets, parliamentary and legislative bodies, courts of justice, municipal organizations, diplomatic representatives, colonial officers, boards of trade and health, local committees, public presses, benevolent societies, social clubs, workingmen's unions, trade associations, churches, teachers and schools, all joined in these manifestations of their horror at the crime, and their sympathy with the American people. Those who had never agreed in any thing else, all agreed in this. It was as if an electric touch had brought all the world in unison, and revealed the common brotherhood of all mankind.

Seward, after making due acknowledgments, on behalf of the Government, directed the various communications to be gathered together, and arranged; so that they might be published with the official vol-

tions of diplomatic correspondence. Subsequently, a joint resolution of Congress directed "that there shall be printed for distribution by the Department of State, on fine paper, with wide margin, a sufficient number of copies of the Appendix to the Diplomatic Correspondence of 1865, to supply one copy to each Senator, and each Representative of the Thirty-ninth Congress, and to each foreign Government, and one copy to each corporation, association, or public body, whose expressions of condolence or sympathy are published in said volume." The great volume thus authorized, was a quarto of over nine hundred pages, a unique and interesting historical record. It was entitled "Tributes of the Nations to Abraham Lincoln." It was duly distributed in accordance with the congressional resolution.

In June, Congress adopted the Fourteenth Amendment, which aimed to give the right of suffrage, together with equal civil rights, to the newly-emancipated slaves. The Amendment, furthermore, excluded from office, those who, when holding Federal places, had engaged in the rebellion. It accepted the debt of the United States as valid and sacred. It was duly submitted to the various States for their approval or disapproval, and during the next two years, was a fruitful source of discussion in Legislatures and the press.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1866.

The Breach Widens. Congress and the President. The Second "Freedmen's Bureau Bill." Seward's Position. Letters to his Daughter. Changes in the Cabinet. Dennison and Speed. Harlan. Tennessee. "The Prodigal's Return." The Adjournment. Results of the Session. The Atlantic Telegraph.

MEANWHILE, the breach between the White House and the Capitol was daily widening. Not only in corridors and lobbies, but on the floor in debate, the President was denounced by members who had helped to elect him. The opposition to him had gathered such strength during the session, that in July, when the second "Freedman's Bureau Bill" was returned with his veto, it was promptly passed over the veto and became a law.

It was not in Seward's nature to engage in cabals, either against his chief, or against his old associates. Fidelity was, in his eyes, a cardinal virtue — fidelity to his friends, party, country, and truth. Unable to convince either of the contestants over "reconstruction," of what

he himself felt assured — that both their lines of policy could have but one ending — he, nevertheless, saw that he might do something to mitigate rancor and prevent injurious consequences at home, while remaining at his post to uphold national honor and interests abroad. Of course this would expose him to objurgations from those engaged in the heated debate. But he was used to that. He remarked at Auburn:

My conclusion is one that will, at least, be admitted to harmonize with my past life. I am hopeful — hopeful of the President; hopeful of the Congress; hopeful of the National Union party; hopeful of the Democratic party; hopeful of the represented States; hopeful of the unrepresented States — above all, hopeful of the whole people, and hopeful of the continued favor of Almighty God.

Replying to a private letter from a friend, about the party discord and the threatening outlook of political affairs, he wrote:

I do not propose to furnish a probable solution of those perplexities. I know of no one who would be capable of doing so. As is my habit, I regret them as having occurred unavoidably, perhaps from some necessity, having its origin in the Constitution and character of our Government, and the anomalous condition of the times. Viewing them in that light, my attention is directed simply and exclusively to the question, what will be the probable effect of those disturbances upon the interests and safety of the country? In this respect, I have only to express in this private note, the same opinion which I habitually express in public debate, that the country is returning, after a prolonged and fearful war, to its normal condition, in which we may expect unity to be restored, and the prestige of the country successfully established. If these anticipations shall be realized within a reasonable time, you and I may be relieved from engaging in altercations which involve not immediate, but ultimate interests, and require, not so much the appliance of experience as the examination of policies as yet prospective.

After the war, as before it, he adhered to his belief that the American Union was the agency destined to politically reform the world — remodeling forms of government, and disenthralling nations, by the force of its salutary example. His letters to his daughter recounted some of his thoughts, feelings, and occupations:

July 3.

It seems hard that I cannot be at home with my children at Auburn, to enjoy its pleasant shades this month of July, so agreeable in that high latitude, and so disagreeable in lower ones.

We had our visit from the good old Baron, and from Sir Frederick Bruce, Sunday evening. They came to talk of European wars, and political conflicts. Last night, Mr. and Mrs. Stoeckl were visitors. They go to Berkely Springs. If Congress should ever adjourn, and I could find a week or two of ease in the

State Department, I should like to get into the snug retreat you have at Auburn. But I see no signs of any change till the dog-days come.

July 7.

Your Thursday's letter tells about the building of the new part of the house. Next to "reconstructing" the national edifice, my heart is occupied with the enlargement and perfection of the domestic one. I often inquire within myself whether I have reason to hope to see both completed, and my children safe, comfortable, and happy in them.

July 11.

We four are living very quietly. Last night saw Mr. Barreda, and then Mr. Molina. The former is contriving to get us all to go to Newport. But Congress clogs all our limbs.

Congress wants us to move out of and give up this old building. We are looking at the new Asylum on Fourteenth street with a view to take refuge therein.

July 15.

Here is the middle of July! Midsummer! How short summer is! How I want to escape cities and men! How I cannot do it!

I have left the house, and come over here under the grand portico of the Treasury, with the windows opened, admitting a draft of air to play upon me.

I am glad to hear of the progress of the building. So I am fancying you all looking out through the new bay-window, that is to be, upon the lilacs and lilies in the garden.

Tell Mrs. Perry that the way to make the parrots talk is to put the cage into the breakfast-room, and let them hear the clatter of knives, forks, and children's tongues, which makes the music of the feast.

Congress adjourns on the 23d, and then, what then? Politics until they come back again!

July 16.

Your Saturday's note speaks of rain, copious rain, cool nights, and serenades. Gracious! The sky here is brass. The music is the mosquito concert.

July 17.

Thus far I am without my customary morning letter, which you cheer me with. My table is clear, and my room is equally so, in preparation for my going to the Cabinet.

The Cabinet, which has been held so long together, is at last struck, and begins to go apart. I regret it. Cabinets seldom separate for the good of the country, if they are made up of loyal men, as this one has been. I part with Mr. Dennison, and Mr. Speed, with regret. The times require great firmness and coolness on the part of the Executive. It does not surprise, although it pains me, that all of my associates have not been able to see it their duty, as I see it mine, to sustain him. But this is political life — this is administration — this is government. Sir Frederick remarked the other day, very calmly, when speaking of the change of the British Ministry, upon what seemed a very unimportant occasion: "Well, Mr. Secretary, I tell you that it

seems to me, that this business of governing nations is a very uncertain kind of affair!"

July 18.

Ten A. M., with the thermometer at 91°. Whew! My table clear as yet. Only one applicant for office, so far.

I wont disturb you any more with politics, just now. I am quite willing that you should be spared anxieties, in a field in which you can do no effectual labor. So I always dealt with your mother; and she had the easier life for leaving political troubles to me; and I the easier life, by leaving the affairs of home and children, exclusively to her. You must not, however, think that these cares make me unhappy. With a clear conscience, as having always sought the real interests of the country, above personal or partisan objects, and having done what I could to give it effect, I trust the people, and, above all, I trust Providence with all the rest. The fluctuations of popular favor affect me only as the changes of the seasons do, for the reason that I know they are inevitable, and, in the end, beneficial.

July 21.

There are no secrets in my letters to you. If ever I have occasion to wish any thing in them withheld from friends, I shall especially tell you.

We dine the retiring members of the Cabinet to-day, at six. Good-bye, until to-morrow.

July 22.

I have your Friday letter, and I quite clearly see the walls of our new tower, rising up to shelter me, at a not distant day; when I shall have done what remains for me to do here, to calm the passions, and conciliate the contestants, whom five years of civil war seem not to have satisfied.

Last evening, at six, we gave a dinner to Mr. and Mrs. Dennison and Mr. and Mrs. Speed. The other guests were Mr. and Mrs. McCulloch, Mr. and Mrs. Stanton. The Harlans, though invited, came not; she was sick, and he busy.

Congress is agitated and stormy. Its debates are troubled, and its entire action convulsive. I do not know when it will adjourn. I wait with patience, convinced that though, by almost imperceptible degrees, tranquillity and harmony are stealing over the land, which I shall continue to love right on, as well when it frowns, as when it smiles upon me.

I shall send you a letter from the Comte de Paris, when I have had time to acknowledge it.

July 23.

The European mail brings, now-a-days, two kinds of information; one, reports of the Continental war; the other, respectful compliments to the United States. It was different when the nations there were at peace, and *we* in war. It is well, however, to have kindness shown us, at any time.

Congress, after near eight months, is really engaged, at last, in removing the embarrassments which surround the Tennessee question, and in preparing to admit that State. This once done, will be the harbinger of the final restoration of all. But we may have to wait for that consummation. My solicitude about affairs will, nevertheless, be relieved when I see Tennessee restored.

July 24.

The new Attorney-General, Mr. Stanbery, came into the Cabinet to-day. He is a very able and proper man.

The President, to-day, approved and signed the bill "restoring Tennessee to the Union," as it is called.

To-morrow the members will probably be admitted to Congress. When that is done, one-eleventh part of the work of pacification will have been completed. I hope that the other ten parts will be more rapidly executed, so that I can return home.

July 25.

The mammoth cake came from Auburn, and I shall try to acknowledge the kind attention properly. I am to make (probably to-morrow evening) a feast at my house, and have already slain the fatted calf, for the State of Tennessee, which was lost, and is at last found. The Auburn cake will grace the dessert. Could I do better?

You say you like to be instructed in politics. Here, then, is one lesson — the *forces*, in the long run, go with the *virtues*. The Christian precepts, although they may be denied, and refused for a time, ultimately are accepted by all men, equally in politics, and elsewhere. Forgiveness to enemies — magnanimity to the conquered — equality to all. These are the maxims I am trying to inculcate upon the people. They resist; but the resistance will not continue.

After eight months, Tennessee is in Congress again. There are ten more States to come in. All will ultimately come. Will I then be found to have been wrong, in helping that benign measure, with all the earnestness of loyalty, from the beginning? All the secret of politics lies in Christian morals.

July 27.

We had all the Tennessean Representatives last night at dinner; and they seemed to appreciate the attention. I had a calf served up in many ways, and they accepted it as "returned prodigals." The feast went off to the strains of martial airs from the band; and the two green-backed birds from the sunny South, added, by clamorous loquacity, to the hilarity of the occasion.

I go to the Cabinet now, and we are all busy with preparations for closing the session of Congress.

July 28.

I have your Thursday's letter, which seems to bear the very fragrance of the verbenas and pansies. Our gladiolii have gone long ago. We are indulging in melons and peaches. So we keep before you in the fruits and flowers of the year.

Congress sat *yesterday* until four this morning. They meet again at nine and expect to dissolve finally at half-past four, P. M. The night meeting was full of vehemence and excitement. In any other country it would be deemed revolutionary. But a calm comes over every tempest here, that has no heat derived from slavery.

I go with the President and Cabinet to the Capitol, at one to-day.

Mr. Harlan has resigned, to take leave on the 1st of September. I think you know his successor, Mr. Browning. He is a pure, true man. So is Harlan. There is no political significance in the change.

July 29.

Congress has adjourned. Faction, although not entirely overthrown, has been held in check. Within the eight months that Congress has been in session, Slavery has been extirpated throughout the United States. Peace has been completely restored, and proclaimed in the Republic; and one of the eleven States that endeavored to rush out of the Union has been completely restored; while all the difficulty that remains, as to the ten others, is not whether they will cheerfully renew their allegiance, but whether the faithful shall be reconciled, and admit the recreants to return.

I have been interrupted to receive the first dispatch from Newfoundland, announcing the successful accomplishment of the International Telegraph between the two continents. You will see it in the newspapers. I am very well, and very much wondering how the Atlantic Telegraph may modify my business habits.

On receiving from Cyrus W. Field, this news of the successful laying of the Atlantic Cable, he telegraphed in reply:

Acknowledgments and congratulations. If the Atlantic Cable had not failed in 1858, European States would not have been led, in 1861, into the great error of supposing that civil war in America would either perpetuate African slavery, or divide this Republic.

Your grand achievement constitutes, I trust, an effective treaty of international neutrality and non-intervention.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1866.

The Paris Exposition. Queen Emma's visit to Washington. Gathering of Delegates for the Philadelphia Convention. President Johnson's Proposed Western Tour.

AUGUST, usually the month of vacations, and dusty dullness, proved, this year, a busy one at Washington. Besides diplomatic duties, there were discussions of a proposed Union Convention at Philadelphia. Then there were Commissioners to the Paris Exposition to be appointed. The selection of these cost some time and care. The list, when completed, comprised the names of Agassiz, and many others of note in science and literature. Seward's letters to his daughter said:

August 1.

Everybody has left Washington, or is leaving. The Stoeckls are at Berkley; Barreda and Molina at Newport. The Montholons took their leave of us last night for the same place. The Morgans are there also.

Yesterday was audience for the foreign Ministers. The corps in attendance seemed reduced to Tassara, Bruce, and Cantagalli. The latter informed me that Bertinatti has been made by the French Emperor, a Commander of the Legion of — something — (*d'Honneur* perhaps), and he, Cantagalli, Chevalier of the same.

August 2.

I write at the house, for since Fred's departure, time at the department is scarce. I have fourfold duty there. Mr. Hunter is yet absent. He becomes Second Assistant Secretary of State. I do not yet see any chance of going to Auburn. Business is oppressive, and the force of the department feeble. I acted yesterday, the parts of Chief, First Assistant, and Second Assistant; and didn't I have a fine time of it? I believe the heaviest business was that of another part — viz., of counselor of the Chicago politicians. The door-keeper proved to be no bar to the flood. It broke through the two main passages. However, the Colonel and I rode last evening over the hills. The chairman of Foreign Affairs called and spent an hour.

August 4.

I have mused an hour over your "Summer Morning's Dream in the Garden." It is very soothing. But does it beat my enjoyments, as I stroll through the woods and among the waters of Rock Creek in the early night, amid the concert, discordant yet cheery, of the katydids? Ah! you have no katydids at Auburn.

Our ride last evening was to Mr. Stanton's in the grounds of the Soldiers' Home. They are very pleasantly situated there. The grounds were lively with croquet, bows, and ball. The children are merry and vivacious.

The riot in New Orleans is a sad affair. The constitution of human society is given us always to improve and meliorate by moral and humane modifications, though the ways of peace render wars and revolutions unnecessary, if we are wise; unavoidable, if we are unwise. Personal and political ambitions seize upon all reforms for selfish uses.

August 5.

Queen Emma of the Sandwich Islands is coming to Washington to be received in royal state. You, unfortunately, will lose that entertainment. There is no lady in this house, and those of the White House have gone. I shall tell you all about the arrangements when made.

August 7.

Yesterday I rode in the evening with the Postmaster-General, who has just returned. The Secretary of the Treasury has gone away for two weeks. They have claims to relaxation. Life in Washington is a wearisome subjection to applications for office, which no Government could satisfy.

I have sent a special agent, Mr. Chilton, to meet the Queen of the Sandwich Islands on her arrival in New York, to tender her welcome, and ascertain when

it will be her royal pleasure to visit Washington. You will ask what I propose to do then? Well, I will consider.

Philadelphia delegates begin to appear from South and West.

August 8.

Cabinet yesterday. President, State, Assistants of War and Navy, Postmaster-General, and Attorney-General. The 28th August fixed for departure for Chicago. Route: Sleep at Philadelphia Tuesday; sleep at New York Wednesday; sleep at Albany Thursday; sleep at Auburn Friday; sleep at Niagara Saturday and Sunday. Hollis White is to go forward and arrange. Who will go? The President and Cabinet. Thus far only settled.

New Orleans riots the great subject of converse just now.

August 9.

On the President's excursion with Cabinet to Chicago, General Grant and Admiral Farragut are to be of the party. So many of the foreign Ministers as choose. B. F. Hall will go to Auburn to look about for arrangements. I shall send a force to help Jenny through the affair. But of all this I shall talk at large with her and you when I see you.

Chilton reports the Sandwich Island Queen arriving at New York, and that her suite consists of one secretary and one servant. He will have audience to-day.

August 16.

Last evening the Colonel proceeded to Willard's, and thence attended Her Majesty and Miss Spurgeon to our house. I met them at the door. The parrots gave them a clamorous welcome. At seven we repaired to dinner. The Queen sat in Anna's place; I in my own.

We had a fine bouquet, which was removed to allow free conversation. She is intelligent, well educated, and especially well informed; and, withal, seems unaffected and amiable. She has traveled so far as Rome and Venice, and has been a guest of all the royal families. So she converses better than most persons upon political subjects.

To-day she has gone to Mount Vernon and the Freedman's Village.

August 17.

We have had a long Cabinet meeting, discussing grave, but not alarming affairs at home and abroad. I am in the midst of proclamations and dispatches, with a foreign mail to answer.

The Queen moves to my house this afternoon. I give her a State dinner to-morrow.

All of the household are well, and much elated with having to serve a royal visitor. This visitor is half Hawaiian and half English.

The Philadelphia people are here in great spirits. It is a beginning of the great work of national reconciliation and peace.

August 18.

Yesterday morning came my foreign mail; this morning my home one — that is the mail from Auburn. I see that, besides your own letters, many cor-

respondents have made you local dispatch agent. I thank you for the care you have taken to report the condition of your own health.

The Philadelphia Convention is here. They have taken my short-hand writer to report the speeches at the White House, so I am my own secretary.

The Queen I have not heard from this morning. But my dinner is eighteen in number, and appointed for seven. She goes to Niagara on Monday.

August 19.

We had yesterday a busy day. The Committee, and many members of the Philadelphia Convention, gathered here, and waited upon the President. They had speeches, and greetings, very satisfactory on both sides. The department was all day long filled with delegates, and business went on amid many interruptions. But the day was got through with after a fashion.

At seven, the Hawaiian Queen, with her attendants, Miss Spurgeon and Consul Odell, came to our house. We had the President and the Cabinet to meet them. The dinner went off very pleasantly. I regretted that the Stantons could not come. Mrs. Stanton has been drooping with a cough all summer. The company retired at ten. Her Majesty at eleven. This morning she is going to church with us. She is very intelligent and agreeable, and makes the house quite cheerful.

The servants are all on the *qui vive*. They display silver and porcelain of Sevres and China with great tact. Margaret makes up bouquets and Katy is very attentive.

You will see my Mexican proclamation. For once I have suggested a popular thing — all parties are pleased with it. But, of course, it is not mine!

August 20.

The first letter which my eyes fell upon was your cheerful one of last Friday.

The Hawaiian Queen took me twice to church yesterday, and in the evening to the President's, where we saw him, his wife, and Mrs. Patterson.

The conventionists took me all the rest of the time, although I endeavored to seek quiet.

Very elegantly and tastefully, Mrs. Patterson is fitting up the White House throughout.

August 21.

Notwithstanding the assiduous and ambitious labors of "Jenkins," you will expect me to keep up the Court Journal.

Well, Her M. visited the Washington Monument and the State and Treasury Departments yesterday. In the afternoon she drove out with the Secretary of State, attended by her suite, through the green wood. Her M. and party walked from Crystal Springs, reascending the branch to Pierce's Mill.

Her M. dined with the Secretary of State. The Assistant Secretary of State was honored with an invitation. In the evening Her M. received visits from the Swedish Minister and the Russian Minister, and Mrs. Stoeckl, who took their audience of leave from the Secretary, to proceed to Russia in October.

Her M. wore ———

(There — let "Jenkins" fill up that blank.)

Her M. retired at half-past ten precisely, and the Secretary at half-past eleven.

August 22.

We had yesterday a long Cabinet meeting. I went home from the department, weary enough, at four. Drove the Queen and party up the Aqueduct road to the upper reservoir; crossed down the canal, and hurried home in a great shower.

After dinner the President and the Attorney-General and wife came in and spent the evening.

This morning at half-past five, Her M. rose, and came down dressed for travel at six. We breakfasted, passed to the railroad, and parted — of course, forever. She accepted my parting regards, and good wishes, saying: "Thanks for shelter and kindness."

I do not know that she has any superior in knowledge and proprieties among us.

Here endeth the Court Journal.

CHAPTER L.

1866.

The Philadelphia Convention. Its Purpose and Results. Weed and Raymond. Death of Dean Richmond. The President's Western Trip. Excited Political Feeling. Increase of Bitterness. Seward's Letters. His Daughter's Death.

PHILADELPHIA was attracting the attention of politicians, the public, and the press. In a letter to Senator Doolittle, regarding the proposed Convention, Seward wrote:

After more than five years of dislocation by civil war, I regard the restoration of the unity of the country its most immediate, as well as its most vital interest. That restoration will be complete when loyal men are admitted as representatives of the loyal people of the eleven States, so long unrepresented in Congress. No one party could do this effectually, or even seems willing to do it alone. It is the interest of all parties alike, of all States, and of all sections — a national interest — the interest of the whole people. The Convention, indeed, may not succeed in inducing Congress to act, but if they fail, the attempt can make matters no worse. It will be a lawful and patriotic attempt made in the right direction.

Henry J. Raymond's diary during this period has, fortunately, been preserved, and, since his death, published by his son. In it he narrates the progress and purpose of this Convention, in which he took a leading part.

He first heard of the project from Mr. Weed, who, in July, told him that the Convention was to be one "in which Union men from all the States should be represented." The purpose was commendable, but the project seemed "not free from difficulties and dangers." Soon after, a call for the Convention appeared in the newspapers. It was signed "by a joint committee composed of members of the Johnson committee, and of the Democratic committee." A call so signed created distrust in Congress; and feeling in the North began to be arrayed against it.

A few days afterward Raymond met Seward, who said that it was understood that Raymond "would write the address." "I told him I did not feel inclined to attend the Convention. He asked why? I said that it seemed likely to be in the hands of the former rebels and their Copperhead associates, and to be used for purposes hostile to the Union party, of which I was not only a member, but in which I held an official position, as Chairman of the National Union Committee." But in this view Seward did not concur. He said the proposed Convention was "not a party Convention, nor need it affect in any way the party-standing of those who should take part in it." He was a Union man, he said, and he did not admit the right of anybody to turn him out of the Union party; but he claimed the right to meet and consult with any portion of his fellow-citizens. Of course, the Convention would fall into the hands of Copperheads, if all our friends deserted it. What he wanted me to go into it for, was to *prevent* that result."

A visit to the White House is then narrated. Seward adverted to his fear that the Convention might fall into bad hands. The President said, "Yes, it was important that the right direction should be given to it. It ought to take national ground in harmony with Union principles, and in favor of a speedy restoration of the Union." His sympathies, he said, were with the party which had carried the country through the war — that party ought to restore the Union, and although it ought not to repel Democrats willing to act with it and aid it, he did not wish the Democratic party to get control."

Raymond said he did not quite understand what the Convention was expected to do, or whether it was to be to "create a new party."

The President replied that he "did not want any new party, nor did he want the Democratic party restored to power." He "wanted Congress to restore the Union." His wish was to "have this matter settled within the Union party." He thought the action of the Philadelphia Convention would exert a wholesome influence on the local

conventions and on the nominations for Congress. He thought it would be "a great step gained when delegates from all the States could again meet in Convention," and that it would have a "salutary effect on public sentiment."

Four delegates-at-large were appointed from the State of New York, of whom Raymond was one, General Dix, ex-Governor Church, and Samuel J. Tilden being the others. The Southern delegates, for the most part, were of the moderate class; "those who had not been original Secessionists," but had "gone with their States." When they came together, Raymond remarked that "the general feeling was one of delight at renewing former political, social, and personal relations with men of the North."

Raymond drew up the "Address to the People of the United States." The Committee on Resolutions was comprised of prominent men of both parties. Good feeling and enthusiasm marked the proceedings.

The resolutions and address, if read now, when time has modified political feeling, seem to contain nothing that Union-loving men of any party, State, or section could reasonably object to. But their well-meant purpose failed of accomplishment. The President's opponents saw, or fancied they saw in them, only a deep-laid scheme for the disruption of the Republican party, and for his own advancement by the help of disloyal allies. Political bitterness was increased and intensified by the discussions that followed.

Next came President Johnson's excursion to the Northern and Western cities. Seward wrote to his daughter:

August 24.

I cannot yet say who or what the excursion party is to be. Such calculations ripen slowly.

Fred and Anna are in New York. They go in a day or two to Albany and then to Auburn, avoiding the Presidential party. I think they are wise; and I begin to shrink from its excitements and fatigues. But it is a duty to the President and to the country, though so many think it otherwise, and I shall go on with right good heart.

We hear from New York that Dean Richmond is dying there. It is a fearful blow. He was the head of the Democratic party in the State of New York, and, practically so, of the Union. No party is always to be relied on for disinterested candor and patriotism. The best has its errors corrected, and its dangerous tendencies counteracted by the antagonism of an opposing party. During our war, Richmond had been loyal and patriotic, coöperating efficiently with the Union men, although feebly sustained and sometimes vehemently resisted by the mass of his own party. I have been looking to him for effective service in the new order of things that has become necessary in order to restore the autonomy of the Republic. So it is; I seem to myself to be surviving and losing patriotic co-workers. My time cannot, however, be protracted long.

August 25.

A Cabinet meeting, long but pleasant, yesterday. A ride with Augustus to Mr. Stanton's at the Soldiers' Home.

Mrs. Stanton came out to see us. She says she is much better. They cannot go with us, which they regret. I told them how much you would be disappointed. I think that the President and Mrs. Patterson, with Mr. Romero, will be guests at our house. I should think that the Secretary of the Navy and wife, and perhaps Admiral Farragut and wife might be lodged at Mrs. Perry's. We shall be, in all, from thirty to forty. I hope that the visit will not be too disturbing for you. I have invited Mary Grier and Harriet Weed to go with us.

General Grant will probably meet us at Chicago.

Finally a telegram to Mayor Hoffman of New York announced:

The President, attended by the Cabinet, and Military and Naval officers, will arrive in New York, from Philadelphia, on Monday, August 29th, at 12: 10 P. M., and will leave New York for West Point, by Hudson river, on Thursday, the 30th, at 7: 45 A. M. The military reception proposed is accepted.

On this, as on most Presidential excursions, the Chief Magistrate and his party were received by enthusiastic crowds, committees of reception, salutes, banquets, and serenades, through the States of New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania. Its excitements and fatigues broke down the health of some of the participants. General Grant was taken ill, and stopped at Chicago, Seward was prostrated, by a dangerous illness, at Louisville, Kentucky.

Returning to Washington, under the charge of Dr. Norris, he was met at Harrisburg by his sons and daughter, who had been summoned by telegraph, in view of his critical condition. Arrived at Washington, his constitution rapidly rallied, in the rest and quiet of home. In a week or two he was again at work.

But the Presidential tour, like the Philadelphia Convention, was doomed to fail in its political purpose. Instead of soothing passion, and promoting harmonious Union sentiment, it seemed to stimulate partisan hostility. President Johnson, chafing under the charge of "betraying the party that elected him," retorted with aggressive oratory that provoked fresh recriminations. There were manifestations of dislike or disapproval by the press, and various public bodies, even while the tour was in progress. Later, the acrimonious discussions over it showed their influence in the fall elections.

A prominent feature of the "reconstruction" debate was a storm of invective poured out upon the President. Seward, as his Secretary of State, came in for a share of it. Some of his friends, annoyed by misrepresentations of his course, urged him to reply or repel them.

To a letter from one of these friends, he made this characteristic answer.

October 8.

I thank you for your letter. In that friendly communication, you give me a report of certain speeches made in your neighborhood, with a view to affect the private character of the President of the United States, and also my own.

I am not appointed, or authorized to vindicate the President against personal calumnies. The entire experience of the United States, thus far, shows that calumny of the Chief Magistrate is a chronic form of party activity, and that it has always failed of lasting effect.

So far as I myself am concerned, it is only necessary to say that I have no remembrance of a time, during my public life, in which less charitable views of my public and private character were taken, by those who differed from me, than those which are now presented, by opponents of the policy which it is my duty to maintain. My first complaint of unkindness, at the hands of my fellow citizens, remains yet to be made, and I think it may, with safety, be still longer deferred.

While he wrote, the shadow of a far greater grief was impending. The chain of calamities dating back to "assassination night" was not yet complete. His daughter's health had been undermined by those long weeks of watching and mourning. A year had passed without restoring it, and now she gradually succumbed to the strain. All that medical skill could devise in the way of change of air or scene — all that affection could suggest of assiduous care, proved unavailing. She died at Washington on the 29th of October.

In the dim light of an autumn afternoon, at St. John's Church, the burial service was read over her coffin by Dr. Lewis; and among those who gathered to listen, were the President and Cabinet, diplomats, and public officers, old friends and youthful school-mates.

Another sad pilgrimage to Auburn was made to deposit her remains by her mother's side. Seward again stood under the leafless trees on Fort Hill, and as the sun was setting, saw the grave close over the cherished hope of his old age.

In the Chicago *Journal,* Wilson wrote:

The only daughter of Secretary Seward died at Washington yesterday. The full measure of sadness in these few words, no stranger can understand. They mean that the last, sweet, tender light of a home-life is extinguished forever. Flowers have blossomed but once on the grave of her who had walked hand in hand, with the young lawyer of Westfield, with the Governor of New York, the Senator of the United States, with the Secretary of State; through all, the same trustful, faithful, old-fashioned wife and mother, always true to the "higher law" of love.

The blow of the assassin did not strike home, as did that stroke of death.

But Fanny, the daughter of his house and heart, remained, and saved that home from utter desolation.

And now she too is taken.

Only those who knew the [illegible]-like devotion of the daughter and the strong affection of the father can understand how this crushing blow has shattered the Secretary's heart at home and put out its pure light, to be rekindled no more. It is, in the full meaning of the word, a heavy calamity — a crown of thorns — and its [illegible] presses painfully upon his brow. Secretary Seward has the deep sympathy of thousands.

CHAPTER LI.

1866–1867.

The Old State Department. Moving to Fourteenth Street. A Relic. The End of the Slave Trade. Passing Bills over the President's Vetoes. Limiting his Powers. Threatened Impeachment. Seward and Thaddeus Stevens. Project for a Naval Station in the West Indies. Negotiations for St. Thomas. A Diplomatic Expedition to St. Domingo. Admiral Porter and the Assistant Secretary of State. The Dominican Government Hesitates. Treaty of Amity and Commerce. "The Tenure of Office Bill." "Government for Insurrectionary States."

The old two-story brick building which for so many years had been the Department of State was now to be torn down. It was antiquated in appearance, and venerable for the memories clustering around it, of peace and war, diplomacy and administration. Madison and Monroe, Adams, Clay, Van Buren, Livingston, Webster, Calhoun, Buchanan, Clayton, Everett, Marcy, and Cass had all sat in the same corner room on its second floor, while conducting their correspondence with the world's rulers. Even the exigencies of the civil war had not necessitated an enlargement. But the enormous growth of the national debt, and the increased volume of the currency, required further extension of the Treasury Department, to accommodate its printing presses, its treasure vaults, and its army of officials. The State Department building blocked the way, and would have to move. As the Government had no other suitable building, Congress made an appropriation for the rent of one, for temporary occupancy. A new Orphan Asylum on Fourteenth street was in process of erection, not quite completed. Although not fire-proof, it seemed to be the best place that was available. It was accordingly rented and fitted up.

Under the direction of the fiscal officer of the department, Mr. Baker, the process of moving was performed with quiet celerity. The

THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN 1866.

papers accumulated in the department during the century, were voluminous and intricate, embracing the rolls of parchment bearing all the laws passed by Congress, as well as the Executive records, and all the correspondence with foreign Governments and diplomatic and consular officers. But every thing was systematically arranged, and a judicious plan prevented any lapse from order to chaos. At the close of business one afternoon, each bureau officer and clerk was instructed to remove the papers under his own especial charge. Workmen and carts enough for the purpose were placed at his disposal. A single night sufficed to make the transfer, though the new and old quarters were a mile apart. The next morning every official was at his post, and every paper in place, and forthcoming at call.

The Asylum building proved convenient and roomy. During the remainder of the time that Seward was in office, and for some years afterward, it continued to be used.

The old building was so substantially put together that the demolition of its massive walls was not completed for several weeks. One day a bureau officer, Mr. Cox, came to present the Secretary of State with a relic from the ruins. It was a cane of plain, dark wood, and, as he said, its chief value consisted in its history.

"That stick, Mr. Secretary, has been in the hands of every President of the United States, of every Secretary of State, and every Cabinet officer. It has been handled by every foreign Minister accredited to this Government, or commissioned by it. It has been touched by nearly every Senator and by the majority of all the Representatives in Congress, to say nothing of thousands of civil, military, and naval officers and private citizens."

"That rather taxes one's credulity, Mr. Cox. What is it?"

"It is carved out of the handrail of the old stairway by which visitors have ascended to call on the Secretary of State."

This Fall came news that the treaty negotiated in 1862 for the suppression of the slave trade had proved so wise, and the naval and judicial proceedings taken under it were so effective, that the judges and arbitrators found their places were becoming sinecures. The naval forces on the African coast could now be reduced or withdrawn, as no longer necessary.

The assembling of Congress in December was the signal of renewed conflict with the President. Encouraged by the indications of popular approval at the polls and in the press, the majority now found itself strong enough to defy his power and pass measures over his veto. A resolution for his impeachment was passed, and a committee appointed to take the preparatory steps. But upon their report that

there were no sufficient grounds, the project remained for a time in abeyance. But various measures were introduced and pressed, for the avowed purpose of limiting the President's powers, upon the assumption that he would exercise them improperly or tyrannically. The President, in no wise intimidated by the formidable opposition, was as tenacious of his opinions as they were of theirs. He refused to sign bill after bill, returning it with his objections. The veto, for the most part, was temperately expressed, but doomed to certain defeat, for Congress usually overrode it by a summary vote, without even caring to listen to his reasons.

Great curiosity was excited one morning in the reporters' gallery, and on the floor of the House of Representatives, by the sudden appearance of Secretary Seward, who walked down the main aisle to the seat of Thaddeus Stevens, greeted him and sat down for a chat. As Stevens was the especial leader of the opponents of the President, the evident cordiality and confidence between him and Seward was an enigma to both sides of the House. It grew more puzzling, when Stevens went to dine and spend the evening with Seward, and a day or two after proposed an extra appropriation, "for special service," to be expended under direction of the Secretary of State. So strong, however, and so implicitly trusted by his followers, was Stevens, that he had little difficulty in inducing them to vote for it, "though much they wondered why."

A few weeks later it was explained. Seward and Stevens — diametrically opposed as they now were on "reconstruction" — had in bygone times been intimates and co-workers. They sat together in the Convention that nominated William Wirt for the Presidency, and had labored together as Whigs and all through the anti-slavery struggle. When Seward came to tell Stevens that he was seeking to extend the national domain, and to find a foothold for a naval station in the West Indies, Stevens heartily agreed to the project and lent it his aid.

Seward already opened negotiations for the harbor and island of St. Thomas. But it was yet uncertain whether Denmark would be willing to part with that possession. Meanwhile intimations were received from St. Domingo that an equally desirable harbor might be obtained by purchasing the gulf and peninsula of Samana. Admiral Porter and the Assistant Secretary of State were accordingly dispatched thither in the naval steamer *Gettysburg*. They were to make the necessary inquiries, both as to the locality, and as to the disposition of the island government. If the cession should prove practicable and desirable, the Assistant Secretary was empowered to make a treaty for it. Admiral Porter's thorough knowledge of the islands of the Caribbean

would enable him to decide as to the expediency and value of the purchase.

Arriving at their destination, after a stormy passage, they found the Dominican Government well disposed for the cession, and not unreasonable in their estimates of value. But President Cabral and his Cabinet hesitated about hastily taking a step of such importance, and proposed to wait until they could more definitely ascertain the views of their Senate and people. Meanwhile, they appointed the Minister of Finance, Don Pablo Pujol, to conduct the negotiations, and signified a willingness to lease a small harbor to the United States. But this would give no rights of ownership; and, furthermore, the place named was not defensible against heavy artillery if planted on the surrounding heights. The Assistant Secretary and Admiral decided, therefore, to decline the proposition. Returning to Washington, they reported progress, but advised the Administration that the Dominican Government would, doubtless, at a later period, be ready to take up the treaty, and assent to it.

This expectation, a few months later, was realized, when Don Pablo Pujol arrived at Washington, empowered to conclude the treaty on the terms originally proposed. Before that period, however, and while the question about Samana still remained open, Seward, continuing his policy of building up closer friendships with all American republics, signified his readiness to make with the Dominicans, a general treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, and for the extradition of criminals. It was duly signed at St. Domingo, by the Dominican Secretary of State, and the United States Commercial Agent, Mr. Somers Smith, in February, and it was ratified and proclaimed a few months later.

Another treaty made this year, was that with Her Majesty, Rasoherina Manjaka, the Queen of Madagascar. It was signed at Antananarivo, by Rainimaharavo, the Chief Secretary of State of the island kingdom, and Major Finkelmeier, the American Commercial Agent. It established friendly relations, and opened the way for trade; providing for protection of seamen, merchants, and travelers, the settlement of disputes and differences by the Consular Courts, and the establishment of definite regulations about ports, wrecks, duties, etc., and solemnly declaring that "peace and good friendship" should exist between the nations "forever, without war."

Before the close of the short session, Congress had woven a net-work of statutes to hamper or control the President's action, chief among them being the "Tenure of Office Bill," by which such removals and appointments, as had been deemed legitimate and proper for half a

century, were now declared to be "high misdemeanors." The bill "to provide efficient government for the insurrectionary States," aimed to keep them under military control and congressional supervision, reducing the President's power there to a minimum. Both these acts, and others like them, were passed over the Executive veto. A "rider" to the Army Appropriation Bill, took from the President, so far as possible, the command of the Army, by providing that his orders to it should only be given through the General of the Army, who should not be removed without the previous approval of the Senate. This the President signed, under protest that he did so, only that the entire Appropriation Bill might not be lost. In order to keep close watch upon his designs and proceedings, it was also provided that the new Congress, instead of waiting till the first Monday in December, should meet forthwith, in March.

CHAPTER LII.

1867.

The Negotiations for Russian America. The Russo-American Telegraph Enterprise. A Treaty Signed at Daybreak. Leutze's Picture. A Surprise in the Senate. Sumner. Congress Keeping the President under Surveillance. Three Extra Sessions. Reconstruction Act Passed over the Veto. The Treaty Ratified.

WHILE the Capitol was resounding with angry debate, the State Department was going on with an important measure, quietly and unnoticed. This was the negotiation which Seward had begun, for the annexation of Russian-America. As long before as September, 1860, he had said in his speech at St. Paul:

> Standing here, and looking far off into the North-west, I see the Russian, as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports, and towns, and fortifications, on the verge of this continent, as the outposts of St. Petersburg; and I can say: "Go on, and build up your outposts all along the coast, up even to the Arctic ocean; they will yet become the outposts of my own country — monuments of the civilization of the United States in the North-west!"

During the war, he had found the Government laboring under great disadvantage for the lack of advanced naval outposts in the West Indies, and in the North Pacific. So at the close of hostilities, he commenced his endeavors to obtain such a foothold in each quarter.

Even as early as during the Oregon debate in 1846–7, the suggestion had been made, that by insisting on the boundary line of 54° 40′, and

obtaining a cession from the Emperor Nicholas, the United States might own the whole Pacific coast, up to the Arctic circle. But the slave power, then dominant in the Federal councils, wanted Southern, not Northern extension. The project was scouted as impracticable, and the line of 54° 40′ was given up.

Renewing the subject now through Mr. Stoeckl, the Russian Minister, Seward found the Government of the Czar not unwilling to discuss it. Russia would in no case allow her American possessions to pass into the hands of any European power. But the United States always had been, and probably always would be, a friend. Russian-America was a remote province of the empire, not easily defensible, and not likely to be soon developed. Under American control it would develop more rapidly, and be more easily defended. To Russia, instead of a source of danger, it might become a safeguard. To the United States it would give a foothold for commercial and naval operations, accessible from the Pacific States. Seward and Gortschakoff were not long in arriving at an agreement, over a subject which, instead of embarrassing with conflicting interests, presented some mutual advantages.

After the graver question of national ownership, came the minor one of pecuniary consideration. The measure of the value of land to an individual owner is the amount of yearly income it can be made to yield him. But national domain gives prestige, power and safety to the State; and is not easily to be measured by dollars and cents. Hundreds of millions cannot purchase these, nor compensate for their loss.

It was necessary, however, to fix upon some definite sum, to put in the treaty — not so small as to belittle the transaction in the public eye — nor so large as to deprive it of its real character as an act of friendship on the part of Russia toward the United States.

Neither side was especially tenacious about the amount. The previous treaties for the acquisition by the United States of territories from France, Spain, and Mexico, though far from representing actual values, seemed to afford an index for valuation. The Russians thought $10,000,000 would be a reasonable amount. Seward proposed $5,000,000. Dividing the difference made it $7,500,000. Then, at Seward's suggestion, the half million was thrown off. But the territory was still subject to some privileges and franchises of the Russian Fur Company. Seward insisted that these should be extinguished by the Russian Government, before the transfer, and proposed to add $200,000 to the consideration money, on that account. This was accepted. At this valuation of $7,200,000, the bargain could be deemed

satisfactory even from the standpoint of the individual fisherman, miner, or wood-cutter; for the timber, mines, furs, and fisheries would easily yield the annual interest on that sum.

Meanwhile the successful working of the Atlantic Cable had now rendered unnecessary any further work upon the inter-continental line *via* Behring's Straits. Replying to the intimation of this fact, from the Western Union Telegraph Company, Seward wrote:

I would not have the Atlantic Cable become dumb again, if thereby I could immediately secure the success of the inter-continental Pacific telegraph enterprise, which was committed to your hands. Nevertheless, I confess to a profound disappointment in the suspension of the latter enterprise. I admit that the reasons which you have assigned for that suspension seem to be irresistible. It is impossible for private individuals, or corporate companies, to build telegraphs without capital; and it is equally impossible to procure capital for telegraphs that do not promise immediate, or at least speedy, revenues.

On the other hand, I abate no jot of my former estimates of the importance of the inter-continental Pacific telegraph. I do not believe that the United States and Russia have given their faith to each other, and to the world, for the prosecution of that great enterprise, in vain. The United States Government is enlightened and wise. The Emperor of Russia is liberal as well as sagacious.

Prince Gortschakoff is a pleasant, as well as a frank correspondent. I will with pleasure make your explanations known to him, and I will ask a conference upon the question. "What shall be done next?"

On Friday evening, March 29, Seward was playing whist in his parlor with some of his family, when the Russian Minister was announced.

"I have a dispatch, Mr. Seward, from my Government by cable. The Emperor gives his consent to the cession. To-morrow, if you like, I will come to the department, and we can enter upon the treaty."

Seward, with a smile of satisfaction at the news, pushed away the whist table, saying:

"Why wait till to-morrow, Mr. Stoeckl? Let us make the treaty to-night."

"But your department is closed. You have no clerks, and my secretaries are scattered about the town."

"Never mind that," responded Seward, "if you can muster your legation together before midnight, you will find me awaiting you at the department, which will be open and ready for business."

In less than two hours afterward light was streaming out of the windows of the Department of State, and apparently business was going on there as at mid-day. By four o'clock on Saturday morning the treaty was engrossed, signed, sealed, and ready for transmission by the President to the Senate. There was need of this haste, in order

THE ALASKA TREATY.

to have it acted upon before the end of the session, now near at hand.

Leutze, the artist, subsequently painted an historical picture representing the scene at the department. It gives with fidelity the lighted room, its furniture, and appointments. Seward, sitting by his writing-table, pen in hand, is listening to the Russian Minister, whose extended hand is just over the great globe at the Secretary's elbow. The gas-light streaming down on the globe illuminates the outline of the Russian province. The Chief Clerk, Mr. Chew, is coming in with the engrossed copy of the treaty for signature. In the background stand Mr. Hunter and Mr. Bodisco comparing the French and English versions, while Mr. Sumner and the Assistant Secretary are sitting in conference.

To the Assistant Secretary had been assigned, as his share of the night's work, the duty of finding Mr. Sumner, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to inform him of the negotiations in progress, and request his advocacy of the treaty in the Senate.

On the following morning, while the Senate was about considering its favorite theme of administrative delinquencies, the Sergeant-at-Arms announced, "A message from the President of the United States." Glances were significantly exchanged between Senators, with the muttered remark, "Another veto!" Great was the surprise in the Chamber when the Secretary ejaculated rather than read, "A treaty for the cession of Russian-America."

Nor was this surprise lessened when the Chairman of Foreign Relations, a leading opponent of the President, rose to move favorable action. His remarks showed easy familiarity with the subject, and that he was prepared to give reasons for the speedy approval of the treaty by the Senate.

In the cloak-room, after adjournment, the matter was talked over. Said one Senator, "I thought we were going to have another hack at Andy Johnson to-day, but it looks now as if we were going to vote for the biggest and most unheard-of thing the Administration has done yet."

For the first time in the history of the Government, Congress had now deemed it advisable to have continuous or frequent sessions for the avowed purpose of keeping a surveillance over the President, and to counteract his supposed dangerous designs. Three extra sessions were to be held this year.

The first had begun on March 4, when, immediately upon the expiration of the old Congress, the new one met and organized. This was the Fortieth Congress, the last one with which Seward was to have any official connection. In it Wade was President of the Senate

and Colfax was Speaker of the House. In both branches the Republicans had an overwhelming majority. The State of New York was represented in the Senate by Governor Morgan and Roscoe Conkling. Among the members of the New York delegation, were Robertson, Van Wyck, Ketchum, Hulburd, Marvin, Laflin, Griswold, McCarthy, Pomeroy, Lincoln, Selye, Van Horn, and Van Aernam. Among the Democrats, Robinson, Stewart, Chanler, Brooks, Fernando Wood, and J. V. L. Pruyn. The session was chiefly devoted to an additional "Reconstruction Act" for "the lately insurrectionary States." This was passed; was vetoed by the President, and then passed again over the veto.

In regard to the Russian-American purchase, a private letter said:

The treaty does not get through the Senate yet, but will probably come up for discussion this week. Meanwhile, the discussion goes on actively outside.

The people who have been there describe the country as not unlike Scotland, Nova Scotia, and Norway.

The people who have not been there, describe it as full of ice and polar bears. To which opinion the Senate will incline remains to be seen.

The session will last a week or so longer.

The Senate considered the treaty in Executive session. Rumors of animated debate over it reached the public; but there was no authentic report of the proceedings. Finally on the 9th of April, announcement was made that the Senate had duly given "advice and consent" to its ratification.

CHAPTER LIII.

1866–1867.

The "Fenian" Troubles. Ireland and the United States. The Government's Policy. Permitting no Breach of the Neutrality Laws. Insisting on the Rights of American Citizens. Death of Sir Frederick Bruce.

OVER the sea, this year, were coming reports of disturbances in Ireland, arrests and trials of "Fenians." Over the sea were going back assurances of aid and sympathy from "Fenians" in the United States, and reports of their ill-planned and fruitless expeditions into Canada.

Seward had always been a warm sympathizer with the protest against misgovernment in Ireland. He had given public support to Daniel O'Connell in his efforts for peaceful revolution. But he had no sym-

pathy for "crimes committed in the name of liberty." Rapine, violence, and assassination he had always believed would react to the damage of those who employed them.

When the "Fenian" troubles began in 1866, the British Government suspended the *habeas corpus*, with as much promptness as they had displayed in censuring Lincoln and Seward for the same act in 1861. In view of the crisis, the Secretary of State confidentially instructed Mr. Adams in March, that it was "by no means the purpose or policy of the United States to suffer their own laws to be violated, or their dignity and honor compromised." He added:

It may be expected that some of our Irish-born naturalized citizens who are now sojourning or traveling in Ireland, will be arrested on complaints of complicity in seditious proceedings. It may also be expected that some who will thus be accused will be innocent, while others will be guilty. The situation will, for a time, become inconvenient and embarrassing.

Give a careful examination to each complaint, dealing at all times frankly with the British Government, and asking on their part strict justice in their proceedings, where American citizens are concerned.

The line of action herein indicated was pursued during the continuance of the "Fenian" disorder. Abroad, the rights of American citizens were insisted upon. At home, no violation of the neutrality laws was tolerated. Three months later came the attempted invasion of Canada. Seward described its incidents, and its results:

On Thursday, May 30, numbers of the so-called "Fenians" appeared at Buffalo. Rumor announced that others were proceeding toward Potsdam in New York, and toward St. Albans in Vermont, with the supposed determination to pass through to Canada. On the night of the 30th a body estimated to be one thousand strong, made their way across the Black Rock ferry at Fort Erie. For several days past, as information was obtained, arms have been seized at Buffalo, and Potsdam, more at St. Albans, and a large mass of prepared ammunition at New York. The revenue cutters have been called down from the lake. The garrisons at several points, and also at Rouse's Point have been increased. Major-General Barry has taken command on the frontier, under Major-General Meade, who has also proceeded to the border.

Later we hear that the men who crossed at Fort Erie, retreated yesterday, and in attempting to cross the Niagara at Black Rock, they were intercepted and captured (to the number of about seven hundred) by the United States steamer *Michigan*. They are now held in custody at Black Rock.

Two days afterward, the President's proclamation was issued, "warning all good citizens against taking part in military expeditions against Canada," and "exhorting all judges, magistrates, marshals, and officers to prevent and defeat those unlawful proceedings." General Meade was authorized to employ the land and naval forces

of the Union and the militia of the States. As the Government was manifestly in earnest, the enterprise was nipped in the bud.

The raid having come to an end, the next step was to try to save the misguided men who had been captured and imprisoned for their participation in it. Fortunately the English Minister at Washington was Sir Frederick Bruce, a frank, generous, open-hearted man, who entered warmly into Seward's views and policy. Seward wrote to him "with a confident expectation that no proceedings that shall not be in conformity with law will be taken, and in the hope that even the customary administration of the law will be tempered with special forbearance and clemency." And, at a later date, he suggested it would be very gratifying if the British Minister could give an assurance that the execution of sentences would be suspended where the circumstances might make it desirable. He reminded him that "the offenses involved in these trials are in their nature political," and said that "sound policy concurs with impulses of a benevolent nature in recommending amnesty."

Sir Frederick said that the Government of the United States had "acted with a vigor, a promptness, and a sincerity which call forth the warmest acknowledgments." Replying to the suggestions, he said that the whole question of the disposal of the prisoners had been referred to the Home Government, "who will certainly be animated by the desire so to deal with it as to secure peace and harmony between populations living in immediate proximity, and separated by a long frontier so easily traversed."

At the close of the trials he informed Seward that, in accordance with a recommendation from the authorities in Canada, instructions had been given by the Home Government not to carry out the capital sentences passed on Lynch and McMahon, and adding, "From my knowledge of the sentiments of the Governor-General, I entertain no doubt that the other prisoners, against whom sentence of death has been recorded, will enjoy the benefit of a similar recommendation."

But early in September came news of the sudden death of Sir Frederick, who had but recently taken leave for a brief summer excursion to Newport, apparently in excellent health and spirits. Seward greatly deplored his loss. He had felt a warm personal regard for the genial diplomatist, and a high appreciation of his tact and ability in dealing with the questions between the two countries.

No further disturbances or infractions of the neutrality laws occurred in the United States. But renewed disorders having broken out in Ireland in the following year, Seward found frequent occasion to interpose in behalf of adopted citizens arrested there on well or ill-founded charges.

He telegraphed in May, 1867, to Mr. Adams instructing him to protest against any irregular or doubtful conviction, and in all other cases "to recommend to the clemency of Her Majesty's Government." He authorized in several cases the employment of counsel to defend the prisoners. In regard to the inconveniences encountered by tourists, he wrote:

Our own experience taught us during the war that in whatever case the *habeas corpus* was suspended, prudence in regard to foreign relations required us at the same time to give notice that passports would be expected from foreigners.

In one of his dispatches to Mr. Adams, he remarked:

The "Fenian" movement neither begins nor ends in the United States; the movers in those proceedings are not native citizens of the United States; but they are natives of Great Britain, though some of them have assumed naturalization in the United States. Their quarrel with Great Britain is not an American, but a British one, as old as the union of the United Kingdom. Their aim is not American, but British revolution.

In seeking to make the territory of the United States a base for the organization of a republic in Ireland, and of military and naval operations there, they allege that they have followed, as an example, proceedings of British subjects in regard to our civil war, allowed by Her Majesty's Government. The policy and proceedings of the two Governments in regard to those parallel movements have not assimilated. The United States Government has not recognized the Irish republic as a "belligerent," and has disarmed its forces when found within our territories and waters.

In October, 1867, he wrote that the United States Government was aware of the embarrassments resulting from seditious movements in Ireland, and endeavored to avoid listening to unnecessary and unreasonable complaints. "But," he said, "a time has arrived when some explanations seem to the people of the United States necessary. Frequent arrests have occurred, and long detentions of citizens of the United States, who insist that they have committed no offense. Even though an insurrection may still continue a subject of apprehension in Ireland, that fact would seem insufficient to excuse, or to justify indiscriminate arrests and long detentions of citizens of the United States, without some explanation or form of trial."

At the close of the month, acknowledging Mr. Adams' dispatches, he said:

I learn with satisfaction that Her Majesty's Government has so far changed its position in regard to citizens of the United States, arbitrarily arrested, under a suspension of the *habeas corpus* in Ireland, as to concede them a prompt, and as I hope the result may prove, fair trial.

CHAPTER LIV.

1867.

The Summer Session. Discords Between Friends. Stanton Suspended. Grant Acting Secretary of War. The "McCrackin" Letter. Motley. General Sherman. Capture and Trial of John Surratt. Incidents of Domestic Life.

CONGRESS again assembled on the 3d of July for its second extra session. It remained in the heated capital only little more than a fortnight. "Reconstruction" measures were the leading subjects of debate. New bills were passed, vetoed by the President, and then passed over the veto. Then came adjournment, until after the fall elections.

Seward found this year full of discords and hostilities between the friends with whom he, so many years, had labored for the Union and freedom — discords that he deplored, and deemed unnecessary, but was powerless to prevent. Of the Republicans, some adhered to the President; but the majority sided with Congress. Of the Democrats, some sustained the President; and some were exultant in the prospective discomfiture of both.

Changes had, in 1866, occurred in the Cabinet, rather in anticipation, than in consequence, of the conflict. Postmaster-General Dennison had been succeeded by Governor Randall. Attorney-General Speed had been succeeded by Mr. Stanbery. Secretary Harlan had been succeeded by Mr. Browning. Now, in 1867, Secretary Stanton, whom the President had come to regard as an opponent, had been requested by him to resign, and had refused; basing his refusal on public grounds. The President thereupon suspended him, in accordance with the provisions of the "Tenure of Office Act," which forbade his removal, until the assent of the Senate should be given. General Grant was appointed Secretary of War, *ad interim*.

Seward's long and close intimacy with both the President and the Secretary of War rendered this imbroglio peculiarly distasteful to him. As, however, in the case of Sumner, Stevens, and others, his personal relations were not disturbed by the political collision. As to his own department, neither faction raised any question, and for the most part, both were in accord in approving his conduct of diplomatic affairs.

Among the events of this summer, were visits made with the President to different localities, where he thought such journeying might help to promote national feeling. One was to Richmond and Raleigh, and occupied about a week. He was met with hospitalities and com-

mendation at the South: but returned to encounter sharper censures from the North.

An incident of this period, to which inflamed and excited public feeling lent undue importance, was the "McCrackin letter," in regard to American Ministers in Europe. Two gentlemen, who were in the diplomatic service, as Ministers to France and Greece, respectively, have given narrations of the matter that substantially agree. Mr. Bigelow's account says:

President Johnson had been very much irritated by what he regarded as the treacherous desertion of him, by leading Republicans in Congress. While smarting under these attacks, he received a letter from abroad, which led him to apprehend that the diplomatic representatives of the Government were equally unfaithful to him, and were coöperating with his enemies at home, to bring him, and his Administration, into contempt. The communication would not, probably, have received any attention, even from the President, but for the morbidly sensitive condition of his mind at the moment. Instead of throwing it into the fire, the President handed it to the Secretary of State, and suggested the propriety of writing to the parties inculpated, and asking if the allegations were true. The letters were posted, and in due time their answers came. "Mr. Motley was unwise enough," said Mr. Seward, "to make a long story of it, and, at the end, I was pained to see his resignation." I think I may add, though Mr. Seward did not say so, Motley's was the only answer charged with resentment. The Secretary paid no attention either to his reproaches or to his resignation, but immediately addressed to him a dispatch, briefly informing him that "his answer was satisfactory," presuming that Mr. Motley had given his resignation under a misapprehension of the importance attached to the McCrackin letter, and that that would be the end of the matter.

On the following day Mr. Seward waited on the President, as was his wont, with his portfolio, in which with other dispatches he placed this letter and reply of Mr. Motley. When the President reached the closing paragraph of Motley's letter, in which he begged respectfully to resign his post as United States Minister to Austria, the President, without waiting to learn what Mr. Seward had done, or proposed to do, exclaimed with not unnatural asperity: "Well, let him go!"

There was nothing unusual in the course pursued; the notice of the complaint was in pursuance of a uniform practice; it was couched in language as purely formal, and destitute of personal significance, as it was possible to employ. It was the same in form as the one addressed to all the other Ministers and Consuls. The absence from Mr. Motley's letter, of any thing approving of, or extenuating the course of the President, lends color to the suspicion that he had not been so reserved in the expression of his opinions, as he, perhaps, supposed he had been. Probably the two hours he took for reflection, before writing his letter, were sufficient to satisfy him that there were but two courses for him to take — a frank statement of his attitude toward the Government,

or a withdrawal from the office, into a position where neither Mr. Seward nor any one else would have a right to call him to account.

Mr. Charles K. Tuckerman relates a conversation with Seward in regard to the matter, and adds:

"This," concluded Mr. Seward, "is the private history of the case, and probably Mr. Motley, as well as others, entertain the opinion that I was only too glad to avail myself of this trivial circumstance to deprive him of his mission. I cannot undertake to justify myself, to him, or to others, now, but the time may come when you may be in a position to do so, should you hear me misrepresented in this connection."

Mr. Seward's conversation was not intended to reflect upon the President's decision, which may have been wise or otherwise; but to have the fact known that he, the Secretary of State, so far from having caused the displacement of Mr. Sumner's friend, Mr. Motley, had used his best efforts to prevent it. Subsequently I had the opportunity of stating the case to Mr. Motley, in London, who admitted that from ignorance of the facts, he had done great injustice to Mr. Seward.

General Sherman's proposed trip to Europe was the subject of a circular letter from Seward, to diplomatic and consular officers of the United States. Remarking that "his brilliant services were gratefully acknowledged by all enlightened citizens as having essentially contributed to the triumph of the Government in the civil war," he commended the Lieutenant-General, his family, and friends, to their hospitable attention, and instructed them to "do whatever could properly be done on their part to promote the General's observations, and his acquaintance with Governments and public men."

During this summer came the trial of John H. Surratt, as an accomplice in the conspiracy which resulted in the murder of Mr. Lincoln. Immediately after the assassination he had fled from the country. He remained undiscovered for several months, and then was found in Italy, having enlisted in the Pontifical troop. Although no treaty of extradition with the United States existed, the Papal Government signified its willingness to surrender him for trial. Escaping from Rome, he fled to Malta, and from there to Egypt, where he was finally apprehended and delivered to the officers of the United States. The trial took place at the City Hall in Washington, Judge Fisher presiding, and Edwards Pierrepont and A. G. Riddle being associated with District Attorney Carrington in conducting the case for the Government. The official documents and correspondence relating to his flight and arrest were transmitted to the court by the State Department: and the eye-witnesses of the scenes of the "assassination night" were again called to the stand to describe them. The trial lasted some weeks, but resulted in a disagreement of the jury and the discharge of the accused.

Another incident of the summer was the publication of Louis Napoleon's *Cæsar*, which Seward read with careful attention, especially for the insight it gave into the character of its author.

Of late years he seldom, or never read a new novel. Perhaps Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*, and Laboulaye's *Paris en Amerique* were the only exceptions. Sometimes he would take up one of the old Roman authors to read in the original. Horace, Terence, Plautus, and Martial were among these, but Cicero *de Amicitia*, *de Oratore*, and *de Senectute* he especially liked. Of the English poets, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and Goldsmith never lost the charm they had in his earlier years. Historians were his favorite reading, and for the reason, that "History is Philosophy teaching by example."

Ever since the memorable "assassination night" in 1865, a sentry had paced up and down before the Executive Mansion, and another before the door of the Secretary of State. The latter seemed now to have become a useless appendage. But one night his services proved effective, in an unexpected emergency. Seeing smoke and flames in the hall, he discharged his musket in the air to give the alarm. The noise aroused the household, who found the bedrooms filled with suffocating smoke from the fire, which was under the stairway that afforded the only means of escape. Fortunately, the noise also roused the fire department, who speedily arrived, and with their steam fire engines quelled the flames before they had committed great damage.

CHAPTER LV.

1867.

A Summer Without Leisure. Commissioners from Japan. Their Purchase of the *Stonewall*. The Chinese and the Telegraph. A Turkish Envoy. The *Alabama* Claims. An Offer of Arbitration. The Paris Exposition. An International Monetary Conference. American Republics. The Nicaragua Treaty. Mexico. Instructions to Campbell. General Grant. The Mission of General Sherman and Mr. Campbell. The Fall of the Empire, and Restoration of the Republic. Maximilian a Prisoner. Efforts to Save his Life. Foreign Officers in his Service. President Juarez.

SUMMER this year brought no leisure. Hot denunciation and defense of Andrew Johnson raged through leafy June and dusty dog-days. Press and public were so absorbed in discussing the President as to give but cursory attention to the foreign affairs, which engrossed the Secretary of State.

Japan, emerging from her long seclusion, was now entering upon a better understanding with other nations. Commercial facilities were extended and diplomatic intercourse enlarged. The United States, by just and friendly dealings, had impressed the Japanese with the belief that the American Government was worthy of confidence. Toward the close of 1866 General Van Valkenburg, the American Minister, was informed of a project to send commissioners to the United States to study military and naval methods, and acquire general information. In February, 1867, he wrote that two had been appointed — Ono Tomogoro and Matsumoto Judayu — who would come by way of San Francisco. They were to visit navy yards, arsenals, foundries, machine-shops, etc., and, if possible, purchase some ships of war. He reported also that the Japanese Government had "carried out their engagements relative to the opening of ports in so liberal a manner, as not only to satisfy my colleagues and myself, but also to inspire me with perfect confidence for the future." Sites for foreign settlements were selected at Hiogo, Osaca, and Yedo; arrangements were made for the appointment of consular officers; and, in accordance with Seward's instructions, negotiations were begun to put an end to the persecution of Christians, and to establish Christian houses of worship.

The commissioners duly arrived, with their secretaries, interpreters, and suite. Among the latter were two officers of the embryo navy of Japan. They were installed in lodgings at Wormley's, which Seward had directed to be prepared for them. He received them at the State Department, and in the evening they called at his house. The next day they were presented to the President. Seward gave them a dinner, at which the Cabinet; Sumner, as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Baron Gerolt, as doyen of the Diplomatic Corps; and Admiral Porter, as head of the Navy, were invited to meet them. After dinner there was an evening reception, to which many ladies came. The Japanese were intelligent and observant, and gathered much useful information for their Government. Officers of the State Department were detailed to accompany and assist them. They wore their full national costume on their arrival, but before their departure nearly all, except the senior Minister, had donned American frock coats and hats. Of course, they were objects of much curiosity, and the recipients of many hospitable attentions. They remained at Wormley's during some weeks, and were frequent visitors at the department and at the house of the Secretary.

They asked the aid of the Government to enable them to obtain arms with the latest scientific improvements, and to build a ship of

war with the latest modern appliances. One of the chief purposes of their mission was accomplished when they purchased the *Stonewall.* This vessel, built for the rebels, now belonged to the United States. Seward wrote to Van Valkenburg advising him of the purchase, and saying that the *Stonewall* was fitting for sea at the Washington navy yard. Captain George Brown of the Navy had been granted leave of absence to aid in the transfer of the vessel to Yokohama. Part of the purchase-money was paid down in gold by the Japanese. The rest was to be remitted from Yedo. "It is hoped," he added, "that the commissioners who are now crossing the Pacific, on their way to Japan, will carry back with them an impression of us, as agreeable as that made by themselves."

China, more conservative and cautious, was beginning to move in the same direction. Burlingame wrote that the Government at Pekin were making inquiries of him in regard to the feasibility of telegraph lines. Seward inclosed the dispatch to Professor Henry, at the Smithsonian Institute, saying:

> No one can appreciate more fully than yourself the importance of the extension of telegraphic communication in China, in such directions as will complete the circuit of the continents.

Replying to a dispatch from Charles Hale, announcing the organization of a Parliament in Egypt, Seward wrote:

> Europe has been for some time showing that popular government follows in the track of the steam-engine and the telegraph, but we were hardly prepared to expect similar demonstrations so soon in Africa. These transactions, so entirely novel in that region, are very suggestive. I observe that the Assembly consists of only one body of deputies. I infer, therefore, that the model chosen by the Pacha, was that of the French nation, in preference to those of Great Britain and the United States.

An Envoy from the Sublime Porte was among the new accessions to the diplomatic circle. This was Blacque Bey, a fine-looking, intelligent gentleman, who was born and educated in France, but spoke English fluently.

The "Alabama Claims," so long repelled and rejected, and, nevertheless, so long pressed with courteous persistence, at last received attention. The Foreign Office was now considering projects for their equitable adjustment. Seward wrote in August to Mr. Adams, saying that Lord Stanley's offer to go to "arbitration" in regard to the depredations of the *Alabama, Florida, Georgia,* and other vessels, was satisfactory, and that its terms were at once comprehensive and precise. He added, that "the United States Government would deem itself at liberty to insist before the arbiter, that the actual proceedings and re-

lations of the British Government, its officers, agents, and subjects, in regard to the rebellion and the rebels," should be among the matters to be passed upon.

During this summer came the Paris Exposition. The unsettled state of affairs in the United States and the feeling growing out of the Franco-Mexican question, tended to check the interest that would otherwise have been felt in it by Congress and the people. Nevertheless, a number of enterprising inventors and manufacturers made exhibits reflecting credit upon the national industries. Seward gave them such facilities and assistance as were in the power of the Department of State. Commissioners were sent to Paris on behalf of the Government. Mr. J. C. Derby of New York was assigned the duty of forwarding the articles intended for the Exposition, which he performed with zeal and diligence.

While the Exposition was in progress, an international monetary conference was also held. Seward wrote M. Berthemy, the French Minister, that he "fully appreciated the importance of a standard unit of equal value in all commercial countries, for the uses of account and currency." He selected Samuel B. Ruggles to be the Commissioner on the part of the United States. General Dix, the United States Minister at Paris, was requested to confer, and coöperate with him. No mission could be more congenial to Mr. Ruggles, who could evoke, from dry columns of statistics, profound lessons of political economy and philosophy, and even invest them with poetic interest.

Nineteen nations responded to the call, and the conference was held in June. M. de Parieu and Prince Napoleon (Jerome) presided. The chief outcome of its deliberation was a plan to adopt a new coin which would pass current in all countries, obviating all disputes about exchange. This coin was to be of gold, and to equal $5, or 25 francs, or £1 sterling, or 10 florins. It would but slightly vary in amount of gold from the coins in ordinary use.

Mr. Ruggles reported that it was not proposed to abandon the use of the words "dollar," "sovereign," "thaler," "florin," or "ruble," but that, by the proposed unification, all those terms would be rendered mutually convertible. Every nation would continue to use the names, with the local emblems it might prefer. A specimen in gold, showing the size of the proposed coin, was struck, inscribed "*Or Essai Monetaire*," "5 Dollars, 25 Francs, 1867."

The project was approved: but it failed to gain adoption, chiefly on account of the unwillingness of Great Britain to make any change in the sovereign, or pound sterling. For the United States, the changes would have been easy enough, for American gold and silver coins were

not in general circulation, only paper money being in use since the war.

Seward's course in regard to the American republics was censured by European critics, as being "meddlesome" and "unjustifiable." But the people of the republics themselves gave it hearty approval. Some of them even cherished hopes of more "intervention" than he had contemplated, or promised. Writing to General Kilpatrick, who was now Minister at Santiago, he said:

> We avoid, in all cases, giving encouragement to expectations which, in the varying course of events, we might find ourselves unable to fulfill, and we desire to be known as doing more than we promise, rather than falling short of our engagements. On the other hand, we maintain and insist, that the republican system in any of those States shall not be wantonly assailed, and shall not be subverted by European powers.

In June, the negotiations with Nicaragua resulted in a "treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation." This treaty also contained stipulations in regard to the "Transit Route." Nicaragua granted "to the United States, and to their citizens and property, the right of transit between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, through the territory of that Republic, or any route of communication, natural or artificial, whether by land or by water, which may be constructed, "to be used and enjoyed in the same manner, and upon equal terms, by both republics, and their respective citizens." In return, the United States agreed to "extend their protection to all such routes of communication, and to guarantee the neutrality of the same."

The treaty was signed at Managua, by the American Minister, A. B. Dickinson, and Don Tomas Ayon, the Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Relations. Seward entertained the hope that it might result in solving the problem of inter-oceanic transit, by a ship canal, or at least by a railroad and steamboat route, nearer than that of Panama.

As early as October, 1866, Seward having reached a definite understanding with France on the Mexican question, was able to instruct Mr. Campbell, the newly-appointed Minister, in regard to it:

> You are aware that a friendly and explicit arrangement exists between this Government and the Emperor of France to the effect that he will withdraw his expeditionary military forces from Mexico in three parts, the first of which shall leave Mexico in November next, the second in March next, and the third in November, 1867, and that, upon the evacuation being thus completed, the French Government will immediately come upon the ground of non-intervention in regard to Mexico.
>
> Doubts have been entertained and expressed in some quarters, whether the French Government will faithfully execute this agreement. No such doubts

have been entertained by the President, who has had repeated, and even recent assurances that the complete evacuation of Mexico by the French will be consummated at the period mentioned.

Adverting to the fact that the French Government was also considering the expediency of inducing Maximilian to leave at an earlier date, and then of embarking all the troops at once, he said:

Such an event cannot fail to produce a crisis of great political interest. It is important that you be either within the territories of that Republic, or in some other place near at hand; so as to assume the exercise of your functions as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Republic of Mexico. What may be the proceedings of the Prince Maximilian, in the event of a complete or partial evacuation of Mexico, of course cannot now be certainly foreseen.

Remarking that there were several political parties in Mexico, entertaining conflicting views as to the best way of restoring peace and order, he said it was impossible to foresee popular action there. Certain principles, however, could be safely laid down for the guidance of the Minister.

The first of these is, that as a representative of the United States, you are accredited to the republican government of Mexico, of which Mr. Juarez is President. Your communications as such representative will be made to him, wherever he may be, and in no event will you officially recognize the Prince Maximilian who claims to be Emperor, or any other person, chief, or combination, as exercising the executive authority in Mexico.

Continuing the instructions, he said that if the French were in good faith evacuating the country, the United States would not obstruct nor embarrass their departure, and finally that what the Government of the United States desired in regard to the future of Mexico, was "not the conquest of Mexico, or any part of it, or the aggrandizement of the United States by purchase of land or dominion; but on the other hand, they desire to see the people of Mexico relieved from all foreign military intervention, to the end that they may resume the conduct of their own affairs."

You will enter into no stipulation with the French commander or with the Prince Maximilian, or with any other party, which shall have a tendency to counteract, or oppose the administration of President Juarez, or to hinder or delay the restoration of the authority of the Republic.

On the other hand, it may possibly happen, that the President of the Republic of Mexico may desire the good offices of the United States, or even some effective proceedings on our part, to favor and advance the pacification of a country so long distracted by foreign invasion, and thus gain time for the reëstablishment of national authority. It is possible, moreover, that some dis-

position might be made of the land and naval forces of the United States, without violating the laws of neutrality; which would be useful in favoring the restoration of law, order, and republican government in that country.

In view of this contingency, he added:

The General of the United States Army possesses already discretionary authority as to the location of the forces of the United States, in the vicinity of Mexico. His military experience will enable him to advise you concerning such questions as may arise during the transition stage of Mexico, from a military siege by a foreign enemy, to a condition of practical self-government. At the same time it will be in his power, being near the scene of action, to issue any orders which may be expedient or necessary for maintaining the obligations resting upon the United States in regard to proceedings upon the borders of Mexico.

For these reasons he has been requested and instructed by the President to proceed with you to your destination, and act with you as an adviser recognized by this department, in regard to matters which have herein been discussed.

General Grant, however, declined to accept the proposed mission, and General Sherman was designated in his stead. The naval steamer *Susquehanna* was ordered to take the Minister and the General, with their respective suites, to Mexico. They embarked on the 10th of November.

Early in December, while the *Susquehanna* was at anchor off Vera Cruz, Mr. Campbell wrote that Maximilian was still at Orizaba; that Marshal Bazaine was understood to be exercising the functions of Government in the city of Mexico, and that definite information was lacking as to the movements of President Juarez, the general impression being that he was in the neighborhood of San Luis Potosi.

The republican Government, which they were to recognize, was not accessible; and the imperial one, which they were not to recognize, still held the road to the capital.

Conflicting rumors and doubtful news followed in rapid succession for a few weeks. But in February, 1867, Mr. Otterbourg, the United States Consul at the Mexican capital, announced the evacuation of the city by the French forces, the rupture between Marshal Bazaine and Maximilian, and the uncertainty which existed as to whether the Prince would depart with the French Army, or would endeavor to continue his "Empire" without their aid. Unwilling to abandon the partisans who had linked their fortunes with his own, the unfortunate Prince, a few weeks later, was vainly struggling to hold Queretaro against an overwhelming force. Early in April, 1867, Seward telegraphed to Mr. Campbell:

The capture of Prince Maximilian at Queretaro by the republican armies of Mexico seems probable. The reported severity practiced upon the prisoners taken at Zacatecas excites apprehensions that similar severity may be practiced in the case of the Prince and his alien troops. Such severities would be injurious to the national cause of Mexico, and to the republican system throughout the world. You will communicate to President Juarez, promptly and by effectual means, the desires of this Government, that, in case of his capture, the Prince and his supporters may receive the humane treatment accorded by civilized nations to prisoners of war.

Mr. Campbell executed this instruction; and while the interposition of the United States was courteously received and its motives appreciated, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs replied that "the constant practice of the Government of the Republic has always been to respect the life, and treat with the greatest consideration the prisoners taken of the French forces; while, by the greater part of them, and even by the order of their chiefs, prisoners which they took from the republican forces were frequently assassinated." He added, that "the Government would consider, according to the circumstances of the cases, what the principles of justice demand."

Before the end of May came the intelligence that Queretaro had fallen, and that Maximilian, Mejia, and Miramon were prisoners. Seward renewed his efforts to save the life of the captured Prince. He addressed the Mexican Government, both through Mr. Campbell and through Mr. Romero, the Mexican Minister at Washington. At the same time he was receiving urgent appeals from Europe in Maximilian's behalf. The Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of France, and the Queen of England, severally, and in a confidential manner, appealed to the United States to use any legitimate good offices within their power to avert the execution of the Prince Maximilian.

Seward informed the Mexican Minister that he apprehended "no possible contingency in which any European power will attempt either invasion or intervention hereafter in Mexico." At the same time he thought that a "universal sentiment, favorable, conciliatory, and friendly toward Mexico, and the other American republics, would follow such an exercise of clemency and magnanimity as the United States recommended."

Responding on behalf of his Government, the Mexican Minister soon after stated that no hasty steps would be taken; but that Maximilian would be tried before a suitable tribunal, which would decide what should be done. He communicated the news that the Mexican Government had "ordered a suspension of Maximilian's trial, with a view to give time to Baron Magnus, and Maximilian's counsel, Don Mariano

Riva Palacio, Don Rafael Martinez de la Torre, and Don Eulalio Orteaga, who had already left Mexico, to reach Queretaro."

Shortly after, Seward wrote:

My dear Mr. Romero: I am authorized to inform President Juarez that the Emperor of Austria will at once re-establish Prince Maximilian in all his rights of succession as Archduke of Austria, upon Maximilian's release and renouncing forever all projects in Mexico.

Will you oblige me by conveying this message by telegraph to President Juarez for his information, with my request that if compatible, he will communicate the same to Prince Maximilian for his information?

Mr. Campbell, having been attacked with illness, had now tendered his resignation, in view of the fact that the Government might desire to send a Minister immediately to the capital of the Republic. Seward telegraphed him, "It is important that the Minister to Mexico should proceed at once. Your resignation will, therefore, be accepted, with thanks for your services and regret for your retirement."

Mr. Otterbourg was appointed his successor; and meanwhile Mr. E. L. Plumb, the Secretary of Legation, was instructed to act as Chargé d'Affaires. The latter reported:

President Juarez, I am inclined to think, would like to grant the expressed wish of the United States; but the Army demand the execution of the leaders; and in case of refusal, boldly threaten to revolt. To prevent this, will in all probability cost the lives of Maximilian, Mejia, and Miramon.

The trials took place at Queretaro. They were conducted with due formality, though accompanied with intense feeling. The three chieftains were condemned and sentenced to be "*pasado por armas.*" The sentence was carried into execution on one of the hills overlooking the city. So ended the ill-starred "Empire of Mexico."

Seward's efforts for clemency toward the other imperialists were attended with more success. In the case of Eloin, Maximilian's Secretary, he said:

Mexico, as well as the United States, can now well afford to practice magnanimity to the followers of that fallen leader. I think it inexpedient to make an official intercession in behalf of Mr. Eloin; but I address you this informal note, recommending through your good offices the indulgence of clemency in Mr. Eloin's case, by the Mexican Government.

In reply, Mr. Plumb wrote:

There has been a very deep feeling here against Mr. Eloin. Yet I am happy to say that the Mexican Government has accepted the friendly intervention in this matter of the United States in behalf of the Government of the King of Belgium, in the most cordial manner. And the necessary orders freeing Mr.

Kloin from the proceedings against him, and permitting him to leave the country, were at once issued.

Another case in which much interest was felt was that of Prince Salm-Salm, who had come with Blenker's brigade into the Union Army, and had served during the war. Seward wrote:

> The Prince, as you know, was an ardent and efficient volunteer in our late war for the defense of the Union, whereby he entitled himself to the sympathy and friendship of this Government. For this reason, as well as that of comity toward the Prussian Government, I beg leave to commend the case of Prince Salm Salm to humane and liberal consideration.

In answer, he was informed that "the court-martial which tried Prince Salm-Salm condemned him to capital punishment, but that the President of the Republic, as another proof of his magnanimity and humane sentiments, commuted the sentence to a few years' imprisonment, as he did that of several other persons who were condemned to death."

Finally, in November, a dispatch from Mr. Plumb brought the gratifying intelligence of the "General Amnesty Order," by which all foreigners who had been held as prisoners since the termination of the war, for their service under the "so-called empire," were at liberty to leave the country, and the penalties of confiscation were remitted.

The desire of the Austrian Government to take away the remains of Maximilian, for interment with those of his kindred, was presented by Seward, and was acceded to. The body was delivered to Vice-Admiral Tegethoff, who had been sent out to receive it; and an Austrian corvette carried it home. It was consigned, with fitting ceremonies, at Vienna, to its last resting-place in the imperial vaults of the Church of the Capuchins.

The fall of the Empire allowed President Juarez to resume his functions, and terminated the enforced exile of his family. At Seward's request, Secretary McCulloch placed the revenue cutter *Wilkes* at the disposal of Mrs. Juarez and her children, to take them from New Orleans to Vera Cruz, so as to obviate the risks attendant upon their going to Havana and the delays incident to a land journey across the [illegible]

CHAPTER LVI.

1867.

Extending the National Boundaries. The Russian Treaty. Popular Ridicule and Censure. Sumner's Speech. Ratification. The Transfer. Ceremonies at Sitka. The Territory Named "Alaska." The "Inland Passage." The Danish Treaty. The Cession of St. Thomas and St. John. Vote of the Islanders. A Hurricane and an Earthquake. Opposition in Congress and the Press. The Treaty with the Dominican Republic. The Cession of Samana. Hostility to the Project.

IN the Senate Chamber the treaty with Russia had not met serious opposition. But the purchase of the new territory was not consummated without a storm of raillery in conversation and ridicule in the press. Russian-America was declared to be a "barren, worthless, God-forsaken region," whose only products were "icebergs and polar bears." The ground was "frozen six feet deep," and the "streams were glaciers." "Walrussia" was suggested as a fitting name for it, if it deserved to have any. Vegetation was "confined to mosses," and "no useful animals could live there." There might be some few "wretched fish," only fit for "wretched Esquimaux" to eat. But nothing could be raised or dug there. Seven millions of good money was going to be wasted in buying it. Many millions more would have to be spent in holding and defending it, for it was "remote, inhospitable and inaccessible." It was "Seward's folly." It was Johnson's "polar bear garden." It was an "egregious blunder," a "bad bargain," palmed off on a "silly Administration" by the "shrewd Russians," etc., etc., etc.

Most of these jeers and flings were from those who disliked the President's Southern policy, and condemned Seward for remaining in his Cabinet. It was curiously illogical to accuse him of "Southern proclivities," and yet object to his extending the Union northwards. Perhaps unwillingness to admit that any thing wise or right could be done by "Andy Johnson's Administration" was the real reason for the wrath visited upon the unoffending territory.

Sumner, though a leader of opposition to the Administration, took a more patriotic view. He warmly supported the treaty throughout, advocated the purchase, and expatiated upon its political and commercial advantages. He devoted days and nights to patient research into all that had been written or printed about Russian-America, and delivered a speech which was the most complete description of the territory and its resources, that had yet been published.

One evening, some Senators calling at Seward's house were expressing their surprise at the unfriendly criticisms. He amused him-

self, and them, by reading from old newspaper files, the unfavorable comments made upon Jefferson's purchase of the "desert waste" of Louisiana, and the treaty for the "noxious swamps" of "snake-infested Florida."

Ratifications having been exchanged, public proclamation of the treaty was made on the 20th of June. In August, commissioners were appointed by Russia and the United States, to complete the formal transfer. Although the $7,200,000 had not yet been appropriated by Congress, Russia, reposing entire confidence in the good faith of the United States, signified her readiness to make the delivery without waiting for the payment. Captain Pestchouroff, of the Russian Navy, and Major-General Rousseau, of the American Army, were selected as the commissioners. It was arranged that they should meet at San Francisco, and proceed together to New Archangel, or Sitka. Preparations were made to withdraw the Russian garrison, and replace it with American troops. Mr. Stoeckl wrote that the barracks there would hold about one hundred men, and added that there were also some advanced posts on the mainland, occupied by four or five men each. These were situated far to the north, and it would be difficult to turn them over before the next spring.

Embarking on the 27th of September, the expedition reached Victoria on the 4th of October. Pausing there to take in coal, they proceeded thence through the quiet and picturesque "inland passage," arriving at Sitka on the 11th.

General Rousseau's report to the Secretary of State described the ceremony:

> The day was bright and beautiful. We fixed the hour of three and a-half o'clock for the transfer. General Jefferson C. Davis, commanding the troops, Captain McDougal of the *Jamestown*, Captain Bradford of the *Resaca*, and the officers of their respective commands, as, also, the Governor of the Territory, Prince Maksontoff, were notified, and invited to be present. The command of General Davis, about two hundred and fifty strong, marched up to the top of the eminence on which stands the Governor's house, where the transfer was to be made.
>
> At the same time a company of Russian soldiers were marching to the ground, and took their place upon the left of the flag-staff, from which the Russian flag was then floating. Prince Maksontoff, and the Princess, together with many Russian and American citizens, and some Indians, were present.
>
> It was arranged by Captain Pestchouroff, and myself, that in firing the salutes on the exchange of flags, the United States should lead off, in accordance with your instructions, and that there should be alternate guns from the American and Russian batteries, thus giving the flag of each nation a double national salute; the naval salute being thus answered in the moment it was given. The

troops were brought to "present arms," the signal given to fire the salute, and the ceremony was begun by lowering the Russian flag. The United States flag (the one given us for that purpose, by your direction at Washington) then began its ascent, and again the salutes were fired as before, the Russian water battery leading off. The flag was so hoisted that, in the instant it reached its place, the report of the last gun of the *Ossipee* reverberated from the mountains around. The salutes completed, Captain Pestchouroff said: "General Rousseau, by authority from His Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, I transfer to the United States the Territory of Alaska." And, in as few words, I acknowledged the acceptance of the transfer, and the ceremony was at an end. Cheers were then spontaneously given by the citizens present.

This ceremony might be called a christening as well as a transfer. The Territory had previously been known as "Russian-America." During the progress of the treaty through the Senate, there were occasional discussions at the State Department and in the Cabinet, as to the name to be bestowed upon it by the United States. Several were suggested as appropriate, among them "Sitka," the name of its capital; "Yukon," that of its chief river; "Aliaska," or "Alaska," that of its great peninsula; "Oonalaska" and "Aleutia," derived from its chain of islands. Seward, with whom the final decision rested, preferred "Alaska" as being brief, euphonious, and suitable. The name was generally accepted with favor, and began to be used before the transfer was made.

It is a noteworthy coincidence that the same year which witnessed the extension of the United States to the Arctic Circle, was the year in which Great Britain organized the "Dominion of Canada," by uniting its colonies under one Government, with Ottawa for its capital.

The negotiations with Denmark, which Seward had begun, first through Colonel Raasloff, the Danish Minister at Washington, and then continued through Mr. Yeaman, the American Minister at Copenhagen, were approaching a conclusion in the early autumn. One of the points under discussion was whether the island of Santa Cruz should be included in the cession, or whether it should be limited to St. Thomas and St. John. Seward favored the acquisition of all three islands, but would make the treaty in either form desired, since either would secure the chief point, the harbor of St. Thomas. Adverting, however, to the fact that no treaty could succeed, unless supported by public sentiment, he called attention to the growing feeling of opposition in the United States.

I leave out of view parallel negotiations in other quarters. In the purchase of Russian-America, we have invested a considerable capital. The desire for the acquisition of territory has sensibly abated. In short, we have already come to value dollars more, and dominion less. I do not hesitate to say that

procrastination of negotiation, even for those two islands, may wear out the popular desire for even that measure. No absolute need for a naval station in the West Indies is now experienced. Nations are prone to postpone provision for distant contingencies.

On the 26th of October, came a cable dispatch announcing that the St. Thomas Treaty had been signed at Copenhagen. It provided for the cession of the Islands of St. Thomas and St. John, with the adjacent islands and rocks, to the United States. It was characteristic of the kindly paternal feeling of the Danish Government, that consideration of royal pride, or pecuniary advantage, seemed to have little weight in the matter — the main point being solicitude for the welfare of their subjects. The first stipulation they insisted upon, in the treaty, was that the project should be submitted to a popular vote, so as to give the people of the islands "an opportunity of freely expressing their wishes in regard to the cession." Seward's argument that the islanders would be benefited by becoming citizens of the near and great Republic, instead of subjects of a remote European power, was not controverted by the Danes. But care was taken in every article of the treaty, to guard their interests. They were to "be protected in their liberty, their religion, their property, and private rights." They were to be "free to remain where they now reside, or to remove at any time, retaining their property, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected on this account to any tax or charge." They were to have two years to make up their minds about staying or going. The Crown of Denmark relinquished its "public squares, vacant lands, and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks, and other edifices," but it stipulated that "the Lutheran congregations shall remain in possession of the churches which are now used by them."

The amount to be paid from the national treasury in return for this cession it was agreed should be $7,500,000.

Seward wrote:

General Raasloff is held in high respect and esteem in the Danish West Indies. It is, therefore, to be regretted that it is not found compatible with the interests of the Government at Copenhagen that he should be appointed the commissioner to take the vote at St. Thomas. It is not doubted, however, that the gentleman appointed for that purpose will be suitable, agreeable, and efficient. In accordance with your suggestion, the Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D., has already been appointed to coöperate with the Danish commissioner. He will proceed to St. Thomas in the steamer which leaves New York to-morrow.

Instructions have been transmitted to Rear-Admiral Palmer, who commands the North Atlantic Squadron, to proceed with his flag-ship to St. Thomas, and await there the progress of events.

The commissioners, with the aid of the Governor and local authorities, soon performed their task. The islanders were not only willing, but many of them anxious for the transfer. An election day was designated, and the question was formally decided in the affirmative. There were but few dissenting votes. But before the commissioners could proceed to Washington, there came an unexpected and untoward event destined to exert an influence on Congress. One of those hurricanes which occasionally visit the West Indies burst upon St. Thomas, inflicting great damage upon the shipping as well as upon the town. It was accompanied or followed by shocks of earthquake. At any other time, perhaps, this natural convulsion would only have excited that interest and commiseration which are roused by the news of a disastrous flood or fire. But in the inflamed state of the public mind it was eagerly seized upon for political effect. Its details, magnified and spread abroad, were used as arguments against the purchase of the islands. Many of the President's opponents were glad of an opportunity to defeat a measure that he favored. They said it was no wonder Denmark wanted to get rid of the islands. They were not worth having at any price. Should the public money be thrown away on "buying earthquakes and cyclones?" President Johnson and his Secretary of State were one day reviled as if they had gotten up the earthquake, and the next ridiculed for attempting to foist such a bargain upon an intelligent people. When the time came, therefore, for the submission of the treaty to Congress, it was accompanied by a counterblast of unfavorable opinion.

Congress met early this year. The third of its extra sessions began on the 21st of November, and continued during the few days which intervened before the regular meeting on the first Monday in December. The reasons why the treaty would be an advantageous one for the United States were briefly set forth in the President's message. He said:

> A not entirely dissimilar naval want revealed itself during the same period on the Pacific coast. The required foothold there was fortunately secured by our late treaty with the Emperor of Russia.
>
> With the possession of such a station in the West Indies, neither we nor any other American nation need longer apprehend injury or offense from any transatlantic enemy.

Admiral Porter, at Seward's request, furnished him with a comprehensive account of St. Thomas, its advantages as a naval station, and its commercial, agricultural, and political value. "I think," said he, "it is the key-stone to the arch of the West Indies; it commands them all. It is of more importance to us than to any other nation."

A dispatch to Mr. Yeaman described the changed condition and prospects of the project:

West Indian accessions in harmony with the "Monroe Doctrine" are still deemed important. But the treaty for St. Thomas and St. John is not unlikely to labor in the Senate, just as the transaction itself has labored in the country. However illogical it may seem, public opinion has been very much disturbed by the recent terrible displays of hurricanes and earthquakes in the lands and waters of the Virgin Islands. These phenomena even brought confusion into the councils of Governor Carstensen when he was proceeding to take the public vote at St. Thomas. He conceded delay; that delay is now a subject of inquiry, and a cause of hesitation here. The lapse of time, however, always tranquillizes political excitement, just as it brings natural quiet after hurricanes, volcanoes, and earthquakes.

Meanwhile, the Dominican Government had reconsidered its action in regard to Samana and had now sent forward Don Pablo Pujol to Washington, with full power to conclude the treaty which they had hesitated over in the previous negotiation at San Domingo, in the early part of the year.

All these treaties were deemed by Seward to be wise and judicious. He used to remark that he wanted to extend the Union "up to the pole and down to the tropics," and that all his dreams of ambition and statesmanship would be amply satisfied "if he could see the American flag floating at Behring's straits and in the Caribbean sea."

He received Señor Pujol courteously, and spent several mornings at the department in perfecting the plan for the proposed cession. It did not conflict with the St. Thomas project, for both harbors were desirable, and the two treaties would supplement, perhaps, aid each other.

But in this case, as so often before in his life, he found himself in advance of popular sentiment. Congress had assembled in angry mood and with suspicious fears. They had come together, not to extend, but to curtail. The President must be shorn of his powers. The flag could wait. There was no desire for more territory. At the North it was frozen and barren. At the South, there was more than could be governed already. Alaska was accepted with scant enthusiasm and grudging comments. West India islands, if admitted, might become additional Southern States, and Congress wanted none of them.

Still another "annexation project" was discussed this year. Writing to General McCook, the representative of the United States at Honolulu, Seward said:

Circumstances have transpired here which have induced a belief that a strong interest, based upon a desire of annexation of the Sandwich Islands,

will be active in opposing a ratification of the reciprocity treaty. It is proper that you should know that if the policy of annexation should really conflict with the policy of reciprocity, annexation is in every case to be preferred.

However, no further steps were taken in the matter, after it began to be apparent that Congress and the public no longer desired further extension of the national domain.

CHAPTER LVII.

1868.

A Crisis Reached. The President's Removal of Stanton. Congress Resolves upon Impeachment. The German Naturalization Treaty. Bancroft. Adams. The West Indian Treaties. Change of Dynasties in Japan. Mikado and Tycoon. The Impeachment Trial. Its Results.

EARLY in January the conflict between President and Congress reached a crisis. The debate was warm over the suspension of the Secretary of War. On the 14th the Senate refused its assent to his removal. Mr. Stanton thereupon returned to the War Department and resumed his functions. A week later, the President decided to exert, what he believed to be his constitutional power in choosing his Cabinet officers, and appointed Adjutant-General Thomas to be Secretary of War *ad interim*. Mr. Stanton refused to give up his office, and notified the Speaker of the House of his determination. There was a blaze of excitement and indignation at the Capitol. Propositions to impeach the President had been made some months before, but had failed. Under the influence of this new event, they were revived and received with favor. Three days after his removal of Stanton, the House of Representatives resolved "that the President be impeached" before the Senate "for high crimes and misdemeanors." The news flashed throughout the country, seeming for the time to obliterate party distinctions. In every locality men were dividing on the issue—"for or against impeachment?"

While the country was thus rent by storms of faction at home, it was steadily gaining prestige and power abroad. Seward found his overtures for diplomatic settlements now received with favor in strong contrast to the reluctance and distrust manifested during the war. He availed himself of the opportunity to negotiate treaties of amity, commerce, navigation, extradition, and naturalization with various powers. The treaty with Siam was modified, so as to allow armed

vessels to enter the waters of that kingdom. A treaty for the mutual protection of trade-marks was negotiated with Russia. A treaty establishing and defining the rights and privileges of consular officers was made with Italy, and another with the same power for the extradition of criminals.

Among the most important of the treaties made at this period was the one signed at Berlin on Washington's Birthday, the plenipotentiaries being George Bancroft for the United States, and Bernhard Koenig for North Germany. Many Germans, after immigrating to America, had returned to their "Fatherland," for longer or shorter periods, with or without naturalization papers. This led to numerous and complicated questions. Where the immigrant had a definite purpose of becoming an American citizen, or of remaining a German subject it was not so difficult to determine his rights. But where he was still undecided, or was seeking to avoid military service in either country by the pretense of owing allegiance to the other, the case often became a perplexing one. This treaty, not two pages long, cut the Gordian knot. Its gist was in the first article, which declared that Germans who became naturalized citizens of the United States and resided there five years, "shall be held to be American citizens, and shall be treated as such." The other articles applied the principle in detail to cases of declaration of intention, of return, and renunciation of naturalization, of fugitives from justice, etc., etc., etc.

Mr. Bancroft wrote:

> Immediately upon entering my office, I gave attention to this subject, respecting which your instructions are so full, as to leave nothing to desire. I was met in the most friendly spirit. With liberality and frankness, Count Bismarck declared himself willing to accept the American rule. The object of this Government is a real, permanent and friendly adjustment of all questions that have been raised.

Seward wrote to Bancroft a short time afterward:

> The Naturalization Treaty still remains before the Senate. It meets with some opposition from a class of unnaturalized Germans, who prefer to agitate for more, rather than to accept what has been agreed upon.
>
> Nevertheless, the prospect is favorable. Indeed, the Chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the Senate, assured me yesterday, that he thought the treaty would be ratified within the next forty-eight hours.

Seward was so well satisfied with the policy inaugurated by this treaty, that he endeavored to extend it, as rapidly as possible, to the relations with other European States. Before the year was out he succeeded in making similar negotiations with Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemburg, Hesse, and Belgium, Mr. Bancroft being the plenipotentiary in

each German treaty, and Mr. Sanford the plenipotentiary in signing that made at Brussels.

Baron Gerolt, the Prussian Minister, was in hearty accord with this action, the need of which had been impressed upon him during the war. He was now the representative of the combined states of North Germany, which were styled in the press, and in many official documents as "The North German Confederation." Always a staunch friend of the Government, in its struggle with the "Southern Confederacy," the Baron disliked to see the term used in reference to his own country.

"Mr. Seward," said he, "why cannot our German word 'Bund,' be translated 'Union,' as well as 'Confederacy?'"

"Certainly it can, Baron; not only as well, but a great deal better."

Thenceforth, in all official communications, the Baron was addressed and described as the Minister of "The North German Union."

The treaty subsequently justified the expectations based upon it. Ten years later, President Hayes said of it in his message:

> Numerous questions in regard to passports, naturalization and exemption from military service have continued to arise in cases of immigrants from Germany who have returned to their native country. The provisions of the treaty of February 22, 1868, however, have proved to be so ample and so judicious that the legation of the United States at Berlin has been able to adjust all claims arising under it, not only without detriment to the amicable relations existing between the two Governments, but, it is believed, without injury or injustice to any duly naturalized American citizen. It is desirable that the treaty originally made with the North German Union in 1868 should now be extended, so as to apply equally to all the States of the Empire of Germany.

As to the progress of the West Indian treaties, a letter of January 29th to Mr. Yeaman said:

> The treaty for the cession of St. Thomas and St. John was submitted to the Senate on the 3d of December. The Senate was afterward advised of the vote of the people of the islands in favor of the annexation. On the 8th of January, a special Envoy of the Dominican Republic arrived here to inform us that that Government had reconsidered its rejection of our proposition for the purchase of Samana; and desired, now, to agree upon terms of cession. It is not unlikely that the Senate will prefer to wait for the result of my conferences with the Dominican Minister, before proceeding to a final consideration of the Danish treaty.

But in March came news of another revolution in San Domingo. General Cabral's Government had been overthrown, and Baez was again President. This of course terminated the negotiations already in progress with Cabral; though it was understood that the new Government would not be averse to resuming them at an early day.

In regard to the St. Thomas treaty, he wrote Mr. Yeaman in April:

The delay is probably to be attributed to the intervention of our exciting domestic question of a political nature, which has from the beginning of the session absorbed the attention of Congress.

Charles Francis Adams, at the close of the year 1867, had sent in his resignation of the English mission. In his reply, Seward said:

The official ties between us, which are now to be sundered, were formed in the darkest hour our country has ever known — darker, I trust, than she is ever to know again in your life-time, or in my own. They have continually been subjected to such strains as few political relationships can endure. The memory of the association will be among the most cherished which will survive my own connection with public affairs.

This Spring came news from Japan, presaging a change of rulers. Mr. Van Valkenburg wrote that the supporters of the Mikado had induced him to issue a decree abolishing the office of Tycoon; that the Tycoon was at Osaca, gathering troops, and war was imminent. Some fighting had already occurred.

Meanwhile the opponents of President Johnson at the Capitol were taking active steps toward his impeachment and trial.

Seward looked with entire disfavor upon the Impeachment movement. Apart from his disbelief that the President had committed any "high crimes and misdemeanors," he believed that to commence impeaching Presidents on political grounds would be to unsettle the foundations of the Government; and that if this impeachment should be successful, the Presidency would become as uncertain a tenure in the United States, as in some of the South American republics.

During the progress of the debate, the President's opponents avoided him, and kept away from the White House. Seward's personal relations, however, remained undisturbed with Republicans and Democrats, Radicals and Conservatives. In his conversation with all of them, he freely expressed his disapproval.

"Well, Governor," said a Western Radical, who was an old friend, "this thing is going through. But it don't mean you."

"It might better mean me, Senator. You might impeach and turn out a Secretary on such grounds, without inflicting such damage on the country, as you will by impeaching and turning out the President of the United States"

One day, coming into the Assistant Secretary's room, he found there Senator Fessenden.

"Why, Fessenden," said he, "I have not seen you since this business began. You are too good a lawyer not to see through such a

case. Surely, you don't believe the President is guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, do you?"

"No," said Fessenden, with his usual deliberate calmness, "I don't think he is guilty of crimes. But there's a feeling among the majority of the Senate, like that of the jury, who said they couldn't find the prisoner guilty of the crime he was indicted for, but that they *would* like, if they could, to convict him of "general cussedness."

In March came the great trial, the Senate sitting as a Court of Impeachment, with Chief Justice Chase presiding. The House of Representatives had chosen as its managers, to conduct the trial, Messrs. Bingham, Boutwell, Wilson, Butler, Williams, Stevens, and Logan. The President was not personally present, but was represented by his counsel, Henry Stanbery, B. R. Curtis, Jeremiah S. Black, William M. Evarts, and Thomas A. R. Nelson. Crowds of spectators daily thronged the galleries. Public opinion was divided, as it had been throughout the controversy.

In one respect the President was at a disadvantage, for the expenses of his prosecution were to be paid from the treasury, while those of his defense were to be paid from his own pocket.

There were eleven articles of impeachment, but they were not so much specifications of different offenses, as variations and repetitions of the main charge, which was a violation of the "Tenure of Office Law," in removing the Secretary of War without the consent of the Senate. Thus he was charged with having removed him; with having attempted to remove him; with having conspired to remove him; with having attempted to prevent the execution of the laws by removing him; with having appointed a successor to him when he was not removed, etc., etc., etc.

Manager Bingham, in his summing up, said: "It is claimed by the President, that he could not be held to answer for the violation of any written laws of the United States, because of his asserted right, under the Constitution, to interpret for himself, and to execute or disregard any provision of the Constitution or statutes of the United States. This is the issue. It is all there is of it. It is all that is embraced in the articles of impeachment. * * * It is the head and front of his offending, that he has assumed the Executive prerogative of interpreting the Constitution and deciding upon the validity of the laws, at his pleasure, and suspending them and dispensing with their execution."

The trial lasted through March and April, and until the middle of May. Many witnesses were examined, and the arguments of counsel

upon incidental questions, as well as upon the main issue, were elaborate, able, and exhaustive.

Mr. Evarts' powerful defense has been ever since quoted and remembered. He claimed "that it was a *political* offense, and not in its character impeachable. The whole offense is a formal contravention of a statute. When you consider that this new law really reverses the whole action of this Government, revolutionizes the practices of the Government; and when you know that an inhibition upon that right was a direct assertion of congressional authority aimed at the President in his public trust, you see at once that no argument whatever can fix upon the offense any other quality than this: a violation of a law (if it shall be so held) in obedience to the higher obligation of the Constitution." Mr. E. claimed for the President "the right, in respect to a law operating upon him, to raise a question, under the Constitution, to determine what his right, and what his duty is."

The President, himself, visiting some of the Western cities during the time of the trial, made speeches combating his accusers, and speaking contemptuously of their authority. These were made the basis of additional articles of impeachment.

Finally the issue was submitted to the Senate. On the 16th of May three of the principal articles were voted on. The vote stood thirty-five for conviction, and nineteen for acquittal. Senators Fessenden of Maine, Edmunds of Vermont, Trumbull of Illinois, and Grimes of Iowa, were among the Republicans who voted for acquittal. Fourteen were Democrats. Two-thirds of the Senate not having voted for conviction, the President stood acquitted. Without waiting to vote on the remaining articles, the Senate adjourned *sine die*. And so ended the trial.

"Why, Governor," said a member of Congress one day, pointing to three photographs which happened to stand in a row on a shelf in his library, "isn't that a curious combination?"

They were portraits of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, and one of John Brown, which, being of the same size, were accidentally grouped together.

Seward looked at them with an amused smile. "Not at all," said he quietly, "those are the three men whom you at the Capitol say have been my political guides."

"At any rate," said the Congressman, "the American people have meted out to them very different rewards for their political service."

"I don't know that," responded Seward quickly. "This one was shot; that one was hung; and that one you are trying to impeach!"

CHAPTER LVIII.

1868.

Burlingame Coming as Chinese Minister. The Legation. Sun Tàjen and Chih Tàjen. Reception at Washington. Visit to Auburn. The Treaty with China. The Danish Treaty. The Sandwich Islands. The Payment for Alaska. Treaties with Mexico and Belgium. The Consular System made Self-supporting. The 14th Amendment.

ANSON BURLINGAME, after having won distinction as a member of Congress from Massachusetts, had been appointed Minister to Austria at the outset of Lincoln's Administration, and soon after was sent as Minister to China.

Learning that his stay at Pekin was about to terminate, the Chinese Government gave the strongest possible proof of their appreciation of his diplomatic ability, as well as their belief in the just and friendly disposition of the United States, by asking him to become the Envoy of China to all the Western powers. He wrote in December, 1867:

Prince Kung gave a farewell dinner, at which great regret was expressed at my resolution to leave China, and urgent requests made that I would, like Sir Frederick Bruce, state China's difficulties, and inform the treaty powers of their sincere desire to be friendly and progressive. This I cheerfully promised to do. During the conversation Wen Siang, a leading man of the Empire, said: "Why will you not represent us officially?"

Subsequently I was informed that the Chinese were most serious, and a request was made that I should delay my departure a few days until a proposition was made in form requesting me to act for them as ambassador to all the treaty powers. I thought anxiously upon the subject, and after consultation with my friends determined, in the interests of our country and of civilization, to accept. My colleagues approved of the action of the Chinese, and did all they could to forward the interests of the mission. Two Chinese gentlemen of the highest rank were selected from the Foreign Office to conduct the Chinese correspondence and as "learners." My suite will number about thirty persons. I shall leave for the United States by the February steamer for California.

I limit myself in this note to the above brief history of the mission, reserving my reasons for accepting it to a personal interview at Washington.

Seward received the news with hearty approval, and made arrangements for the reception of this novel Legation.

About the 1st of June they arrived in Washington, and the Secretary of State received the formal note, inclosing the credentials of "Anson Burlingame, of the first Chinese rank, Envoy Extraordinary and High Minister Plenipotentiary; and Chih Kang and Sun Chia Ku, of the second Chinese rank, associated High Envoys and Ministers, respectively, to the United States of America."

Prior to its delivery, Burlingame came to Seward's house for the personal interview he had mentioned. He desired to consult his old congressional associate and adviser as to whether his becoming a Chinese Minister would at all interfere with his *status* as an American citizen. Seward's judgment concurred with his own, that no such obstacle existed; as Mr. Burlingame had already informed the Chinese Government that, while endeavoring to serve them to the best of his ability, he must adhere to his native allegiance.

On another point there was more difficulty. This was whether Mr. Burlingame could properly be presented to the President of the United States, and allowed to shake hands with him. True, he had often done so already, but that was while he was a member of Congress. Now he was the representative of the Celestial Empire, with which a grave diplomatic question about "personal audience by the Emperor" had been pending for years. If the American Minister was not received by the head of the Government at Pekin, how could the Chinese Minister be received by the head of the Government at Washington? Presidents shake hands with everybody, and are usually commended for so doing. But here was a case where it might compromise the national dignity! It was not necessary to have personal audience at the White House, for all diplomatic business would be transacted, and treaties made and signed, at the Department of State. Nevertheless, to exclude the Chinese Legation from privileges accorded to all other diplomats, would be to weaken the popular prestige, which both Seward and Burlingame desired for it. Fortunately, it happened that the Emperor of China, at this juncture, was only a boy; and this enabled the Secretary of State to bridge over the difficulty, by replying:

> It is well understood that owing to the minority of the Emperor of China, the sovereign authority is now exercised by a Regency. Reserving, therefore, and waiving, though only during the Emperor's minority, the question concerning the privileges of personal audience by the head of the Chinese Government, the President will receive their Excellencies, the High Ministers of China, on Friday, at twelve o'clock at the Executive Mansion.

The Legation was installed at Brown's Hotel on Pennsylvania avenue, in a spacious suite of rooms. Many curious observers were attracted there, for a glimpse of their faces and queues, their caps with insignia of rank, and their robes of flowered silk. The great yellow flag, bearing the imperial dragon, floated in the breeze, from the roof of the hotel, during their stay.

The Chinese Envoys were addressed as "Chih-Tâjen" and "Sun-Tâjen." Mr. Burlingame kept his own name, though entitled, under Chinese usage, to be styled "Burlin-Tâjen" — the title so appended

having a meaning equivalent to the European title of "His Excellency."

On the appointed day, they were presented at the White House, by the Secretary of State, and were cordially received by President Johnson. Burlingame began his address, by saying that if he had not been kindly relieved from embarrassment by the Secretary of State, his first duty on this occasion would be, "to explain how it is that I, who left this capital, seven years ago, as a Minister of the United States to China, have now returned here, a Minister from China to the United States." He announced that the Chinese Government had now accepted the system of International Law in use among the Western powers, and was now about to open a regular diplomatic intercourse, not only with the United States, but with Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, North Germany, Russia, Spain, and Sweden.

The President's reply was more elaborate than is usual upon such occasions. It remarked that the friendly intercourse now opened with Oriental nations was an evidence of the growth of mutual trust and confidence, as well as the sagacity of the Chinese Government. It said he deemed proper to "bear witness to the merit of the representative agents whose common labors at Pekin have culminated in bringing the Empire of China so early, and so directly into the family circle of civilized nations, viz.: Prince Kung, and Wen Siang on the part of China; yourself, Mr. Burlingame, on the part of the United States; the lamented Sir Frederick Bruce, on the British part; M. Berthemy, on behalf of France; and Messrs. Balluzeck and Vlangally on the part of Russia." In conclusion, it said he "would build upon this day's transaction an expectation that the great Empire, instead of remaining, as heretofore, merely passive, will henceforth be induced to take an active part in the general progress of civilization."

Presidents, like other heads of Governments, often use, in their official utterances, language prepared for them by their Ministers. It would be physically impossible for any President or Sovereign to be personally familiar with all the details of business in all the departments and to prepare the answers necessary to be made in their behalf. Ceremonial speeches, customary orders and proclamations, and the departmental portions of messages are all so composed. The President has the credit for them; and it is his due — for he has to shoulder the responsibility and bear the blame for them; and it is assumed that he has not adopted the words without due consideration of their import. Presidents differ, however, as to the amount of change or criticism they deem it advisable to make. President Lincoln, whose native mod-

esty and good nature caused him to underrate, rather than overrate, his own sound judgment and knowledge of affairs, rarely made changes in official documents submitted to him, except when they touched on war or politics. The political parts of his messages, proclamations, and letters he composed himself and liked to write out with his own hand. President Johnson, contrary to a popular fallacy about him, was a most painstaking and careful student. He never liked to affix his signature to any thing till he had mastered its full purport and weighed the force of every word. He made many changes, even in formal documents; would sit late at night in study; prepared his own messages as far as practicable, and revised and rewrote those parts of them prepared by others. While ready to accept every responsibility, he was not fond of ceremonial pretense; and when a foreign Minister had been presented and read his formal speech, the President would wave his hand toward Seward, saying, "The Secretary of State will read the speech in reply."

A state dinner was given at the White House to the Chinese Envoys and they received many other hospitalities. Seward entertained them at Washington, and subsequently on their Northern trip met them on the way, and, throwing open his house at Auburn, received them there. From thence they went to Niagara Falls.

The proposed treaty with China was the subject of several conferences at the department between the Secretary and the three "Tâjen" of the "Ta-Tsing Empire."

It placed China in an entirely new attitude toward other powers. Instead of remaining a remote, secluded Empire, yielding reluctant concessions, she now gave her adhesion to the principles of Western international law, and to more advanced doctrines in regard to human rights, than most Western nations had yet been able to adopt. The treaty guaranteed liberty of conscience and protection from persecution on account of religious opinions. It recognized "the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance;" and also the mutual advantage of free immigration and emigration, for trade, travel, or permanent residence. It pledged neutrality in war, and forbade foreign nations to carry their mutual quarrels into China. It opened public educational institutions, and gave the right to establish schools. It provided for diplomatic and consular intercourse, for international improvements, and closer relations of international friendship.

Toward the close of June, Seward wrote to Mr. Yeaman that it was manifest that the session of Congress was approaching its end, and that the Danish treaty would probably be left over until the next

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session. "During the recess, we shall be more able than we are now, to collect the public sentiment in regard to the treaty, and to consider whether any change in the form of the question is needful, or desirable."

Replying to a letter about the Sandwich Island annexation, he said:

* * * Without going into an explanation of the causes for the condition of national sentiment which temporarily exists, it is enough to say, that the public attention sensibly continues to be fastened upon the domestic questions, which have grown out of our late civil war. The public mind refuses to dismiss these questions, even so far as to entertain the higher, but more remote, questions of national extension. The periodical Presidential and Congressional elections are approaching. Each of the political parties seem to suppose that economy and retrenchment will be prevailing considerations in that election, and the leaders of each party, therefore, seem to shrink from every suggestion which may involve any new national enterprise, and especially any foreign one. Meantime, it will be well for you not to allow extravagant expectations of annexation, in the islands, to influence your own conduct.

On the 27th of July, the act making the appropriation to pay for Alaska was finally passed, and approved — the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House, General N. P. Banks, being its effective advocate. On the following day, the Secretary of State made his requisition upon the Treasury for "$7,200,000, to be paid to Mr. Edward Stoeckl, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, pursuant to the convention between the United States and his Majesty, on the 30th of March, 1867, and act of Congress approved July 27, 1868.

Replying to one of many letters of inquiry about the cession of Russian-America, he said:

The treaty was concluded on the 30th of March, 1867. It was ratified by the United States on the 28th of May, 1867. Ratifications were exchanged on the 20th of June, 1867, and the treaty was proclaimed on the last-mentioned day. I regard the exchange of ratifications as the concluding act. The legal date is, therefore, the 20th of June, 1867. The name affixed to the ceded territory by the Executive Department of the United States is Alaska, which name, though variously spelled by different writers, is written, by the Executive Department, Alaska, not Aliaska.

Mr. Baker's reports on the financial affairs of the department showed, at the close of the fiscal year, the gratifying fact that the consular system had not only been made, but was continuing to be, self-supporting. The amount of fees received from Consuls, over and above the amount paid to them for salaries and expenses for the years of 1866 and 1867 was $138,496.09 in gold.

Two treaties with Mexico were signed this year, at Washington, by

Seward and Romero, as the respective plenipotentiaries. One provided for a commission to hear and adjudicate upon claims. As there had been no such adjustment for twenty years, a large number of claims had accumulated, and remained unsettled. The other was for regulating the citizenship of immigrants. Its cardinal principle was the same as that of the naturalization treaties made with the German States.

With Belgium three treaties were negotiated, all of which were signed at Brussels, by the American Minister, Mr. Sanford, and the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Vander Stichelen. One was the Naturalization Treaty, already mentioned. Another was to establish the rights, and privileges of Consuls, and the third was for the protection of trade-marks.

The Naturalization Treaty with Germany had opened the way for similar negotiations with other powers. Dispatches to Mr. Marsh instructed him to begin them, with Italy.

Congress, in June, 1866, had passed the joint resolution submitting to the States the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, intended to protect the emancipated slaves in their rights as citizens, as well as to prohibit former rebels from holding civil or military office, unless their disability should be removed by a two-thirds vote of Congress, and also to prohibit any recognition of the Confederate debt.

This amendment had been the subject of party contention in several States. Some of the State Legislatures adopted it; some rejected it. Some which had accepted it, subsequently passed resolutions withdrawing their consent. It was considered doubtful whether it had received the approval of the required number of States to make it valid. On one side, it was contended that those States ought not to be counted who had withdrawn their consent. On the other, that those States ought not to be counted, the validity of whose State organization was disputed.

It became Seward's province to take cognizance of these questions. The duty of proclaiming the adoption of constitutional amendments is devolved by law, not upon the President, but the Secretary of State. He accordingly issued his proclamation on the 26th of July. The amendment has ever since been regarded and accepted as a part of the Constitution. In a circular to Ministers abroad, he now instructed them that it became their duty "to see that no unjust or unnecessary discriminations are made, in foreign countries, between citizens of the United States of different birth, extraction, or color."

CHAPTER LIX.

1868.

The Presidential Canvass. Nomination of Grant and Colfax. Seymour and Blair. A Speech at Auburn. "The Situation and the Duty." His Last Political Meeting. The Election.

Now came the first Presidential election since the war. The Republican National Convention had assembled at Chicago in May to choose a candidate. There was hardly need of a Convention to make the selection, for it was already manifest that the popular mind was made up, to have the victorious General of the war promoted to the Executive chair. The Convention, amid loud acclamations, named General Grant for President, and nominated Speaker Colfax for the Vice-Presidency.

The platform, after reiterating the doctrines affirmed by the party in the past, indorsed the congressional view of the reconstruction question, "that the Southern States had abandoned and lost their position in the Union by seceding, and could only be readmitted on terms satisfactory to Congress."

The Democratic National Convention, held a few weeks later in New York, adopted resolutions more in accordance with the President's views of the matter, but was not inclined either to make him a candidate, or to lavish praise on his Administration. After balloting for various candidates, it finally selected Governor Horatio Seymour as its nominee for President, and Frank P. Blair for Vice-President.

Toward the close of October, as the canvass was drawing to its conclusion, Seward went up to Auburn to cast his vote for the Republican nominees. His neighbors and townsmen were expecting a speech from him, in accordance with the habit of many years. At Corning hall a large gathering of both Republicans and Democrats assembled to listen to him. Here he proceeded to set forth his view of "the situation and the duty."

The duty devolving upon the Government at the close of the war, he said, "was to save the Constitution and the Union from further revolutionary violence, and to bring the rebel States back to their constitutional relations." Now, near the close of the second Administration begun by Lincoln, the great work was still incomplete, and parties were vehemently disputing whether it was the fault of the President or the fault of Congress. "I do not enter into that dispute," he said; "it already belongs to the past." Perhaps it was unreasonable to expect the passions of thirty millions of people to calm down in so short a time. Who could say how far the assassination of

Abraham Lincoln had been effective in delaying the desired reconstruction. "Human nature around the whole circle of the globe stood aghast." The country was aroused to seek everywhere for authors, agents, and motives for the assassination. "While suspicion attached itself by turns to everybody, it justly fastened itself at last upon the rebellion, and demanded new and severer punishment of the rebels, instead of the magnanimous reconciliation which the beloved President, of whom it had been bereaved, had recommended. Who will say that this sentiment was unnatural? Who shall say that it was even unjust?"

In the midst of that distraction Andrew Johnson had come to the Presidency. Lincoln's unfinished work devolved upon him. The very fact that he was from the South and of the Democratic party, "which were advantages in his election, became disadvantages in him as a President." Recounting then how Johnson had set about the work with vigor and decision; how he retained Lincoln's Cabinet and adopted his plan of reconciliation; how he had invited the Southern States to resume their vacant chairs in Congress, and to establish loyal State governments; and had imposed as tests of their loyalty the acceptance of the constitutional amendments abolishing slavery; the repudiation of the rebel debt; the abrogation of the rebel laws, and the acceptance of the "iron-clad" oath; he showed how he had encountered congressional hesitation and debate, excited public feeling, and angry contests between opposing parties. The President's tenacity had finally brought him to the bar of the Senate for impeachment.

He said, "It is not my purpose to vindicate, or even to explain, the part I myself have had in these transactions and debates. I simply say that, as I stood firmly by the wise and magnanimous policy of President Lincoln in his life, so I have adhered to the same policy since his mortal remains were committed to an untimely grave, and I have adhered with equal fidelity to his constitutional successor."

Turning then from the past to the present, he considered the attitude of the two political parties. He said that the Democratic party had not so conducted itself, in its corporate and responsible action, as to secure the confidence of the people. Of the patriotism of many individual Democrats, he cherished most grateful appreciation. "How could I distrust the loyalty of Andrew Johnson, of General Hancock, of General McClellan, of Buckalew, Hendricks, Niblack, and Cox?" But the party, as a whole, had not given proof of its "uncompromising adherence to the Union, or its approval of the effective abolition of slavery." On the other hand, there was, and could be no such suspicion of the Republican party. To confide responsibilities to the Democratic party at this juncture "would be to continue, perhaps to

increase, the lamentable political excitement." To elect the Republican candidate "will put an end to all the debates, and prepare the popular mind to accept now, what it has heretofore rejected — namely, the most practicable solution of the national embarrassments."

Adverting to the approaching close of his own official life, he said it was pleasant, in looking back to it, to reflect that he had left nothing undone, that he could do, to avert the calamity of civil war; that when the war came, and while it was raging, no act or word of his encouraged an enemy of the United States, at home or abroad. No act or word of his had consented to the prolongation of slavery for a single day. "On the contrary, my hand and seal is found upon the one international act which remained to abolish the African slave trade throughout the world, and on the military proclamation, and the constitutional amendment that forever abolished slavery in the United States." And when the rebellion ceased, no State in the Union was, by any action or word of his, repelled from returning to its allegiance. The only crime now imputed to him was, "that of being too precipitate in the policy of national reconciliation and peace."

During his eight years' occupancy of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the prestige of the nation had not been lost or impaired. The Monroe Doctrine, which eight years before had been merely a theory, was now an "irreversible fact."

> Certainly the country is not less now, but is larger than I found it when I entered my last public service. It has already begun to enjoy the wealth of the polar seas, and I am sure it is not my fault if its flag is still excluded from the ever verdant islands of the Caribbean sea.

In conclusion, he said:

> If, now, I shall find the ancient cheer which presided at your firesides in winter; if I shall find the birds still lingering in your gardens and groves, as in the olden time in summer; if the trout are not exhausted in your brooks, or the perch in your lakes; if industry still dwells in your shops; if piety shall prevail as heretofore in your churches; and charity toward each other, and humanity toward all conditions of men, shall distinguish your political assemblies: then indeed we are about to renew, with mutual satisfaction, an acquaintance which was happy for us all, and which, for me, has been too long and painfully suspended.

When, a few days later, the Presidential election took place, it appeared that the people had taken a view of the contest similar to his own. They gave Grant and Colfax 214 of the electoral votes. Seymour and Blair had 71, without counting the votes of Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas, those States not having yet complied with the requirements of Congress.

CHAPTER LX.

1868–1869.

Closing Diplomatic Labors. The "Interregnum." Revolution in Spain. Revolution in Japan. Mexico Resuming Intercourse with Germany. The Japanese and Chinese Indemnity Funds. Negotiations with Great Britain. Reverdy Johnson and Lord Clarendon. The Naturalization Treaty. The North-west Boundary Question. The "Alabama Claims." Congress and the President. The 15th Amendment. The Alaska Purchase-money. St. Domingo Annexation Proposed. The Treaty for St. Thomas and St. Croix. The Darien Canal Treaty. The Canal Company.

DURING the four months that remained of his official life, Seward employed his time in trying to adjust such diplomatic questions as were unsettled, or, where that was not practicable, then to put them in the best possible shape for his successor. In a letter to Mr. Yeaman soon after election, he said:

> The periodical reconstruction of the Executive Administration always brings a condition of uncertainty. The outgoing Administration cannot venture upon matters of which no result can be expected during its continuance; while the shadow of the incoming Administration is too obscure to indicate any important policy. This periodical suspense may be regarded as "the dead point" in the working of our excellent system of Government.
>
> The portion of Mr. Buchanan's Administration, which occurred after the election of Mr. Lincoln, was the period chosen for organizing the rebellion. We are now entering this condition of *quasi interregnum*. Prudence and patience are needful; but there is no ground to apprehend any serious difficulty, or danger of any kind, or from any question.

From Spain, had now come news of the revolt against Queen Isabella. Cable dispatches from Mr. Hale announced the defeat of the royal troops, by the insurgent army under Serrano, and the subsequent rising of the people of Madrid. Seward, in reply, telegraphed him to "recognize the new Government *de facto*, so as to prosecute any necessary business."

Then followed the era of Spanish Provisional Government, which lasted until the accession of King Amadeo.

From Japan came news of a similar revolutionary change, and a formal notification that foreign relations would henceforth be with the Mikado's Court, the Tycoon having abdicated. Due instructions to meet the change were given to Mr. Van Valkenburg.

The North German Union now desired to reopen diplomatic relations with the Mexican Republic. Seward wrote to the United States Minister, General Rosecrans, commending Mr. Schlozer, the newly-appointed Envoy, to a favorable reception by Mr. Lerdo, and by the

President. "Both," he said, "are aware that I attach much importance to the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Mexican Republic and the European States. I have reason to believe that the proceeding inaugurated in North Germany is likely to be followed in other European States."

Two funds of Oriental origin, and of no inconsiderable amount, were now remaining in the Department of State, and gradually accumulating there. One was the indemnity paid by Japan for the damage done to American shipping at Simonoseki. Although the firing upon foreign ships at Simonoseki had not been the act of the Japanese Government, but of a Daimio rebellious to their authority, that Government had promptly paid over to the treaty powers the amount of damages demanded. The share apportioned to the United States had been received at the Department of State. But when the respective claims of the various claimants had all been audited and paid, it was found that there was a considerable surplus remaining. Evidently, the United States had asked and received more money than they were entitled to. This was embarrassing. Between man and man, the simple and honest way to rectify an overpayment is to pay the balance back. But where great Governments are concerned, there are always plenty of political casuists to prove that the rules of ordinary business morality do not apply to the case. Nothing can be paid by governmental officers except under provision of law. The President, at Seward's suggestion, stated the facts in his message to Congress, and requested authority to make proper disposition of the money. Then came debates and delays. It was urged that it was folly to pay back the money, when Japan had not asked for it. It was argued that to pay it back would be a confession that we had been in the wrong in demanding it, which would be humiliating to the nation. Then, it was said that to pay it back would be to expose the Japanese officials to the censures of their people, for having yielded to an unjust demand. Then it was proposed to use it for some public enterprise that would benefit both countries — a Pacific Coast University — a school of diplomacy — legation buildings, ships, forts, telegraphs, etc.

The money had been paid in gold. It had not been "covered in" to the Treasury, but rested in the State Department under the vigilant supervision of Mr. Baker, the Disbursing Agent. Seward, finding there was likely to be delay before a decision could be reached in Congress, directed that it should be invested in Government registered bonds, as the best way to keep it safely. Session after session passed, the President again and again calling attention to it, but still Congress reached no conclusion. Meanwhile the credit of the United

States appreciated. The bonds, bought at a discount, and paid for in gold, rose rapidly in value. Interest accrued on them, was paid, and reinvested "in like manner." So the $606,838 originally received from Japan amounted in 1869 to a much larger sum. This gave rise to new perplexities. It was argued in Congress that even if Japan was entitled to the original amount, she was not entitled to the interest. Or, at any rate, how could she be entitled to the additional amount, which our thrifty Government had earned at compound interest? And if she was paid the original surplus, dollar for dollar, in gold, what should be done with the residue?

Another similar fund had been received from China. In this, the balance, over and above the audited claims, by the same careful management, had much increased.

The two Eastern Governments, with becoming sense of their dignity, looked on placidly, and declined to make any complaint, or demand, saying they left the whole matter to the wisdom and friendship of the United States Government, in which they had entire confidence.

Seward directed that exact accounts should be kept, so that in due time the amounts should be turned over to his successor, to be held till Congress should finally decide.

The points in dispute with Great Britain were gradually approaching a settlement. Reverdy Johnson had now been appointed to succeed Mr. Adams at the Court of St. James. On his departure for his post, Seward gave him full instructions in regard to the proposed treaty. He told him that of these "controversies, which have become chronic," the naturalization question was the first, and the one most urgently requiring attention. Remarking that the political institutions of the United States might be said to be founded upon the right of individual men to change their homes, and allegiance, according to the dictates of their own judgment, he said that on the contrary "the British Government have always held in theory that native allegiance to the British crown is indefeasible, without the express consent of the Sovereign." Meanwhile large masses of population had been received from abroad. "It happens, therefore, that every considerable surge of popular discontent that disturbs the peace of Great Britain, affects that portion of our people who have derived their descent from Ireland, and this, in no inconsiderable degree, affects, by sympathy, the whole population of the United States." True, the British Government had now avowed its disposition to concede the validity of American naturalization, "but delay in carrying the purpose into effect leaves our relations even worse than before." Mr. Johnson was instructed to say to Lord Stanley, therefore, that until this difficulty was removed,

attempts to settle any of the other controversies would be unavailing.

The second disputed question was that of the North-west boundary, involving the right to the island of San Juan, on the frontier line between the United States and British Columbia. This could probably be adjusted by arbitration.

The third subject in dispute was that of the claims known and described, in general terms, as the "Alabama Claims." Of these, an adjustment might now be reached without formally reviewing former discussions. A joint commission might be agreed upon for the adjustment of claims, upon the model of the joint commission of February 8, 1853.

Mr. Johnson entered upon his task with zeal and discretion. The negotiations lasted during the remainder of the year, and were brought to a temporary standstill in December, by a change of Ministry, Lord Stanley resigning the Foreign Office. Lord Clarendon, however, who took his place, was ready to continue the negotiations. During their progress, dispatches by mail, and telegrams by cable, were almost daily passing between Seward and Johnson, in regard to amendments, suggestions, and points of dispute. These were supplemented by the notes exchanged at Washington, and frequent interviews between the British Minister, Mr. Thornton, and the Secretary of State.

Congress met, as usual, in December. The President, in his message, sturdily adhered to his views on amnesty and reconstruction. But the results of the impeachment trial, and of the elections, had practically ended the contest between the Executive and Congress. As the former would go out of office in three months, while the latter's control of affairs remained assured, they contented themselves with declining to sanction measures recommended by him, and questioning details of administration in various departments. The majority in the two Houses, determined to guard the rights of freedmen against Executive indifference, State oppression, or race prejudice, framed another amendment to the Constitution, which, after some debate, was adopted on the 27th of February; and being in due time ratified by the States, became "the Fifteenth Amendment," supplementing the work accomplished by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth.

One of the topics of inquiry at this session was the Alaska purchase. Various rumors were afloat to the effect that some of the purchase-money had been used to corrupt agents of the Russian Government; to buy votes in Congress; to subsidize newspapers, etc. There was also discontent on the part of some of the holders of claims against Russia, because some of the money had not been paid to them, instead of being handed over to the Russian Minister.

A committee, directed by the House to investigate these tales, soon found that most of them were malicious, and all of them absurd. Seward appeard before the committee, and in answer to the questions addressed to him, said:

I gave notice to the Russian Minister that the requisition had been made, and that he could call upon the Secretary of the Treasury for the money. I assume, upon general information, that the money was paid. I do not know when it was paid out of the Treasury, nor to whom it was paid. I know nothing whatever of the use the Russian Minister made of the fund. I know of no payment to anybody by him.

In regard to all those allegations, I have no knowledge. I thought the Alaska purchase a very good, proper, and national achievement; and out of the funds of the State Department, therefore, I subscribed for a small number of the speeches made by Mr. Charles Sumner, to be used for the information of the public and of Congress. Various persons, some connected and others not connected with the Government, patriotic gentlemen as I supposed, came to give me their cordial support and coöperation in the matter; and among the rest were Mr. Sumner and Mr. Robert J. Walker. Whenever I found they were in possession of information or arguments which would be useful, such as documentary information, I received it and transmitted it to Congress, who had it published. All that I ever did, or that I ever expended, was in that way, and in no other, and no engagement was ever made with anybody for any part of the purchase-money, or any other fund.

My impression is that the whole expense and cost to the United States Government for the negotiation, payment, and every thing, did not exceed $500. As to any other fund to subsidize or propitiate the press, or any person connected therewith, I have knowledge that no fund at the State Department went to subsidize any press anywhere. But when I found there was a continued fire all along the line of the press against the Alaska purchase and the purchase of St. Johns and St. Thomas, and I read how valueless these possessions were, by reason of perpetual icebergs in Alaska, and the universal cannonading of volcanoes and hurricanes down through the West Indies, I recollected the attacks of the Federal party upon Mr. Jefferson's Administration for making the purchase of Louisiana. I was familiar with that literature in my boyhood, as you all probably were, and I sent a young man — Mr. Dimon — to New York and Albany for the purpose of collection from the Federal press (remaining in public libraries) extracts and articles attacking Mr. Jefferson in such papers. He collected and sent them to me.

These articles were published through the press, so far as they would do it gratuitously, but in no other way. That is all I know of the influence upon the press.

President Baez had now signified to Seward his readiness to negotiate for a sale of Samana, or even the annexation of the whole Dominican Republic; saying that the Government of the Republic was prepared to obtain a national declaration of consent, by the

THE DARIEN CANAL TREATY.

popular vote, or by acclamation, or in any form that the United States Government might indicate.

On the 29th of January, replying to an inquiry from General Banks, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Seward wrote:

> The information upon which the statement of the President's message concerning the condition of the Republics of Hayti and San Domingo is based, is official, although from prudential considerations, the communications concerning it are confidential. Within the present week, however, a reliable and confidential proposition comes from the Dominican Republic, which proposes immediate annexation; waives all preliminary stipulations; and addresses itself simply to the discretion and friendship of the United States. An agent from St. Domingo awaits the directions of the Government.

A resolution was accordingly prepared providing for the admission of a territory of the United States, to be called the Territory of St. Domingo; and saying "Such admission is hereby declared to be made with a view to an ultimate establishment of a Republican State Government, in the said Territory, in conformity to the Constitution of the United States, and with the approval of Congress."

Another article was added to the Danish treaty, extending the time for exchange of ratifications for another twelve months. This was sent into the Senate early in January; but shared the fate of the treaty itself.

There was one more project which had the same fate; and whose importance has since been realized. This was the treaty for control of a canal across the Isthmus of Darien. It had been for several years a subject of diplomatic effort. In 1868, Seward proposed to make a treaty with Colombia, and was so desirous of securing some satisfactory arrangement, that he sent Caleb Cushing, as a special agent, to join the Minister at Bogota in the negotiations. A treaty embodying the Monroe Doctrine was agreed upon, and signed by the plenipotentiaries. It met Seward's approval, and on the 15th of February, 1869, he transmitted it to the Senate. In its sixth article, it secured to the United States absolute control of the proposed inter-oceanic canal.

Meanwhile, Seward went over to New York to try to interest some of the capitalists and public-spirited citizens in the enterprise. Mr. Evarts, who had now become Attorney-General, accompanied him. Several gentlemen assembled at the residence of Peter Cooper, who presided, Frederick A. Conkling acting as Secretary. A company was formed and subsequently organized under the laws of the State of New York. Marshall O. Roberts, William T. Coleman, Cornelius K. Garrison, William B. Duncan, and Richard Schell were appointed a committee

to open subscriptions for the stock. On the center table were charts of the proposed route, with engineers' estimates of the cost. Confidence was generally expressed that the scheme was feasible. Seward, himself, made some remarks, saying, among other things:

The Executive Government of the United States, gentlemen, has adopted the enterprise in which you are engaged. It has provided for a full, satisfactory, and final survey, preparatory to the construction of the Darien ship canal. It is engaged in negotiating with the Republic of Colombia for its consent. The President will go forward with renewed zeal and vigor, on receiving the assurance which you have given me, that the city of New York has named men who will undertake that achievement, and stand ready to furnish the hundred million dollars which it may be expected to cost.

But the Darien Canal plan met with no more favor than the annexation of St. Thomas and San Domingo. It failed to receive the approval of the Senate; and, soon after, came news that, under French and English influence, the Senate of Colombia had also decided to reject it.

Early in the year 1869, Reverdy Johnson reported from London:

As directed by your instructions, I addressed myself first to the question of naturalization. The English doctrine is so wholly unfounded in reason, that his Lordship did not hesitate to abandon it. Growing out of a feudal policy, it is unsuited to the rights of a free people. Notwithstanding the uniform decisions of Her Majesty's courts, hoary with age, and never questioned, even up to the moment when our protocol was signed, it fell at once before the light of British and American freedom.

As will be seen, the protocol is more comprehensive than the treaties concluded on the same point with the North German Confederation, and other continental States. The American principle is recognized, pure and simple. Whenever a subject of Her Majesty becomes naturalized in the United States, his rights are identical with those which belong to a native citizen.

My cable dispatches have advised you that Lord Clarendon and myself have signed a convention for the settlement by arbitration of the North-west Boundary controversy, and another, for the adjustment by commission and arbitration of the Claims controversy, especially including the class known as the "Alabama Claims." They were both signed at the Foreign Office yesterday, the 14th instant, between two and three o'clock, P. M. I forward them with this dispatch.

The North-west Boundary question was, by this treaty, submitted to the arbitration of the President of Switzerland.

Mr. Johnson added:

In regard to the Claims Convention, all that is necessary for me to state is, that it accords exactly with the instructions contained in your cable dispatch of the 11th of January.

The Government has yielded in regard to these claims, two grounds heretofore assumed by them. I have reason to believe that the abandonment of the grounds originally taken has been owing, in a great measure, to the growing friendly feeling for the United States, which has been so strongly exhibited since my arrival in this country.

It was not unreasonable to anticipate that an adjustment in which the Americans obtained all they asked, and the English relinquished all their objections, was one that would command the approval of the American Congress, press, and people. But such was not the result. Party spirit was still too high, to see the matter in that light. Some declared that Reverdy Johnson had "truckled to the British aristocracy," and ought to have snubbed them, instead of making friendly treaties and after-dinner speeches. Some thought the treaties must be wrong, because the English had agreed to them. Others wanted no treaty, but rather a standing grievance, as a basis for future war with England. Still others, and these quite numerous, said that even if the treaties were not objectionable on other grounds, the fact that they were made by President Johnson's Secretary of State and Minister was reason enough for refusing to accept them.

Doubtless the unwillingness to take the West Indian possessions, which Seward had secured for the United States, was in part due to similar feelings. But it was also due to the reluctance to add any more to the number of the Southern States. One of his former senatorial associates frankly said to him:

"Governor, our Radical friends think that whatever may be valuable in these treaties of yours, can just as well be got, at any other time, under some other Administration."

Looking over the period of his sojourn in the State Department, he found that in his eight years he had negotiated more than forty treaties. Of these, three were with Great Britain, three with Mexico, three with Italy, three with Peru, and three with Belgium, one with Morocco, one with China, and one with Japan. Those of perhaps paramount historical importance were with Great Britain to suppress the slave trade, with Hanover and Belgium to abolish the Stade and Scheldt dues, with Russia for the cession of Russian America, with Germany to establish the rights of naturalized citizens, with Japan for indemnity and trade, and with China, Hayti, and Liberia, to open relations of amity and commerce. The treaties with Denmark and Dominica for the acquisition of islands and harbors in the West Indies, with Colombia for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and with Great Britain for the settlement of the Alabama Claims, Naturalization and Northern Boundary questions, had encountered delay and defeat,

not upon their merits, but because of party conflicts, having no apparent connection with them. They were now to be handed down as legacies to the incoming Senate and Administration, to be dealt with as their judgment should determine.

CHAPTER LXI.

1869.

Last Days in Washington. Time's Changes. Sovereigns and Diplomats. The State Department. Old Friends at Home.

GRAY, bent and weary, the Secretary was standing one evening in the "yellow parlor" looking at the portraits which thickly overspread its walls. During eight years, gradual additions had increased their number until they now formed a "diplomatic gallery" of the world's Sovereigns and Ministers. He pointed out to his guests those who in that time had passed from office or from earth. Leopold of Belgium, stately and gracious, had been succeeded by his son; Frederick of Denmark, by Christian IX; Isabella Segunda of Spain, fat and fair, had been dethroned and exiled; Pius IX of Rome, gentle old man, was shorn of temporal power; Abdul Medjid of Turkey, slender and dark, had been assassinated and followed by sturdy Abdul Aziz; Hien Fung of China, had yielded the Celestial throne to Tung Chi, a baby; the Tycoon of Japan, with his high head-dress emblematic of supreme power, had been deposed and banished by the Mikado; Maximilian of Austria, was executed in sight of his army at Queretaro; Carlotta, his Empress, was a wanderer and insane. Then the array of South American Presidents, their brief tenure ended by an election, or shortened by war and violence — Mosquera deposed, Cabral overthrown, Prado assassinated, Geffrard banished — and so on through a long list. Premiers and Ministers of Foreign Affairs had found their term even more brief. Earl Russell, Thouvenel, Drouyn de l'Huys, Cavour, Rogier, Zuylen, D'Avila, Manderstrom, Calderon, Von Schleinitz, and their contemporaries in office had all experienced the mutations of politics and of time. Gortschakoff's placid face beamed from its frame as a reminder that he alone, of all the Ministers of Foreign Affairs with whom Seward held intercourse in 1861, was now remaining in office in 1869. And all this had happened in the brief period of eight years!

"It is a sermon on the instability of human greatness," remarked a bystander.

"Perhaps, so," remarked Seward, with a smile. "I can only hope that they all enjoyed the prospect of getting out of office as much as I do!"

Numerous changes had occurred in the Diplomatic Corps at Washington since Seward's accession to office. Only two Ministers from European powers had remained throughout both Administrations — Baron Gerolt and Mr. Stoeckl. Two more European States, Turkey and Greece, had added to the diplomatic circle by sending their Ministers. Japan and China had sent Envoys, who had come and gone. Among the representatives from the American republics, four Ministers, Molina, Romero, Asta-Buruaga, and Barreda, had remained during nearly the whole period of Seward's incumbency. But in 1867 and 1868, they were respectively replaced by successors. Two Ministers had gone home to become Presidents of their respective countries, Sarmiento of the Argentine Republic and Murillo of Colombia. There had been new accessions to the diplomatic circle from Hayti, Liberia and the Hawaiian islands.

Still more rapid had been the succession of American diplomatic representatives sent abroad — with the difference, that while the European diplomats had been transferred to other fields of official duty, the Americans had, for the most part, returned to private life. Only General Webb at Rio, Mr. Sanford at Brussels, Mr. Marsh at Turin and Rome, Harvey at Lisbon, and E. Joy Morris at Constantinople, had remained in position during the whole period. A numerous array of diplomatic representatives had gone out to and returned from the American republics.

This winter brought around Seward many old friends. Twenty years of life in Washington, during a period replete with historic events, had led to intimate personal friendships with resident families as well as with associates in Congress, the Departments, the Army and Navy, and the Courts. It was realized that these relations were now to terminate, in most instances, forever. Much interesting converse, and many touching incidents occurred at his closing series of receptions, and at the "last visits," which filled every spare hour.

The household would be broken up after the 4th of March, but until that time he desired that every book, picture, and article of furniture should be left in its accustomed place. So the old house retained its homelike look until the end. "These are my last days of official life," he said: "I shall leave Washington on the 5th of March, and probably shall never see it again."

A private note from Reverdy Johnson came with his dispatches,

in relation to the proposed treaty closing all disputes between England and America, in which he remarked:

> You may, my dear Governor, cease to think that the statesmen of this country ever doubted your sincere desire to have all the matters in controversy between the two nations settled at the earliest period, and on just and honorable terms; for such a doubt (as I know) no longer is entertained. As for your management of all your negotiations, growing out of the late war, no one who is acquainted with the difficulties which attended them, can hesitate to give you credit for the ability and patriotism with which they were conducted; or to admit that the country owes you a great debt of gratitude.

On the day before the change of Administration, a letter full of affectionate and kindly feeling from all the officers of the Department of State was laid before him. In it they said, that as to the discharge of his varied official duties, they did not doubt what would be "the verdict of that tribunal from which there should be no appeal." But they desired especially to testify their appreciation of the fact, "that neither the pressure of public cares, nor the weight of private sorrow" had served to disturb the exercise of "that courtesy toward subordinates, which renders official intercourse so gratifying, and the discharge of official duties so pleasant."

Its signers were George J. Abbott, George E. Baker, George Bartle, Samuel J. Barrows, Sevellon A. Brown, S. S. Benedict, Newton Benedict, George L. Berdan, D. N. Burbank, R. S. Chew, R. S. Chilton, Thomas C. Cox, A. H. Clements, Albert Daggett, Charles W. Davis, James C. Derby, Theodore W. Dimon, W. P. Faherty, Alfred Herrisse, John H. Haswell, E. Haywood, William Hunter, William Hogan, Ferdinand Jefferson, Frederick Horte, Charles McCarthy, Hugh McGraw, Thomas Morrison, J. R. O'Bryan, J. P. Polk, H. D. J. Pratt, Dwight T. Reed, P. L. Shücking, E. Peshine Smith, Jasper Smith, F. O. St. Clair, Warren C. Stone, E. D. Webster, A. Tunstall Welch, Arthur B. Wood.

In his reply, he said it gave him "sincere pleasure to recognize among the names subscribed, every loyal, capable, trustworthy, and reliable officer whom I found in the department when I entered it, with the exception of those who have voluntarily retired from the public service." He thanked them for the fidelity with which they had discharged their respective duties, and added:

> It would be idle for us to undertake to fix a standard for the popular appreciation of our own services. That will be the task of history, which delights in contemplating studiously the vicissitudes of nations; and that task can only be performed when we shall have ceased to be.

On the 4th of March, the Cabinet met for the last time at the Executive Mansion, to take leave of each other and their President. Seward, McCulloch, General Schofield, Welles, Browning, Randall, and Evarts were present. Only two of the original Cabinet of President Lincoln — the Secretaries of State and of the Navy — were among those who now handed their resignations to President Johnson. The Treasury, War, Interior, Post-Office, and Attorney-General's office had each had several incumbents during the past eight years. They parted with mutual regrets and kind feeling; for only the most cordial relations now prevailed around the council table.

Seward's messenger and attendant, Donaldson, resigned his place in the department on the same day as his chief. In reply to his affectionate farewell letter, Seward wrote that he had reserved for his last official act, a recognition of his long and faithful service.

In a letter to Mrs. Martin at Willowbrook, he had written, in regard to his future occupations:

The time having come when I am at liberty to think of taking leave of the capital and its responsibilities, your kind assurances of a welcome, on my return to Auburn, are very gratifying to me. You are quite right in thinking that my home and friends there are dearer to me than any other associations. There have been two studies of my active life. The one, to deserve well of my country when in public station; the other, to retain the affections and sympathy of my family and my neighbors in domestic intercourse. With regard to the latter object, I spent my leisure hours in making my home at Auburn worthy of my wife and of my daughter, whom I fondly cherished to be the elect and beloved companions of my ultimate retirement from public life. The home is there, just as I designed it, and I am getting ready to return to it — but they have ascended to a home not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens. I ought to be resigned to this deprivation, which is for their immortal felicity. Nevertheless, the sadness of the bereavement oppresses me, always, when I find myself alone in the pleasant scenes which I prepared for them — not for myself.

There is a field of study abroad, which was always resorted to by me, when free, because its exploration improved my intellectual strength, and qualified me for benevolent pursuits. It is not unlikely, now, that I may desire to return to it, for a time, before finally taking to my arm-chair near the Owasco lake.

To Mr. Peck, the Auburn editor, he wrote:

Tell my neighbors and friends that I gratefully appreciate their kindness; but I absolutely decline any public meeting, speech, drive, procession, ceremony, or demonstration; and that the old house will open as easily to them all hereafter, as heretofore.

It was at this period that Randolph penned his well-known lines:

SEWARD.

Eight years of service, such as greatest kings
Might seek, yet be unable to perform:
Thou hast rode out from first to last the storm
That shook the nation. Now the day that brings
To all the land the crowning act of peace
Takes off thy burden, gives thee glad release.
How through these years in silence thou hast borne
The cruel doubt, the slanders of debate —
The assassin's knife, and keener blade of scorn
Wielded by party in its narrow hate!
How couldst thou pause each step to vindicate
Of thy surpassing work? Lo! it is done,
Freedom enshrined in our regenerate State,
And they who were divided made as one!

A. D. F. R.

March 4, 1869.

CHAPTER LXII.

1869.

At Home Again. Appearance and Health. Old Friends and Neighbors. "Reconstruction" at Auburn, and in Washington. Preparations for Travel.

EIGHT years had made much change in Seward's appearance. With a mind still buoyant, clear, and resolute, his physical frame showed traces of the days of harassing labor, the casualties and bereavements that had come to him while Secretary of State. His hair had whitened, his shoulders had a stoop, and his step was no longer firm and steady. His photographs from this period show increasing signs of age and infirmity. He used spectacles in reading and writing, but his eye-sight was still strong. His hearing remained unimpaired throughout his life.

Arrived at Auburn, he wrote to his son, who was remaining a few days in Washington to close up the household affairs, and to send the books and furniture to the old home:

AUBURN, *March* 7.

We had a quiet rest at Trenton. The landlord was an enthusiast, and the servants were converts purchased, as they thought, with my blood.

The train was not crowded, and the day was pleasant. At Jersey City we

met Wakeman with a cutter, and also a feast. At the Astor House, Stetson, Clarence, the Blatchfords — father and son — Raymond, Derby, and Harvey, and a sumptuous dinner.

We left at six P. M., slept tolerably well, arrived at Port Byron at seven A. M., and drove over home in the open sleigh to Auburn. Jenny and the children were looking out for us.

The snow is a foot deep, the sun bright, the bells musical. The Auburn *Journal* is eloquent and grateful.

March 8.

It is marvelous to see how popular it makes a man to retire from public life. I think you and Anna would do well to hasten out here and try it. The most unrelenting critic I had is out this morning in full blast, raising a high voice in my defense.

The train is in, and brings nothing from you or others in Washington. The telegraph, more punctual, tells us that the Cabinet question remains mixed.

March 15.

Reconstruction is a work that ought to have been, perhaps has been, already done. The public mind wearies of it now. Will the new Administration have a policy, domestic or foreign; a leading one, to supply the place of the obsolete one? Its *personnel* does not yet distinctly indicate.

March 16.

We are rapidly subsiding into private life. The news agents seem to be roused into expectation that a new source of supply may be found by them in my return to the old home. I am expected by politicians to pronounce on the occurrences at Washington. But I am silent. I cannot go in as a politician or adviser. I shall hope to see some of our good diplomatic friends before they go to Europe.

March 20.

I infer, from yours of Thursday, that no letter addressed to you at Washington would find you there. We are then fairly out of Washington, and, so far as I am concerned, I doubt not, forever. If you ever go there again, I doubt not that it will be with principles and motives as patriotic and honorable as those which have sustained us during our residence there throughout a revolution.

It is not easy to foresee the tendency of affairs. The fact that the President is unambitious and loyal does not counterbalance my apprehensions about this everlasting perfecting of the work of reconstruction.

J. C. Bancroft Davis is a capital Assistant. It speaks well for the new Secretary's sagacity and judgment. "*Oh, si sic omnia.*"

March 28.

Our furniture and books seem all to have arrived, and in remarkable condition. We spent yesterday in putting up pictures, mirrors, globes, etc., and the house already wears a changed aspect. Mr. Lincoln's bust has gone to a place of honor in my library.

We are well, and the robins are musically singing their greetings of the sea-

son. Pleasant letters continue to come from far and near, interspersed with which is occasionally a printed libel. So it is not difficult to maintain my equilibrium.

The new library alteration goes on apace; all the rest of the alterations completed.

I will send back Mr. A.'s letter, having already, over and over again, replied to solicitations that I cannot communicate with the Government, in any department, on the subject of patronage.

Several newspapers begin to relent and relax on foreign affairs, and signs of toleration of our own policy are becoming more frequent.

The Chief Minister of Colombia writes General Cushing, fearing a disintegration of the Republic, to come out of discontents, averice, and ambitions, about the failure of the Isthmus canal.

June 2.

I think, if you agree, we will begin our travels by taking the overland route to San Francisco.

I have definitely decided to start June 7. Will you and Anna come Friday, and at what time?

CHAPTER LXIII.

1869.

A Journey Across the Continent. At Niagara. Through Canada. Detroit. Chicago. Over the Mississippi. Iowa. Omaha. The Union Pacific Railroad. On the Plains. The Platte. Nebraska. Emigrants. Wyoming. Cheyenne. 9,000 Feet above the Sea. A Stage Excursion to Denver. Indians. The Rocky Mountains. The Mining Region. Irrigation. The Alkali Desert. Utah. Salt Lake City. Brigham Young. The Mormon Church, and People. Promontory Point. The Central Pacific Road. The Chinese. The Sierra Nevada. California Ranches and Mines. Sacramento. Reception in San Francisco. Hospitalities. The Chinese Theater. Belmont.

THE railway across the continent was just completed. Its last spike — a golden one — had been formally driven at Ogden, amid imposing ceremonies. A trip over it offered an attractive field of study. Preparations were soon made. His business matters were left in charge of his son William at Auburn; his legal affairs with his nephew Clarence at New York.

Accompanied by his son Frederick and wife, and attended as usual by John Butler, he was joined by his old friend and neighbor, Mr. Abijah Fitch — his senior in years, but still erect, hale, and vigorous. They left Auburn on Monday, June 7, and spent the night at Rochester.

On the following morning they were swiftly passing through the

bright landscape of western New York, with its thrifty villages, and fields of waving grain. At Niagara, they left the car to walk over Suspension Bridge, and enjoy the ever novel spectacle of the mighty cataract. At Clifton, the American eagle holding the stars and stripes over the doorway of the consulate, admonished them that they were already "in foreign parts." The Consul, one of the ex-Secretary's own appointees, came out to greet them.

Again on board they passed in swift succession, St. Catharines with its picturesque surroundings, Hamilton with steeples gleaming in the sunshine, Chatham, the city of refuge for "fugitives" from "service or labor," in times gone by. Evening found them crossing the Detroit river, and before the long twilight was quite over, lodged for the night at the Russell House.

Detroit, solid, substantial, and respectable, offered attractions for a day's sojourn. They had rambles through the town, down to the river, and up to the fort, a glimpse at Windsor, chat over historic memories, and calls from numerous visitors, many of whom came to renew recollections of the anti-slavery struggle, the railroad conspiracy trials, and the war. Among these was General Pope, for the time the military commander of the district.

At night they entered the sleeping-car on the Michigan Central railway. They retired in Michigan, rose in Indiana, and breakfasted in Illinois. Morning found the train rolling through the prairie country and skirting the shore of Lake Michigan.

Reaching the Tremont House in Chicago, three days were devoted to that western marvel of activity and growth. Drives through its busy streets and well-built avenues, visits exchanged with old friends and new acquaintances, an excursion to the huge Union stock yards, another in a steamboat on the placid waters of the lake, closing with a dinner at Perry Smith's, who had made arrangements for a special car across the continent.

At the Chicago and North-western railroad station, the party was further enlarged by the accession of Charles L. Wilson, the editor of the Chicago *Journal*, his wife, and her mother. The afternoon was passed in speeding across Illinois; and at nightfall they were crossing the bridge at Clinton, over the Mississippi.

Iowa's rolling prairies, fertile farms, and scattered settlements, lay spread out before them the next morning, when they breakfasted at Boone. Each morning Seward sent a telegram to his family in Auburn, advising them of his whereabouts, so long as he should continue within the region of electric communication.

All that day was occupied in traversing a State of apparently un-

bounded agricultural capabilities. Council Bluffs was reached in the afternoon. There a deputation of citizens was waiting to escort him to the steamboat which was to carry him across the Missouri's turbid stream, to Omaha.

That town had sprung into prominence as a railroad center, and had already begun to look like an Eastern city. The rapid increase of handsome buildings in its graded streets had caused a rise in real estate, and its inhabitants were styling it "Young Chicago." A day was spent in the town, on whose main street commercial travelers, bringing samples from New York, met swarthy Indians in their prairie blankets.

At four o'clock the party entered the Pullman car waiting for them at the newly-built station of the Union Pacific railroad. The passengers were few in number. Some, like themselves, were tourists in search of novel scenes, and some were Californians returning home after a visit to the East. And now the train followed the windings of the Platte, through an apparently level plain, without fences, houses, or signs of human life, except the white covered wagons of immigrants, and, at a later hour, the camp-fires round which their horses were corraled, and they were resting for the night.

At Fremont, suddenly rose before them one of those unexpected cities for which the West is famous.

"Our city," said one of the inhabitants, "already has a population of four thousand. We began in tents, and shanties, and dug-outs, but now there are plenty of good brick houses and stores."

Here the train stopped for supper, and here were some Washington acquaintances — General Augur, in command of the military department, Colonel Emory of his staff, and others.

During the night, the train sped on through Nebraska, but was brought to a stop at Fort Kearney by the watchful care of the General, who telegraphed that Indians were committing depredations further on, and had murdered two settlers.

After five hours' detention, the track was reported "all clear," and morning showed they were indeed "on the Plains." An uninhabited and barren waste seemed to stretch away in all directions, strewn with buffalo bones, and horns, and dotted with the mounds of prairie dogs, who sat on their houses to watch the train go by, while beyond them, graceful antelopes were cantering away to a safe distance. The two long, and apparently interminable straight lines of iron, glistening in the sunshine, were in odd contrast to such surroundings.

"Breakfast at Plumb Creek," announced the conductor, and the travelers descended to the spacious "shanty" containing it. The

car was provided with steward, and dining-table, miniature pantry and kitchen, and delicacies from Chicago. But after the first day's ride, these ingenuities of high civilization were abandoned, for the greater novelty of seeing the settler's life "on the Plains," tasting their mountain trout and antelope steaks, and hearing their quaint dialect.

Though for miles no house or tree was visible, roads, or rather wagon tracks, seemed to wind over the waste in all directions. Occasionally a line of immigrant wagons would be seen, plodding wearily along one of these; and, now and then, a group of fortified huts, with its stockade, recalled the dangers to which these had been exposed. In the afternoon, distant views of castellated rocks broke the level monotony, and, presently, the travelers were informed that they were in Wyoming Territory, and "half-way across the Continent."

By evening, they were at Cheyenne. Here was a new experience. Scores of white frame houses and shanties were scattered about, silent and apparently without inhabitants. The roadways between them were overgrown with grass.

"Well, you see," said an obliging informant, "the city grew up right smart, while they were building the railroad; and, as soon as it was done, there warn't nothin' for 'em to do; so most of the people cleared out." However, the remaining citizens gathered in force at the tavern, where they were reinforced by officers and soldiers from the neighboring fort, and gave Seward a hearty welcome, with a brass band and speeches. The car was "switched off," and the travelers retired to rest.

Looking out from the windows of the hotel on the following morning, they could see in the distance the snowy summits of the mountain range, and were not surprised at being told they were five thousand feet above the sea. At the door stood a stage-coach, for the next two days were to be devoted to an excursion to Denver.

The road over the level or slightly rolling country proved unexpectedly good. In this region it seemed the roads were not made with hands, but by horses' hoofs and the broad wheels of prairie wagons. As soon as one track became rough, it was easy to take, or make, another, anywhere; for no field or fence barred the way. The sights were much like those of the preceding day, more buffalo bones and horns, more prairie-dog towns, more antelopes, more jack-rabbits, and once a slinking wolf. They saw afar off the white tops of an immigrant train, and, at a watering station, stumbled on an encampment of squalid and stolid Indians. Tall buffalo grass overspread the plain, gemmed with countless flowers. Again and again the stage was stopped to gather these beauties "born to blush unseen," all novel and all nameless. In

another respect there was a change. Instead of endless level plain, mountain ranges rose against the horizon. On the north were pointed out the "Black Hills," to the southward the "Red Hills," and further on, the high snow-covered top of Long's Peak. A railway and telegraph line to Denver were said to be in progress of construction, some miles to the east of the stage road.

Dinner at Laporte; and here they met a herd of several hundred cattle from Texas, on their way to the Northern market. With fresh horses, the stage spun along at the rate of ten miles an hour, and as the driver triumphantly said, "the last eight of 'em in thirty-five minutes."

Now rose on the horizon a new phenomenon — a white cone, thought at first to be a mountain peak, but proving too near and too regular in form, and, besides, surmounted by a blood red flag. As it slowly loomed up before the approaching stage, it turned out to be a great tent, and on the flag was the familiar title, "Circus!"

"Where do the spectators come from?" asked one of the travelers.

"Oh, they live all around here," answered the driver with a vague sweep of his long whip over the vacant plain — "Some on 'em come twenty mile, some on 'em fifty, and more too, I reckon."

There they were at any rate. The canvas had been lifted to get more air, and the seats were filled with a clapping and cheering audience; while a spangled equestrian was flying around the circle.

Perhaps it was because they were all there, that no human being was met, and no habitation seen, until the stage rolled up to the door of Mrs. Allen's tavern, at St. Vrain's Creek, to pass the night.

Starting at sunrise, they pursued their road, now diversified by creeks, and occasional mud-holes; for there had been a "rainy time" in this region.

Early in the afternoon, they came in sight of Denver. At the outskirts of this capital of Colorado, Governor Hunt, Governor McCook, and a number of other prominent people met them. Denver, with its well-kept streets, its substantial brick and stone buildings, its banks and shops and stores, hotels, and handsome private residences, seemed like an Eastern city. An evening reception of ladies and gentlemen at the Governor's, a serenade, and speeches at the hotel, closed the day.

"But how did such a city spring up in an uncultivated desert?"

The answer to that question was to be found in the mountains; and thither, the next day, they proceeded. An hour or two on the plain, then a gradual rise, then rocky ravines, and streams, and lofty hills, a picnic dinner in a roadside grove, and finally they arrived about sundown at Mrs. Beebe's in Idaho, a mountain village, noted for its min-

eral springs, eight thousand feet above the sea. Hot and cold baths in water having various alkaline components, attracted thither tourists and invalids.

A night's rest and an early morning start to climb still one thousand feet higher toward the mountain mining towns. And now, all along the road were jagged orifices and upturned earth, and piles of lumps of glittering pyrites. Every form of mining enterprise seemed to have been tried — placers, gulches, shafts, tunnels, troughs, and mills — here and there one in the full tide of busy success; but for the most part, all ominously silent and deserted. The stage-driver pointed out the different sorts of excavations and appliances.

"You seem to know all about mining," said a passenger.

"Yes, I've got a mine of my own. I'll show it to you when we get over the next hill."

On the next hill, in the center of a huge pile of pyrites was a windlass and buckets over an opening that looked like a well. He intimated briefly, "That's it."

"What is the history of it?"

"Well, you see I had that claim, and right under the surface, I struck it rich. The first month I took $2,000 in gold out of that hole."

"Well?"

"Then as I went deeper and deeper, the ore got poorer and poorer. At the end of six months, I had sunk my $2,000 and $4,000 more on top of it. Then I took to driving stage."

After several miles of these mining scenes, there appeared a neat white paling and a cottage surrounded by a vegetable and fruit garden.

"That must be a philosopher," said one, "to sit down in the midst of gold mountains, and be contented with raising cabbages."

"Him?" said the driver in surprise. "Why, he makes money faster than any of the rest of them. The miners have to buy his vegetables to live on, and he gets his pay in nuggets and gold dust."

Midday brought them to Central City — a busy place, whose surroundings would make it picturesque and romantic, if mining pick or shovel could allow grass or trees to grow. Newspaper and telegraph offices, hotels, shops, stores and saloons gave evidence of an active, roving population.

A visit to the smelting furnace and the Black Hawk stamp mill, gave instruction as to the laborious processes of getting the metal from the ore; and a glance at the mineralogical collections of specimens from recent "prospectings" and "diggings," showed that the supply was not likely to be exhausted.

Of course, the descent to Denver was more rapid than the upward trip. Sunday was devoted to rest, Monday and Tuesday to a long stage ride back to Cheyenne. After the visit to the mountains, it was easy to understand the mystery of cultivation by the "irrigation ditches," seen in every green field. A mountain stream, tapped on its way down the slope, is again and again subdivided into a myriad of little rills, and these are conducted where the farmer pleases among his crops.

This day's ride was diversified by unsuccessful sport. Some of the passengers had brought their rifles, and from the top of the stage, fired at distant antelopes and wolves; but the wary creatures knew enough to keep out of range.

Again on the train and speeding through Wyoming and over the Rocky Mountains, by rail. White tints and patches in the soil showed that the "Alkali Desert" was at hand. Chief event of the day was the pause at "Separation," where the waters divide and flow down one side of the ridge to the Atlantic, down the other to the Pacific.

Another sunrise found the train approaching the boundary of another territory. At Bear Run the travelers looked down into a great Indian camp engaged in the peaceable occupation of getting breakfast. At Wahsatch they got their own in a huge tent, as there had not been time enough to put up buildings since the road opened. Then came the wild, rugged scenery of the Wahsatch range, where rocks are piled and strewn as by an earthquake, the foaming Weber river, the Devil's Gate, the Echo Cañon, the Pulpit Rock, and the dry clear atmosphere which makes the mountain summits miles away appear as if within a stone's throw. "Deseret Station," called the conductor; and once more the party prepared to leave the car, to proceed by stage to the city of the "Latter Day Saints."

Rather a rough and jolting road, but with magnificent views, especially when it winds along the shore of the Great Salt lake, placid in the sunlight and bordered by lofty mountains. Adobe houses abound, with occasional frame ones. There is a curious peculiarity in their architecture — two or three front doors precisely alike. "Each wife wants her own," is the information vouchsafed by the driver.

Salt Lake City, nestling amid its luxuriant foliage and shade, and with its background of blue hills, was as pretty and peaceful a sight as any New England village. An almost Sabbath stillness prevailed. No noisy industry seemed in progress. The neat white houses were surrounded by ample groves and gardens; the streets enlivened by pure streams of living water. Everywhere were signs of agricultural

prosperity, ease and comfort, befitting the capital of a patriarchal State. The business streets were spacious, substantial and orderly, and the Townsend House, a large, neat and comfortable hotel.

Marveling much, the travelers descended there, and found awaiting them there their first letters from home. In the morning came a reception committee, headed by the acting Mayor, to tender the hospitalities of the city; and, under their guidance, the day was passed in drives to points of interest, the City Hall, the unfinished Temple, the river Jordan, the Hot Springs, and the huge Tabernacle building. Here a great organ had been placed in position and the choir were practising. They asked Seward if there was any thing he would like to hear?

"Can you play Old Hundred?" said he; "I suppose you believe in Old Hundred?"

"Oh, yes. Old Hundred is a favorite with us."

So they sang with spirit and effect:

> "From all that dwell below the skies
> Let the Creator's praise arise."

In the evening there was a visit to the Salt Lake theater to witness a conjurer's legerdemain. Returning to the hotel, a large crowd was found assembled in front, with a band for a serenade, followed by speeches of welcome and response.

Another day was devoted to sight-seeing, and receiving the visits of Governor Durkee, Judge McKean, and other Federal officers, as well as of prominent Mormons. Many of those he saw here, Seward had formerly known "in the States." Mr. Hooper, the delegate in Congress, was an old Washington acquaintance. The day closed by a dinner at the residence of Mr. Jennings and an evening party at Mrs. Head's.

Perhaps the most surprising thing about Utah was to find the people appearing, talking, and acting, in their business and social intercourse, very like the people of other American places, although their government and system of society were ecclesiastical and oriental, or, as they preferred to say, "patriarchal." It seemed rather odd to be presented to two or three Mrs. Youngs in succession, and to hear ladies speak of each other as "Mr. So-and-So's other wife," or "the second and third Mrs. So-and-So." Equally odd it sounded to hear that the dwellers on the Atlantic coast were "Gentiles," and that the leading "Gentile" in Salt Lake City was a Jew.

The meeting with Brigham Young was interesting. Accurately attired in a black suit and white cravat as became a religious guide,

"the President's" face betokened his resolute character, and his manner had the mingled ease and dignity befitting a chief magistrate.

"Governor Seward," said he, after exchange of greetings, "who lives in Squire Brown's house at Auburn now?"

"I bought it from Squire Brown, and lived there a year or two," replied Seward; "and since then it has had several owners."

"I worked on that house as a journeyman carpenter when they were building it," said Young, "about the same time that I was employed at the Theological Seminary."

Not only about his past history, but in regard to the religious, political, and social system of Utah, he talked freely and apparently without reserve. If his explanations in regard to "revelations" and "inspirations" seemed rather vague, perhaps it was because they were addressed to unbelievers. In reply to a good-humored intimation to that effect, he answered:

"Oh, well, Governor Seward, you are accustomed to governing communities and masses of men. You know what they are moved by, and how they are controlled."

Adverting to polygamy, Seward asked:

"But how do you reconcile your belief with the mathematical fact that the two sexes are about equal in numbers, which would seem to imply one wife for one man?"

"Yes," said the Mormon President, "but there are so many men that neglect their duties in that regard, that we who are willing have to perform a greater share."

"Besides," he added, "that proportion does not exist here, as you see; and yet every woman has a home and a husband."

He pointed, with not unreasonable pride, to the wealth, prosperity, and growth of the city, with its neat houses, orchards, and gardens, where twenty years before had been a sage-brush desert, and intimated that it showed the system had, at any rate, promoted the material welfare of the inhabitants, most of whom were originally poor.

Adverting to that feature of Mormonism which requires every member of its community to be doing something for its benefit, he said:

"Now, here is brother Hooper, who has but one wife, though he could probably support another. If he does not want to get married again, I think we shall have to send him on a foreign mission, to bring in converts."

Learning that "the Gentiles" had an Episcopal Church, Seward attended service there in the morning, and in the afternoon accepted an invitation to attend those at the Tabernacle. The congregation filled the great round auditorium. The large platform, filled with

the "twelve apostles," "the seventy elders," and others of the elect, among them Brigham Young, Taylor, Smith, Cannon, Hooper, and Richards, gave the scene the aspect of an immense public meeting. The majority of these leaders looked like practical men of business; though here and there was a thoughtful face, betokening studious habits. The services were not unlike those of the Methodist Church. The hymns were sung with fervor, the prayers were direct and earnest. But the sermon made manifest the difference, for it expounded why the Book of Mormon was the only safe guide, essential to any proper understanding of the Bible, which lay by its side on the desk.

At daybreak on Monday morning, the travelers again took stage to the railway. The first day's ride brought them to Promontory Point, the terminus of the Union Pacific road, and the beginning of the Central Pacific. A few minutes sufficed for the necessary changes. Here their car was coupled to that of a party of Chicago bankers, capitalists and railroad men, who were making an excursion over the new line.

Alkali plains and sage-brush, with an occasional green spot made by irrigation, with glimpses of the Humboldt river and mountain, marked the route through Utah and Nevada. In the construction of the Central Pacific, many Chinese laborers had been employed. Hundreds of them were still at work on the track and stations. Their almond eyes and queues were not greater objects of curiosity to the passengers than was Mr. Fitch's white head to them, their own hair being jet black. "You velly olo!" said one, mustering up his English for conversation.

Humboldt Pass, with its gigantic walls of basalt, opened the way to more alkaline plains beyond. Stations were frequent, but there had not yet been time for settlements to grow up around them; and most of the mining towns of Nevada were at some distance from the railway line. Passing Reno, the train began to climb the mountain range. Could there be a greater transition than that from alkali plains, to the magnificent scenery of the Sierra Nevada, with its towering peaks, its lofty ridges, its rugged cañons, its evergreen gorges, and its mountain lakes?

As the train sped round some sharp curve, or along the brink of some dizzy precipice, exclamations of surprise were heard on every side. The Chicago car had a railed balcony, which, placed at the rear of the train, afforded a fine view of the ever varying scene, and of the triumphs of engineering skill in constructing the railway line. Gigantic snow-sheds over the track, at various points, seemed out of place, in a region so bright and sunny as this, in June.

Now came the long but rapid descent, through piny woods and oak openings, toward the California plain. The story of the industrial enterprise of the new State was written in the excavations, the tunnels, the long hydraulic mining troughs which appeared on the mountain side, as well as in the orchards, the wheat fields, the houses and barns, of the ranches on the plain below.

"Auburn," shouted the brakeman, as the train stopped at a pretty village, whose inhabitants flocked round with friendly greetings. It was an illustration of the rapid changes of American life, that the story of the origin of their town was, to most of them, an unfamiliar one. Twenty years before, a company of young men, neighbors and townsmen of Seward, and two of them students in his law office, had gone out to seek their fortune, in the then newly-discovered gold region. The settlement they established had grown into a handsome town, nearly as large as its prototype; but the founders had passed away, "moved on," or returned to the East.

Early in the afternoon the train rolled into Sacramento, where it was greeted with salutes from cannon, and the cheers of a gathered multitude. There was a reception and a collation, with toasts and speeches — the State authorities and citizens vieing in their hearty and hospitable welcome to the capital of California. Governor Stanford, Mr. Crocker, Mr. Mills, and other "builders of the State" were among them.

Two days were passed resting in, and driving about the beautiful town, whose profusion of flowers and fruits of massive size appeared bewildering. To find geraniums and fuchsias clambering over the housetops, and strawberries, peaches, cherries, pears, apples, figs, and grapes, all ripe at once, was a reversal of preconceived ideas.

The stately Capitol, the churches, the ruins of Sutter's Fort, the stream where gold was first discovered, the Chinese quarter, with its queer little boxes of dwellings, the vineyards, and the great cocoonery, were all visited in turn.

Now came a committee from San Francisco, comprising Messrs. Pixley, Lake, and others, to escort him to that city. All embarked on the steamer *Yosemite*, and went down the river in the afternoon of the 2d of July. An eye-witness of the scenes (Mr. Williams of the *Commercial Bulletin*) thus described them:

> The night of his arrival in this city will never be forgotten. In deference to his well-known wishes, his friends endeavored to divest the occasion of the more showy pageant of a public reception. But it was no use. The popular enthusiasm was irrepressible. It found voice in salvos of artillery, the turnout of military companies, pyrotechnic displays, the unfurling of flags to the

breeze, the plaudits of excited multitudes. Although it was eleven o'clock at night before he reached the city, the streets were thronged with people anxious to catch a glimpse of the man who had done so much to glorify and aggrandize his country. Jaded, as he was by travel, he was compelled to make his appearance on the balcony of the hotel, when he was greeted by the wildest applause, a compliment which he acknowledged in a brief and masterful speech. His parlors the next day and evening were thronged with visitors. His appearance on the street was the signal for impromptu ovations, crowds of people following his carriage, and greeting him by the most cordial and affectionate salutations. Indeed, he received more than royal welcome — the welcome of a free people to the greatest living representative of republican institutions. His sojourn among us has been one unbroken ovation. No man who has ever visited our shores has been greeted by so many tokens of regard and affection. People of all parties and nationalities united in doing honor to the great statesman, sage, and patriot.

Mr. Seward was evidently much affected by these manifestations of popular regard. He did not hesitate to express to his friends his appreciation of the honors paid him. He was kind and cordial to all. Never have I seen him in a finer flow of spirits — more glad to welcome old friends — more alive to the innocent enjoyments of the present — more hopeful of the grandeur of the future.

The heartiness of our reception of Mr. Seward is easily understood. Our people have a lively remembrance of what he has done for California. It is to him that she mainly owes the blessing of having been created a free State. He has been her early, steadfast, unselfish friend. Her interests have ever been near his heart. In rising to do him honor, she has paid a debt of gratitude to a benefactor. She remembers, too, with a generous pride, his services to the country in the hour of her deepest peril; with what consummate ability he conducted our foreign relations at a time when one false step in diplomacy would have ruined all. Nor does she forget that at a time when the country was convulsed by a disgraceful conflict between Congress and the Executive, how hard he strove to heal domestic dissensions, by turning the thoughts of the people to the contemplation of subjects of exterior policy — the aggrandizement of the Republic by the extension of her territorial boundaries.

Among the incidents of the week of his stay in San Francisco were visits from hundreds of old and new friends, in his parlors at the Occidental Hotel, drives to the Cliff House, to look off upon the Pacific ocean, the Seal Rocks, and the Golden Gate, visits to the banks, the public institutions and schools, factories and mercantile establishments, attendance at church on Sunday, where his old friend, Bishop Kip, preached the sermon, participation in a Fourth of July celebration, which was conducted with enthusiasm — dinners at Senator Latham's, at the Mayor's, at Mr. Picaud's, and at the "Presidio" with General Ord, and tenders of hospitalities from all parts of the State.

One of the curious sights of San Francisco was the Chinese Theater,

whither he was escorted by some intelligent Chinese merchants, who spoke English with facility. The absence of scenery, the custom of placing the orchestra in the middle of the stage, and the dialogue in an unknown tongue, usually make the Chinese drama incomprehensible to the American observer. But, with an educated Chinese gentleman to sit beside you in the box and explain the plot and characters, it proves to be not unlike the drama elsewhere. In this play there were imperial processions with banners of an historic dynasty, battles between armies of supernumeraries with costumes and arms of the period; besides an undercurrent of intrigue, in which the Bonze from a Buddhist monastery (always a butt of ridicule in Chinese plays) was making love to the wife of an old schoolmate, at whose house he was a guest. Names and dresses changed, the play might have been written in Paris, and the scene laid at a French chateau.

On Saturday Mr. Ralston took the party in his four-in-hand coach, and drove to his country seat "Belmont," where he loved to entertain with princely hospitality. Forty guests came down from town on this occasion, and after dinner as many more gathered in the ball-room. During three days' stay at "Belmont," drives to the neighboring estates — Mr. Howard's, Mr. Parrot's, Mr. Shelby's, Mr. Barron's, Mr. Atherton's, and others, gave opportunities to study the fruit culture of California by the aid of irrigation, in the orchards, gardens, and vineyards.

Californians do nothing by halves, and they literally overwhelmed Seward with kindness. Every wish was anticipated or gratified as soon as uttered. Ralston would say in his off-hand way, "Any thing you would like to see, Governor, just let me know." And he was as good as his word. If the thing was portable, it would be in Seward's parlor before the day was over; or if not, there would be a carriage and a committee at the door to take him to see it.

CHAPTER LXIV.

1869.

A Trip to Alaska. The *Active*. On the Pacific. Straits of Juan de Fuca. Vancouver's Island. Victoria. An Excursion up Puget's Sound. Olympia. The San Juan Question. Nanaimo. Forest Fires. The Gulf of Georgia. Queen Charlotte's Sound. The Inland Passage. An Archipelago of a Thousand Miles. Lost in a Maze of Islands. An Indian Pilot. "The Queen of the Hydahs." Chatham Sound. Alaska Waters and Forests. Sitka. Its Houses and People. General Davis. Where Two Sundays Come Together. The Russians. A Visit to the Chilcats. The "Great Tyee." Total Eclipse of the Sun. A Tribal Gathering. A Treaty of Peace. The Coal Mines of Kootznahoo. Old Shipmates. The Salmon Fishery. A Parting Address at Sitka. The Future of Alaska. Fort Wrangell. Up the Stakeen. Fort Tongass. Return to Victoria.

ONE day in his parlor at the Occidental, Seward expressed a wish to visit Alaska. He was promptly informed that either of two ocean steamers were at his service. One was suitable for the outside passage, and would take him to visit Kodiak, and the Seal Islands. The other was better adapted for the inland channels, and could carry him to Sitka, and all through the archipelago. Ben Holliday generously proffered the *Active*, manned, equipped, and provisioned for the trip, with as little ceremony as if he were merely lending a friend a row-boat. A sovereign, visiting a distant province, in a royal yacht, could hardly have made his journey in more commodious and comfortable style, than that in which the Californians were determined that Seward should visit Alaska. A party of friends were made up to accompany him, comprising some leading citizens of San Francisco.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 13th, all were on board. The *Active* cast off her lines, amid the cheers of a concourse on the wharf, ran up her colors, and at noon was passing out through the Golden Gate. Both the *Active* and the Pacific justified their names, as the one steamed smoothly over the sunny waves of the other.

During two days, the varying outline of the coast of California was nearly always visible; sometimes dwindling into a bluish shadow in the horizon; sometimes near enough for study of its rocks, and pine trees, its seals and water-fowl. Cape Mendocino was passed, and Crescent City sighted; and then came the first glimpses of Oregon.

But California, and Oregon, each have weather of their own; and by this time, the summer breeze had developed into a stiff nor'wester; and the *Active* was rapidly using up her coal, without making much progress against a wind "dead ahead." The passengers welcomed Captain Dall's suggestion that the monotony of the trip might be varied by a run into Port Orford, to wait a change of wind. The

steamer was soon at anchor, and the boats were manned for an excursion on shore to see the Oregon forests and visit Trout lake. Seward was accompanied by Judge Hastings, Captain Franklin, and others of the party, and the morning was passed in rambling among the huge pines, looking at Battle Rock, and fishing for trout in the crystal lake. In the afternoon, a signal from the steamer notified them that a change of wind had come, and all went on board, and off to sea again.

Captain Dall, a thorough seaman, knowing every mile of the coast, advised them, from time to time, of the different localities they were passing; but the inexperienced eyes of landsmen, for the next two days, saw little but fog and rain. However, the circle around the cabin table had now become well acquainted; and as all were bent on enjoying the trip, time passed rapidly with the help of maps, books, games and story-telling; for the life of any old Californian, who went "across the plains," is full of experiences that give it the charm of a romance.

On the morning of the 20th, under a clear blue sky, the *Active* had rounded Cape Flattery, and was steaming up the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The passengers were all on deck gazing at the lofty headlands, one shore belonging to Great Britain, and the other to the United States. Through a channel, growing gradually narrower, the vessel wound its way to the harbor of Victoria on Vancouver's island. The capital of British Columbia looked very pretty with its white houses and steeples.

A crowd had gathered at the wharf, and Seward was escorted to his hotel, where rooms had been prepared. The rest of the day was spent in receiving visits, and in drives about the town and its neighborhood. In the evening, came a serenade and speeches.

Victoria, after a period of growth in "flush times," was experiencing a commercial depression. Rents were down, many houses were empty, and its citizens were apprehensive that it had seen its best days, unless new life should be infused into it by the completion of a Northern Pacific railroad, and that seemed still in the remote future.

A river steamboat, with the familiar name of *Wilson G. Hunt,* had been chartered for an excursion up Puget Sound. On board of her, passing Port Townsend, and reëntering the waters of the United States, two days were spent in exploring this deep land-locked arm of the sea, with its capacious harbors and waterways, its enormous forests of gigantic trees, its busy saw-mills, its fleets of vessels loading with lumber for California, Australia, China, Chili, and Liverpool, its new settlements springing into life, and its forest fires raging on shore and mountain and threatening to check all this growing prosperity.

Seattle, Port Madison, Steilacoom, and other landings were visited in turn, and finally the steamer was at the wharf of Olympia, the new capital of the new Territory of Washington.

Olympia was a growing young town, with neat streets and pretty cottages. Governor Flanders welcomed Seward, and led the way to look at public buildings and commercial enterprises. Then followed a drive with Captain Lawson through the adjoining forest to look at the "big trees," similar in character, and not much inferior in size, to those of the celebrated groves in California.

"Yours will be a valuable property when the Northern Pacific railroad is built," remarked Seward to an "old settler," whose substantial house stood near the water.

"Well, we hope so. But I've been waiting twenty years for that railroad, and it don't seem to come along. I don't know now whether I shall live to see it."

Most of the inhabitants of the Territory, however, were more sanguine. Already the engrossing question all along the Sound was, "Which place will be chosen as the terminus?"

The *Wilson G. Hunt*, coming in at high tide in the morning, had towered up so far above the wharf that the passengers had to walk down a steep plank to get ashore. In the afternoon the situation was reversed, the boat having sunk down a dozen feet, so that they stepped back from the wharf to her upper deck. But, as her keel was resting in the mud, it did not seem that she could resume her voyage. However, at its appointed time, the strong tide came rushing in again, filled the channel, and lifted her off and allowed her to proceed on her return voyage.

Friday was occupied in an interesting study of the international boundary question, so long under debate at Washington; and which, in the proposed treaty of 1868, Seward has offered to leave to the arbitration of the President of Switzerland. The *Hunt* steamed to the disputed island of San Juan, which had a British garrison at one end and an American garrison at the other; then through the strait of Rosario, claimed as the boundary by Great Britain, and then to the Canal de Haro, urged as the boundary by the United States. Personal examination of the locality confirmed and strengthened the opinions he had reached over the maps at the State Department — and which a few years later were adopted and given binding force, by the arbitrator under the treaty of Washington.

Proceeding up through the Gulf of Georgia to Nanaimo, in the coal-mining region, they found there the *Active*, which, in order to lose no time, had been coaling for the Northern trip. Bidding adieu to their

friends on the *Hunt*, the party went on board and resumed their voyage.

On through the Gulf of Georgia and the straits between Vancouver and the main land, anchoring for the night amid the blinding smoke of forest fires, which, when it lifted, showed lurid flames climbing among tall trees; while behind them rose great black mountains, and still further off, snowy peaks gleaming in the cold moon-light. A rough, wild, weird scene it was!

Out again in broader channels, by daylight, passing Fort Rupert, crossing Queen Charlotte's sound, and getting a glimpse of the open sea; and then plunging into an apparent labyrinth of channels through the forest.

And now came a voyage to whose scenes the world offers no parallel. The steamer passed through an archipelago of islands, straits, and sounds; now miles in width, now narrowing to a few hundred yards. The waters are tranquil as a Swiss lake, safe for the frailest bark canoe, and yet deep enough for the largest ocean steamer. Evergreen forests of tall cedars and spruce and pines crowd down to the water's edge so dense as to be impenetrable. Sometimes hills, covered with like forests, cluster behind them on every side; sometimes precipitous cliffs rise hundreds, and even thousands of feet, with cascades dropping over them, like those of the Yosemite.

All day and every evening, for a week, the *Active's* passengers sat on deck to watch the ever-varying scene.

"It is Puget Sound extended and ramified," said one.

"Here it reminds you of the Columbia," said another.

"And here it is like the St. Lawrence and the Thousand Islands," said a third.

"Here are the Hudson Highlands and Palisades piled up on the shore, with the Alps in the background," said a fourth.

In truth, it emulated the characteristics of them all. This wonderful "Inland Passage" extends in unbroken picturesque beauty from Olympia to Sitka, and then beyond to the foot of Mt. Fairweather. Man has mapped off the archipelago by invisible lines that assign part of it to Alaska and part to British Columbia. But Nature has fixed no limits and no divisions.

It seemed strange that a region so temperate and healthful, so rich in resources for industry and commerce, should so long have remained untenanted by civilized man. A solemn stillness pervaded the wilderness. Only the noise of the steamer's paddles, or the occasional cry of a bird or splash of fish, broke the silence. Even the animals had not come to know enough of man to be afraid of him. One day two

spotted fawns were seen to leap into the channel, and were swimming across. The steamer came upon them midway; and they paused in the water, a few feet off, looking up with large wondering eyes at the vessel and the passengers on deck. So tempting a shot made one of the officers hastily bring out his rifle and level it. A remonstrance from the ladies on deck made him desist, and he lowered it, saying: "It does seem a pity to shoot the little things."

One morning an ominous silence prevailed. The engine had stopped; and, on coming on deck, the passengers learned that the ship had "lost her way!" She was lying in an apparently land-locked bay among the mountains, from which there seemed no practicable exit but the channel through which she had entered. Captain Cooper, who, in command of British vessels, had before navigated these intricate channels, had, after leaving Victoria, assisted Captain Dall, by acting as pilot. But even his experienced eyes recognized no familiar landmark. A boat was sent out to explore. Returning, the officer in charge reported that he found ample depth of water, but no feasible outlet. However, he had come upon a bark canoe, in which four Indians were fishing, and had persuaded them to come with him to the ship.

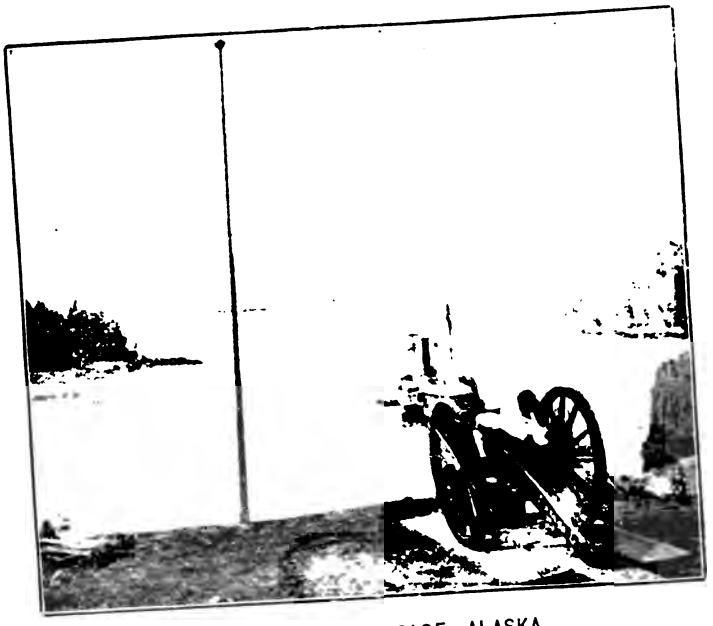
Then ensued an animated dialogue in Chinook — the jargon which, all along the North Pacific coast, serves for intercourse with the Indians. The leader of the party, a stout, swarthy Indian, with a good-humored face, offered to show how to steer to find a northern channel. He was accordingly posted on the upper deck. As a precaution against any mischief or treachery, his three companions were left in the canoe, which was secured by a rope to the vessel's stern. A pile of "sitkum dollars" (silver half dollars, being the favorite currency for Indian traffic) was placed before him; and the Captain, by the aid of Chinook and gestures, gave him to understand that, if he performed his agreement, they should be his. He was shown at the same time a loaded revolver, and informed that if the vessel ran ashore, struck a rock or a shoal, he would be immediately shot. To both propositions he grunted a ready assent.

The engine was started, and the *Active* resumed her way through the unknown waters. It soon became evident that the aboriginal guide was acting in good faith. Winding between islands, doubling sharp promontories, whose projecting foliage had hid the way, the steamer in less than an hour had entered a broad open passage, leading northward; and in the distance, Captain Cooper recognized the mountains of Finlayson Channel. The Indian nodded and chuckled: "Ah, ha, nika wawa delate." (You see I told you the truth.)

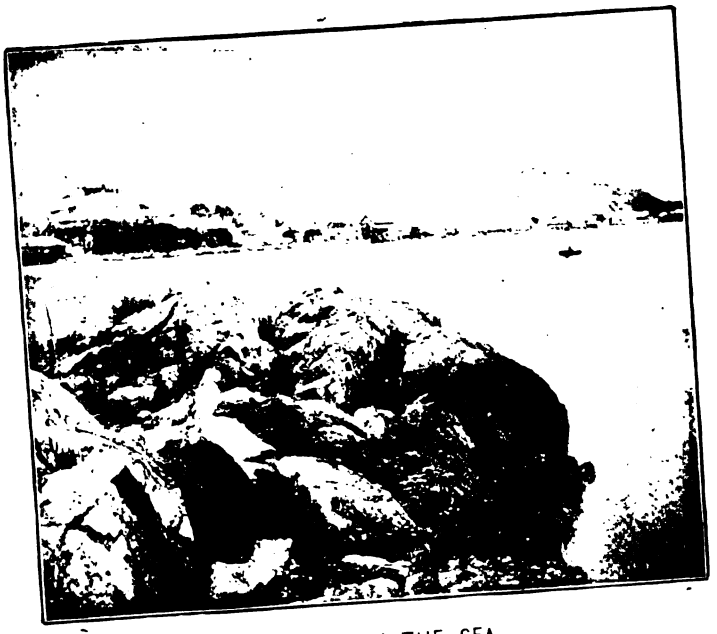
The passengers, who had been leaning over the stern rail, trying to

talk to the Indians in the canoe, now proposed to give them some gratuity. The Captain suggested that any thing in the way of wearing apparel would probably be more acceptable than money. Seward sent below and got some articles, which were lowered over the stern by a rope. First, there was a bright-colored cravat, and signs were made, "that is for the boy." The boy nodded and grinned, and tied it round his neck in a way that showed he knew its use. Next an old frock coat "for the man in the stern." The man in the stern held it up complacently, and then slung it over his shoulders, like a Spanish cloak, deeming the sleeves a superfluity. Lastly, a pair of pantaloons "for the man in the bow." The man in the bow regarded them with satisfaction, but with evident doubt as to the way they were to be worn. Finally he tied them round his neck in a huge knot like a cravat — and joined in the burst of merriment from the deck above. Then the two craft parted company.

At Fort Simpson, a trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, the *Active* anchored for the night; and Seward with other passengers went ashore to look at the stockaded fort, the post trader's store, and the garden of vegetables and flowers around it. Purchases were made of various Indian carvings and basket work made by the Hydahs. Learning that the "Queen of the Hydahs" lived within a short distance, the party proceeded to pay a visit to Her Majesty. The royal residence was a substantial square structure of hewn logs, seventy or eighty feet long, the entrance to which was guarded by a score of Indian dogs, bearing a suspicious likeness to coyotes. These yelped and howled in chorus — the bark being a civilized accomplishment not yet attained. Within, the house had no partitions, forming one vast room from the earth, which was its floor, to the roof, with an opening in its center to let out the smoke. Hanging blankets or skins shut off one end for sleeping places or depository of valuables. The Queen was dressed partly in civilized and partly in savage apparel, with cotton and woolen cloth, beads, furs and feathers, and silver ornaments. Her attendants, male and female, were similarly attired. She received her visitors graciously, asked them to sit, and readily acceded to their request in Chinook for one of the native songs and dances. A middle-aged Indian master of ceremonies gave the time by measured clapping of his hands; and the young girls sang a plaintive but rather monotonous melody in their own tongue. The dancing was merely swaying back and forth of their bodies in time to the music, entirely modest and not ungraceful. At its close the Queen ordered a package of beaver skins to be opened, and one of them to be laid at the feet of each of her guests, as a "potlach" or complimentary gift.



THE INLAND PASSAGE, ALASKA



SITKA FROM THE SEA.

Inquiring what would be a suitable "potlach" for him to make in return, Seward was informed by the Captain that "sitkum dollars" were always acceptable at court — the Indians being very expert in fashioning them into bracelets and bangles. Due exchange of courtesies being completed, by the presentation of some eagles down, as an emblem of "Peace," the party took their leave and returned to the ship.

Steaming on through the magnificent scenery of Grenville Channel and Chatham Sound, the *Active* continued her cruise in the waters of Alaska. She traversed Clarence Channel with its mountains and forests, passed Prince of Wales Island, and then, while in the Narrows of Etoline Island, witnessed a golden sunset worthy of the Mediterranean.

It was noticeable that there were no more of the forest fires, which had been making such widespread devastation on the shores of Puget Sound, and filling the air with smoke in Vancouver Straits. The greater moisture of the climate, in southern Alaska, seemed to have prevented such conflagrations. Forests, standing for centuries, would last until felled by the woodman's axe.

On the 30th of July, the *Active* passed Cape Ommaney and entered the harbor of Sitka. It was a fine sight, and its bright coloring suggested Southern rather than Northern climate. Standing on Baranoff Island, amid densely-wooded hills of vivid green, the white and yellow houses, with red roofs, were clustered around the oriental-looking dome and spire of the Greek church gleaming in the sunshine. High up on the steep Baranoff rock, overlooking the town, was the great substantial house known in former times as the "Governor's Palace," now used as General Davis' head-quarters. Directly by the ship's side was a little island, where some enterprising person had started a vegetable garden. In the distance towered up the lofty cone of Mount Edgecumbe, eight thousand feet high. The stars and stripes, waving from the fort, showed that the travelers had again entered American territory. A salute from its guns welcomed the ex-Secretary of State, and boats from the shore soon came off with visitors to greet him

Landing about six o'clock, he was taken to the house of Mr. Dodge, the Mayor of Sitka. What would be evening in a more southern latitude was broad daylight, in summer, here; so that the next three hours were spent in a walk about the town, and a visit to the Government House. Most of the houses had been built by the Russians, of squared hewn timber, "it being easier here," as a townsman remarked, "to square a log than to get a board." An American had now set up a saw-mill, and future edifices would probably be cheaper and less

solid. The streets were unpaved, but General Davis had laid plank sidewalks in the principal ones. This was regarded as a great improvement. There was a curious medley of population and costume. Russians in their national dress; United States soldiers in their blue uniforms; Indians in blankets and feathers, and traders and travelers clad in the latest style of Montgomery street, San Francisco.

It was rather a novel experience to have to draw the curtains to shut out the sun-light at ten o'clock at night, and equally novel to find the sun rising at two in the morning; but "less of an inconvenience," as Mr. Dodge remarked, "than it was, in winter, to have to light candles at two in the afternoon."

The bells of the Greek church were pealing a chime the next day for Sunday morning service.

"But is not this Saturday?"

"Yes, Saturday for Americans, but Sunday for Russians. We get our time from the east *via* New York; they get theirs from the west *via* Siberia."

Sure enough, here was a place where two Sundays came together! Each nationality adhered to its own calendar; so that an American writing a letter that day in Sitka would date it "Saturday, July 30," while a Russian would date his "Sunday, July 18," O. S. It was a proof of the earth's revolution on its axis that would have delighted Galileo.

Seward and his party attended the services at the Russo-Greek church, which were conducted by a bishop and two priests of that faith. The edifice was handsomely built, and within richly decorated. A congregation of two or three hundred were present, principally Russian residents and Indian converts.

In the afternoon they walked over to the Indian village, which was just outside of the Russian town, and separated from it by a huge stockade. There was a strong gateway in the stockade, which it was the custom to close at seven in the evening and re-open at seven in the morning, it being deemed prudent to exclude the Indians at night. They seemed, however, a peaceable, good-natured race, very unlike the savages of the Atlantic States. Sturdy and stocky of frame, with broad faces, with eyes and complexion somewhat resembling those of the Japanese, they were not predatory and warlike, but, in many respects, industrious and ingenious. They were the laborers of the Territory, and, generally, ready to work for a reasonable amount of "sitkum dollars." Many of them were Christians of the Greek faith. They lived, not in huts or wigwams, but in houses of hewn logs. The chief's house was a spacious structure, subdivided within only by

hanging skins and blankets, and providing accommodations not only for his own family, but for all the head men of the tribe. At one end of the village was a chapel, fitted up with altar and pulpit, under the direction of the Russo-Greek priests. At the other, was a market place, where an abundant supply of fish, a scanty stock of vegetables, and some carvings and curiosities were offered for sale.

The next day was Sunday, according to the American reckoning. The bells of the Greek church were silent. The Lutheran chapel was open. Services there were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Rainor, the Chaplain of the post, and attended by the families of Army officers and those of the American residents.

Some amusement was occasioned at table by the remark of one of the ladies that they had been much disappointed at obtaining no beef by this steamer, as all were looking for steaks. "So we can offer you nothing but the fare of the country, Governor Seward."

"But that is excellent."

"Oh, no; we have nothing now but venison, and grouse, and wild ducks, and salmon and trout!"

One of the Army officers said that their weariness of these delicacies reminded him of the mutiny of the soldiers at a Florida fort, against being served with green turtle soup, more than once a week.

Monday was a busy day. First a call from the Common Council of Sitka. Then a visit to the brewery, the fishery, and the saw-mill. The remains of one unlucky commercial enterprise were pointed out. Misled by the outcry in the papers about "ice and polar bears"—a company was formed, soon after the annexation, in San Francisco, to import ice from Alaska. Building a dam, and forming a large pond at Sitka, they waited for winter; when, to their surprise, ice only formed four inches thick. Inquiry among the inhabitants soon informed them that it was seldom any thicker. So they abandoned their ice-pond in disgust, and sought for ice in the colder climate of Kodiak, farther north.

In the afternoon there was a lunch at General Davis' head-quarters, to which he had invited officers and citizens to meet Mr. Seward. Among the guests were the Russian bishop and clergy, in the costume of their order. The Bishop, a venerable, kindly prelate, remarked that it was a great pleasure to him to have been transferred to so warm a climate as that of Sitka.

"But where then was your former charge?"

"In Kamchatka," was the reply.

Several of the Indian Chiefs were also present. Most friendly relations seeemed to exist between them and the commanding officer.

One of them, looking on, at dress parade, confidentially said to the General:

"You no ought work your men here on land, with guns. You ought have them on water with canoes."

The advice was shrewd and sensible, and though confirmed by subsequent experiences, it was not comprehended or adopted at Washington, until years afterward. Soldiers cannot move in the dense forests and undergrowth, where the Indians only go to hunt. Their villages are all built on the shores, and their chief subsistence is by fishing. A gun-boat patrolling the different sounds and straits has them under better control than a whole army corps, powerless for any thing but its own defense.

An interesting morning was spent in looking at Mr. Rainor's collection of botanical, mineralogical and zoölogical specimens, and Indian curiosities. Then followed a visit to the great warehouse of furs, where seal, beaver, black and cinnamon bear skins were piled up by the hundreds, with a few of the sea-otter and Russian sable. Traders, from San Francisco and Liverpool, were ready to take all that offered, but at prices that seemed singularly small, compared with what the same furs are sold for, when finished and made up for wear.

At the stores on the main street were Indian implements and weapons, articles of wearing apparel, and many curious carvings in the shape of canoes, masks, and grotesque figures of men and animals, all painted in bright colors, and with great staring eyes. One of the striking sights, at every Indian village, are the carved wooden columns or "totem-poles" set up before the doors of the houses. On such a column, the emblems of great exploits or ancestral descent — the bear, the seal, the whale, the fox, the salmon, the medicine man, the warrior, and the nondescript monster, are piled, one above another, to the height of twenty or thirty feet. To the civilized eye, it looks like a bit of fantastic savagery. Yet, after all, it is only the same thing, in another form, as those heraldic devices which have excited admiration, pride and envy throughout civilized Europe, for centuries. There, they are borne on shields — here, piled up on sticks.

And now, once more on board the *Active*, Seward and his party proceeded northward, this time accompanied by General Davis and his Staff. Some of the friendly Sitka Indians acted as pilots, and the destination was the Chilcat river, the head-quarters of the formidable tribe recently engaged in hostilities with the troops. They had expressed a desire for peace and friendship; and this visit on the *Active* would give the General an opportunity to reciprocate it. Besides, as he laughingly told the ex-Secretary, he looked to him for valuable as-

STREET SCENE IN SITKA.

INTERIOR OF GREEK CHURCH AT SITKA.

sistance in the negotiations. The General, in talking with the Indians, had given them the news that a scientific expedition, sent out from Washington to observe the total eclipse of the sun, was coming among them, and, also, the great "Tyee" (or chief) who had bought the whole territory, was coming, to make it a visit. It had not occurred to him that the Indians' understanding of the fact would be different from his own. But he soon found that, to their simple minds, it meant the advent of a sovereign owner of the soil. They could not understand how a great "Tyee" could buy Alaska, and then not own it. They were expecting to welcome him with great respect, and to receive favors at his hands. As for the eclipse story, they received that with some incredulity, but thought it had some connection with the visit of the great "Tyee."

Around lofty Mount Edgecumbe, through Peril Straits, to the harbor of Kootznahoo, was the first day's sail. It was through the same striking scenery of forests, islands, and towering peaks, and labyrinthine channels, already grown familiar. But it differed, in being accompanied now with rain and fog and mist — the sun only peering out occasionally, and then withdrawing again. Waterproofs and umbrellas were in demand on deck; for no one wanted to remain below.

Two days were spent in the cruise through the mountain scenery of Chatham Strait and Lynn Channel, with a few hours' pause to look at the glittering cliffs and precipices of ice, which constituted the foot of an enormous glacier, gradually crumbling into the sea, while its congealed mass could be seen stretching far away up into the mountain ravines.

At evening, on the 5th, a long range of snowy peaks came in view, chief among them the gigantic rounded top of Mount Fairweather. Mount St. Elias, highest of all, forms part of the same range, but was too far to the westward to be visible from the steamer, being hidden by the intervening peaks.

Anchoring at the mouth of the Chilcat river, communication was opened with the Indians, who resembled the Sitkas, but spoke a different language. The "Chinook" jargon, however, serves for intercourse with all. Several canoe-loads came off to visit the ship, and some of them readily consented to take a message up to Mr. Davidson; who was in command of the Coast Survey party, and had established his camp further up the river, at the best point for observing the eclipse in its totality.

The Indians were as good as their word, and returned on the following day with a letter from Mr. Davidson, describing his position, and referring to information obtained there about a region, over the hills

to the northward, where there was "a dry climate," "no forest," "a mountain of iron," and other mineral deposits. He invited the travelers to come up to visit his camp, and the invitation was accompanied by one from the Chilcat chieftain, who sent canoes to aid the ship's boats in bringing them.

The excursion party was soon made up, Seward, General Davis, and others going in one of the *Active's* boats. Pulling rapidly up the river, they soon lost sight of the steamer, as she came cautiously along behind them, feeling her way with the lead, in unknown waters. A few hours sufficed to bring them to their destination. They were heartily welcomed on shore by Mr. Davidson and by the Chilcat chief, who had placed one of his great lodges at the service of the scientific party, and another at that of the "Great Tyee" and the "General." Here they supped upon fresh fish and game, cooked at the blazing fire in the center of the lodge, and passed a comfortable night, with semi-civilized, semi-savage surroundings, wrapped in bear-skins and army blankets.

The eclipse was to occur on the 7th, and when Mr. Davidson commenced posting his assistants at different standpoints, one armed with a telescope, another with a sextant, another with a camera, another with the chronometer, and another with pencil and note-book, all gazing intently at the sun, and pointing their mysterious instruments toward him, it seemed proof positive, to the uneducated Indian mind, that they were a sort of sharp-shooters taking aim at that luminary. When, at the time announced, the first faint line of obscuration began to appear on the disc of the sun, stolidity and incredulity gave way to visible anxiety; and the Indians silently gathered more closely round the little circle of observers. When these were shifting their instruments and noting their observations, and Davidson was passing rapidly and quietly from one to another, giving directions and receiving reports, it certainly looked as if the "Boston men" were personally conducting the exhibition.

The shadow had crept about half-way over the face of the sun, when the Chilcats began to expostulate. They said they were convinced of the "Boston men's" skill; but they had seen enough now, and they feared bad consequences if the thing went further. But the observers were too busy to listen or explain.

The black shadow crept steadily on and on, over the sun. The weird, unusual light, which was neither day nor night, settled down over mountain, river, and forest. Birds and insects were hushed, and sombre silence gradually covered the scene.

Apprehensions had been entertained that cloudy weather might

frustrate all the labors of the expedition. But the clouds, just in time, rolled aside, and excellent observations were taken. For additional precaution, Davidson had posted a second party on the mountain side, a mile or two away. These now telegraphed, by signal fires, that their view also was unobstructed.

On board the *Active*, still other scientific observers were posted. The unscientific were also gazing at the phenomenon through smoked glass and in buckets of water placed on the deck. When the eclipse became total, the chickens in the coop went to roost, the cow laid down contentedly for the night, and some of the Sitka Indians, who had been taught by the Russians, fell on their knees, and fervently repeated the Lord's Prayer in Greek.

There were unmistakable signs and exclamations of relief, when the shadow began to pass away. The Indians were now convinced that the "Boston men" were taking it off, as skillfully and methodically as they had put it on. The Coast Survey party were highly pleased with the successful termination of their long enterprise; and general cheerfulness came back with the sunshine.

Shortly before the time appointed for returning on board, the Chilcat chief invited his guests to come to his lodge, to meet the principal people of his tribe. The assemblage numbered two or three hundred. The chiefs, of greater or less degree, the warriors, the medicine men, and the women, stood, in grave, passive rows, all around the sides of the building — the chief (Klakautch) and his guests being seated in the center.

The latter had not quite understood whether this gathering was for a formal and ceremonious greeting, or for some other purpose. They were not left long in doubt.

As soon as all had assembled, Klakautch rose, and uttered a few emphatic sentences, which the interpreter proceeded to translate.

"Some time ago, the Kalosh (Sitka Indians) killed three of the Chilcats. Now the Great Tyee has come, we have gathered to ask him — What is he going to do about it?"

So sudden and direct a demand seemed to require a categorical answer; and Seward had never even heard of the case. He asked:

"When did this killing take place?"

Question and answer were translated by the interpreter. The date was given, in Indian fashion, reckoning by "suns" and "moons." It appeared that it happened nine or ten years before.

"Then it happened," Seward replied, "when this country belonged to the Emperor of Russia — long before it became the property of the United States. He was a great sovereign, who listened to the In-

dians, and treated them with kindness. This demand should have been made to him."

Evidently this reply was not at all satisfactory. The chiefs consulted together; and presently their answer came back, through the interpreter:

"We did appeal to the Emperor of Russia, but he gave us no redress. Perhaps he was too poor. We know he was poor; because he had to sell his land to the great 'Tyee.' But now the great 'Tyee' himself is here, in his stead. And we want to know what he is going to do about it?"

Seward conferred with General Davis, and then asked:

"How many men were murdered?"

"Three," was the answer.

"And what sort of redress do you yourselves desire?"

There was visible brightening up in the faces of the Indians at this. They consulted as before; and presently came their response:

"A life for a life is the Indian law; and always has been. But as these three Chilcats were of the chief's family, we reckon each of their lives to be equal to the lives of three common Indians. What we want, then, is, the great "Tyee's" permission to send our warriors down to kill nine of the Kalosh (Sitkas), in order to avenge the death of the Chilcats."

To this Seward replied with promptness, that it was not to be thought of. No killing would be allowed. He then asked:

"Is there any other form of reparation that you think might be made?"

The faces of the Indians beamed with satisfaction when this was translated to them. It began to look like business. They consulted as usual, and answered:

"We know that the 'Boston men' are averse to any killing, except by their own soldiers. So we have sometimes consented to take pay in blankets. We think that the life of each Indian is worth about four blankets. Nine times four blankets, if the great Tyee chooses to give them to us, would be full redress, and make our hearts glad; and we should henceforth regard the Kalosh (or Sitkas) as our friends and brothers."

"Well, General," said Seward, "there you have the conclusion of the case. I think you can afford to give them thirty-six blankets to make peace between the tribes. Shall I tell them you will send them up?"

The General was very well pleased, as this would end the last of the Indian disputes, and establish peace throughout the Territory. He thought it advisable, however, to give the adjustment greater solem-

nity and effect, by requiring the Chilcats to appoint commissioners to proceed to Sitka; and there receive the blankets for their tribe, and exchange tokens of amity with the Sitka Indians.

This arrangement proved highly satisfactory all around. The Chilcats, who hitherto could not safely venture into the region occupied by their enemies, were glad of an opportunity to visit Sitka, see its wonders, and make friends with its Indians. So the meeting broke up with mutual congratulations. The climax was added to the general rejoicing, when the Chilcat chiefs were invited to row down to the *Active*, and dine there with the General and the great Tyee.

Toward evening a picturesque sight was seen from the *Active's* deck. Round the bend of the river a flotilla came sweeping down stream, the ship's boats leading with measured strokes, then the boats bringing the Coast Survey party with their equipage and baggage, and behind and around them all the brightly-colored and gayly-decorated canoes of the Chilcats. Arrived on board, the stewards and cook went busily to work to meet the responsibilities imposed upon them; and soon a banquet was spread, bewildering in its variety, considering the limited resources of the ship's larder and the Sitka market; and lavish in its quantity, since all who were to partake of it were blessed with good appetites. The cabin was too small to accommodate the whole company; but it was entirely in accordance with Indian usage that the six chiefs should sit in state at the cabin table, while their wives and attendant warriors gathered on deck round the open skylight, through which the viands were passed out to them; while they had full view of the proceedings below.

The chiefs had, for the most part, discarded savage ornament, and wore such clothes as white men — Klakautch especially astonishing his hosts by appearing accurately attired in a neat suit of black broadcloth. On deck there was merriment with the feasting; in the cabin all was grave and decorous, with little conversation, until the principal courses had been disposed of.

After the exchange of various information about the territory and the government, Seward inquired if there was any thing further that the chiefs would like to ask? They consulted, according to their wont, and presently answered, through their interpreter, that they would like to have the great Tyee tell them about the eclipse.

Seward accordingly proceeded to explain the phenomenon in the simplest language possible, using as illustrations the cabin lamp to represent the sun, and an orange and an apple to represent earth and moon. When he had finished, he inquired if the chiefs had understood his explanation?

After conference, as before, the reply came back:

"The chiefs have understood much, though not all, the great Tyee has told them. They understand him as saying that the eclipse was produced by the Great Spirit, and not by man. Since he says so, they will believe it. They have noticed, however, that the Great Spirit generally does whatever the 'Boston men' want him to."

With this shrewd comment on ethics and astronomy, the feast ended. After an exchange of little gifts, as tokens of remembrance and amity, and with cordial salutations, the Chilcats embarked in their canoes. Captain Dall gave them a parting salute with rockets and blue-lights, to which, as soon as landed, they responded by a *feu-de-joie* from the shore.

Before daylight the next morning, the *Active* had weighed anchor, and was retracing her course southward. Diverging from it again toward the harbor of Kootznahoo, she paused there long enough to allow a visit to the coal mines reported to exist in its vicinity.

The explorers rose at two in the morning and saw the snowy peak of Mount Fairweather looming up in the distance, in the early sunshine. They embarked in boats and canoes, and proceeded leisurely through the intricate channels, pausing to cast their lines for sea trout and bass, and landing to make a fire and breakfast on the rocks.

The island on which they stood apparently had never been inhabited, but had remained for ages undisturbed by any but a passing hunter or fisherman. It was covered with a dense growth of tall alder trees. The ground beneath them was overlaid, to the depth of several inches, with the decaying leaves of successive years, dry at the surface; moist and rotting below. Beneath these leaves came a soil apparently composed of them, for the outline of the leaf was plainly discernible everywhere in it. Under the soil came a bed of shale. This, too, showed the same characteristics, as if composed of alder leaves petrified. Then below the shale came a stratum of black, glistening coal, a lignite, somewhat like the Cannel or Breckinridge, but when broken, distinctly showing the same imprint of the alder leaf here and there in its substance.

The receding tide had uncovered the rocks in the stream up which the boat had come, and their return was a quick run "down the rapids." As they pulled out to the ship a school of a dozen whales were rolling and "blowing" in the harbor, having, for once, found waters where there was no one to pursue them.

The *Active* came to anchor again that night at a spot known as "Clam Beach," where an abundant supply of those bivalves, as well as of hard-shell crabs, were taken on board.

Another noteworthy incident marked the return to Sitka. In one of the straits, the lookout reported "a steamer" — an unusual sight in those parts. She was coming "head on," and presently, arriving alongside, proved to be the revenue cutter *Lincoln*, just returned from a trip to Kodiak, and commanded by an old friend, Captain Henriques, with whom Seward had made so many trips on the Atlantic in the *Northerner*. The two steamers did not part company, but proceeded together to Sitka.

Arrived there, and again in the hospitable charge of Major Dodge, various strolls were taken through the town and along the shore. At one point on the beach was pointed out a confused pile of ship timber, belonging to an old Russian vessel. She had been built of the yellow cedar of Alaska, in 1828, and wrecked there in 1833; so that the timber had been left lying on the beach, exposed to the weather for thirty-six years, yet the wood was still sound and firm.

Not far from Sitka on one of the mountain rivers, was the Redout Salmon Fishery, established in the time of the Russians. It was fitted up with apparatus for taking and preserving the salmon. Formerly they had been smoked or salted. Now the experiment of canning was being tried. Adverting to the fact that the supply, as yet, was much greater than the demand, the question was asked:

"How much of the high price per pound paid by the consumer does your factory get?"

One of the managers replied, "We think ourselves fortunate if we get five cents for each fish."

Another excursion was to a road which the soldiers had been cutting through the forest under the supervision of Lieutenant Dennison. Usually, a road half a mile long requires no great engineering skill. But where it goes through trees one hundred feet high, and from ten to sixty in circumference, it requires not only skill, but patience and perseverance. The close proximity of the trees to each other was illustrated by an old wood-chopper's statement, that "the trees on an acre can't be corded on it"— that is, their wood, when chopped and piled four feet high, would more than cover the entire acre.

Seward's visit was drawing to a close. Acceding to the earnest request of the citizens of Sitka, he addressed them at the Lutheran Church the day before his departure. Among other things, he remarked that it seemed to be assumed that Alaska had but one climate, and that a wet and cold one; although so vast a region might reasonably be expected to have, not one climate, but several. As to the weather at Sitka, he said, that "the thermometer tells the whole case, when it reports that the summer is colder and the winter is warmer in

Sitka than in New York." And it results from such a climate that the earth produces the fir, the spruce, and the pine and cedar, rather than deciduous trees; and grasses and esculent roots, rather than cereals.

He added:

You, the citizens of Sitka, are the pioneers, the advanced guard of the population of Alaska; and you naturally ask, when, from whence, and how soon reinforcements shall come; and what are the signs and guaranties of their coming? The guaranties and signs of their coming to Alaska are found in the resources of the Territory, and in the condition of society in the other parts of the world.

He said that "Alaska invited the health-seeker by a climate singularly salubrious; and the pleasure-seeker by scenery which surpasses in sublimity that of either the Alps, the Appennines, the Alleghanies, or the Rocky Mountains. Immigrants from the States and from Europe would sooner or later find out that fortunes were to be gained in Alaska. Europe and Asia were soon to become largely dependent upon the forests and mines of the Pacific. The entire region of Oregon, Washington Territory, British Columbia, and Alaska seems destined to become the ship-yard for the supply of all nations."

In conclusion, he said:

Within the period of my own recollection, I have seen twenty new States added to the eighteen which constituted the Union; and I now see, besides Alaska, ten Territories in preparation for entering the same great political family.

These are the guaranties, not only that Alaska has a future, but that that future has already begun. I know that you want two things just now — military protection, and a territorial civil government.

Nor do I doubt that Alaska will be forever true and loyal to the American Union, for the inhabitants will be both mountaineers and sea-faring men. I am not among those who apprehend infidelity to liberty and to the Union in any quarter, hereafter; but I am sure that if constancy and loyalty are to fail anywhere, the failure will not be in the States which approach nearest to the North Pole.

The last day in Sitka was spent in making and receiving farewell visits. When he went on board the *Active* he found his cabins garnished with curiosities and productions of the Territory, sent there by his friends. He carefully preserved some of the specimens of native woods, skins of animals, and Indian carvings; and, in subsequent years, they hung in his library at Auburn.

On the morning of the 14th, the *Active* was heading southward through Chatham Straits and the "Inland Passage," accompanied by

the *Lincoln*. A day later, the two steamers were at anchor off Fort Wrangel, at the mouth of the river Stakeen. A saluté, from the ramparts of the fort, welcomed his arrival; and then he accompanied the commandant of the post, in a walk through the fortifications and barracks, and the roadways of the incipient town.

The Stakeen river was the only point besides Sitka, which had yet attracted any immigration. The accounts of gold found in the upper waters had brought a good many miners from California and Oregon. Here, Seward, accompanied by some of the officers and passengers, left the ship for a boat excursion of two days, up the river, as far as the boundary line between Alaska and the British dominions. It was a picturesque and instructive trip, through the mountain passes; and enabled them to gain an idea of the nature of the climate, soil and products of the interior region, different in many respects from those of the archipelago and coast.

Once more on board the *Active*, the next visit was to Fort Tongass, another of the Alaska military posts. Seward was received with the usual military ceremonies. Walking through the fortifications with the commandant, he was asked if he would look at the hospital.

"There is nobody in it, I suppose? At every post I have visited in Alaska, the hospital has been empty."

"Well, yes, we have one patient here."

"Indeed! that is the first sick man I have heard of in the Territory. What is the matter with him?"

"Oh, he is not sick. He accidentally fell off a ladder the other day, and broke his leg."

Some tall and stately trees had been left standing in the vicinity of this fort; and a flower and vegetable garden seemed to be in successful operation.

At the adjacent Indian village, an intelligent old chief was found speaking English fluently, dressed in white men's costume, and apparently disposed to adopt the usages of civilized life, as far as practicable, in his spacious house. Seward invited him to bring his family on board to dine. They also were in civilized garb, but spoke only their own language and "Chinook."

Among the curiosities brought away from this place were one or two skins of the "yellow bear," and a bald-headed eagle, who, having been wounded by a hunter, had been captured after a sturdy fight. He was a fine specimen of the emblematic bird, whose portrait adorns the American arms and coins. Seward carried him to San Francisco, and from thence sent him to Auburn, where he lived for some years, in a spacious inclosure.

And now came the day of final farewell to Alaska. The *Lincoln* accompanied the *Active* to the line of British Columbia, and gave her a parting salute as she steamed over to Fort Simpson. From here the return voyage through Grenville Channel, and Queen Charlotte's Sound, past Bella-Bella, and Fort Rupert, and through the straits and channels of Vancouver's Island, was like the upward one. This time, however, the smoke of burning forests was gone, and only an occasional sea-fog in its place.

CHAPTER LXV.

1869.

At Victoria. A Banquet. Astoria. Portland. Up the Columbia. The Dalles. The Salmon "Catch." The Willamette Valley. A Speech at Salem. In San Francisco Again. A Voyage Down the Coast. A Return Journey by Land. San Diego. Santa Margarita. Anaheim. Los Angeles. Santa Barbara. Incidents of Frontier Life. Immigrants. San Luis Obispo. Gilroy. At the "Occidental." An Invitation to Mexico as the Nation's Guest.

On the 25th of August the *Active* was riding at anchor in the harbor of Victoria, and Seward was at the house of an old friend, Mr. Francis, the American Consul, for a three days' visit.

Various hospitalities were proffered. On the night before his departure, a public dinner was given him. The Acting Governor presided, and British and American officers and residents were intermingled. The toasts and speeches were complimentary to the guests, and expressive of the general desire for cordial relations between the two nations.

In his reply, acknowledging their courtesies, Seward spoke of his northern excursion as a "continuous voyage of one thousand two hundred miles, through one constant and beautiful archipelago." As to the whole North Pacific coast, he said he would venture to predict that "in its entire length and breadth, extending from the banks of the Columbia river in Oregon, to Mount St. Elias in Alaska," it would become a common "ship-yard for the American continent, and for the whole world." "Sagacious persons in the Atlantic States and in Europe," he said, "had already discovered this, and were projecting railways and steamboat lines to the forests and mines."

Into this broad field of activity, he invited the people of British Columbia to enter "as copartners if they will, as rivals if they must,"

but to consider that "the long ages when communities, having common interests, could be separated in their commerce, have come to an end."

At noon on the next day, the *Active* was again steaming out to sea. It was a short cruise this time, for another day brought her to the mouth of the Columbia river. The formidable bar, the terror of Pacific navigators, by the help of fair weather and a good pilot, was safely passed.

The travelers debarked for an hour's ramble through the streets of Astoria — the scene of Astor's enterprise and Irving's story. They called upon Commodore Watson, and were reminded, by a passing shower, of Astoria's claim to be the place where more rain falls in a year than anywhere else on the continent.

Passing on up the Columbia river, they arrived at Portland on the afternoon of Monday, the 30th. A large crowd had gathered to greet them. And here was a new surprise, illustrative of the rapid movement and lavish hospitality of the people of the Pacific coast. Mr. Holliday, in whose steamer they had been cruising, and whom they had left six weeks before, quietly ensconced in San Francisco, had come up to Oregon, bought a house in Portland, furnished it, and was waiting to receive and entertain them on their return from the Northern seas. So they exchanged their comfortable quarters on the *Active* for still more agreeable ones in the house of her owner.

One day was devoted to drives and walks through the busy city and its beautiful environs. The next was devoted to an excursion on one of the stern-wheel steamboats, up the Columbia. The route is a familiar one to the tourist now, though at that time few visitors from the East were traversing it. The magnificent scenery of the Columbia, varying at every turn, called up memories of the Hudson, the St. Lawrence, and the Rhine. Back of all rose the lofty snow-clad cones of Mount Hood, Mount Adams, and Mount St. Helen's.

Debarking to look at the Cascades and to wonder at the Dalles, they found the salmon "catch" in active progress. The shoals of fish were so numerous that the water seemed rippling and bubbling. On every advantageous projection a fisherman, white or Indian, would be standing, spear in hand, to strike his prey. The rocks were strewn with heads and fins, the wigwams decorated with countless red strips hung up to dry, and the air was reeking with the "ancient and fish-like smell."

Proceeding by railway to Celilo, the travelers strolled through the streets, looked at its machine-shops, gardens, and grapes, and even-glimpse of the upper waters of the Columbia, down which stern eyes

boat was just bringing a score or two of returning miners. Some who had gathered treasure, were silent, uncommunicative, and anxious to "get on to Portland." Others noisy enough in cursing their "bad luck" at the "diggings."

The next week was devoted to a trip through the Willamette valley, the most thickly-settled portion of the State. The heavily-laden orchards, the luxuriant vegetation, and the dense forests indicated a milder and moister climate than that of the Atlantic States. Yet there was much in the look of the houses, and farms, and gardens, and the ways of the inhabitants, that reminded one of the region about home. Nor was this strange, for many of the early settlers in 1847 and 1848 had emigrated to Oregon from the State of New York. Several of the towns bore names recalling memories of their origin. There was an Oswego, a Syracuse, an Albany, a Salem, and the steamboat on which they traveled was the *Oneonta*.

Among the incidents of this trip were a Sunday spent at the house of his old friend and associate, Senator Nesmith, and a public gathering to welcome him to the State capital at Salem. Here he was the guest of Governor Woods; and one evening addressed the citizens in their public hall. In this speech he remarked that he had early accepted and held fast to convictions that the continuance of European or monarchial government in the American hemisphere would be injurious and dangerous to the United States, and that in the expansion of the Republic "the establishment and acceptance of new States on the same footing as the original States was essential for the security of civil and religious liberty." "I seem, indeed, to myself, to have lived chiefly for the purpose of laboring to defend the Republic against external and internal dangers, and to expand it upon these principles."

The night before his departure from Portland there was a torch-light procession, a serenade, and a farewell reception in his honor. Among the guests at the latter was Vice-President Colfax, who, with a party of friends, was making a trans-continental tour.

The voyage back to San Francisco on the steamer *Moses Taylor* was a swi[illegible] pleasant one. With fair weather, a favoring wi[illegible] vessel, in spite of her *sobriquet* of the "Rollin[illegible] and steady as a river steamboat, and in less th[illegible] ering the Golden Gate.

[illegible]e Occidental, two days were devoted to visits of [illegible] letters from home, and arrangements for the [illegible] was to be down the coast of California by steamer, [illegible] thnd through the whole length of the State.

[illegible]mbiame it was the *Orizaba* that carried the party over the qui[illegible]t

waters of the blue and sparkling Pacific. She ran near enough to the coast to allow views of its outline, and all its prominent towns and headlands. Passing Monterey and St. Luis and Point Conception, she stopped for a few hours at Santa Barbara, where the passengers debarked to look at the old and new town, the gigantic grapevine, the hills and fields, and cattle ranches.

Resuming their voyage, in another day they had passed Los Angeles and San Pedro, and on the morning of the 17th were entering the long and well-protected harbor of San Diego. Here was the end of the voyage by sea.

One day was devoted to visiting the quaint old Spanish town, with its very new modern accessories; looking at the ancient Mission and its venerable olive trees, grapevines, and palms, closing with an evening reception at the house of Mr. McDonald. The next morning they began the carriage journey northward. It was the dry season. The roads were dusty, the deciduous trees leafless. Without fences or houses in sight, the landscape showed few traces of human occupancy. But herds of half-wild cattle, and countless quail, rabbits, and "racers" seemed to find ample sustenance somewhere. At Colonel Coutt's ranch, olive, orange, and live-oak trees, and grass, kept green by irrigation, gave it a more cheerful look.

At sunset they entered the spacious domain of Don Juan Foster, and spent the night in his home at Santa Margarita. He was, literally, the owner of "cattle on a thousand hills," for his ranch embraced one hundred and forty thousa[illegible] A few were reserved for cultivation in garden and vineyard[illegible] ter part devoted to the pasturage of thr[illegible] and ten thousand cattle. From th[illegible] ales stretched away for miles, a[illegible] ening at Santa Margarita re[illegible] lls," in feudal days. At the u[illegible] family and guests, and below w[illegible] hold. The table was loaded with [illegible] fruit, the pro[illegible] of the ranch. Song a[illegible] evening clos[illegible] of Spanish melo[illegible] ling guitars [illegible] for the fan[illegible]

In the morn[illegible] ir skill [illegible] and with the lasso[illegible] ir [illegible] and his sons accompani[illegible] day's incidents, was a visit to [illegible] San Juan Capistro, half destroyed [illegible] ing the carriage was winding through t[illegible]

— huge masses of the castor-oil bean, and mustard plants, that had obtained such Scriptural dimensions, that the "fowls of the air" could lodge in their branches.

Santa Aña, as the Spaniards called it, had been re-christened by a German colony, and was now Anaheim. The thrifty village they had built, had its vineyards, and wine-vats, its shady avenues, and luxuriant gardens, its walnut, orange, and fig trees. Here the night was passed at the house of Major Strobel.

In the morning, came a committee to welcome Seward to Los Angeles. A cavalcade of two or three hundred horsemen was in waiting at San Gabriel, to escort him to the town. Carriages and foot passengers joined the throng, as they entered the streets. An enthusiastic reception, with music and speeches, followed. A picturesque town, with beautiful surroundings, Los Angeles, was, at that day, growing rapidly by the influx of Americans; and had not yet lost the traces of its Spanish origin. Here, the fruits of tropical and temperate climates seemed to be thriving in equal profusion. At the close of the public ceremonies, Governor Downey took Seward, and his friends, to his home for the night.

The stage company had given orders to its various stations to supply the party with relays of horses, whenever they came along. So the journey was continued easily and rapidly from Los Angeles, over plain and mountain, passing San Fernando, and Mount Saint Susana, through the Santa Clara valley and San Buenaventura, pausing to look at old mission chapels, and gateways; and then driving along the shore of the Pacific; coming by moonlight, at midnight, into Santa Barbara, where another cavalcade and reception were awaiting them.

Needless now to recount the details of the remaining week of the journey through the State. Where they slowly toiled over dusty mountains, through silent valley and wilderness, the traveler now speeds by railway train, among thrifty farms and busy villages. Their route lay across the Santa Inez mountains, along the San Marcos river, and so on to San Luis Obispo, and then through San Miguel and the Salinas Plains. They saw, in the white-covered immigrant wagon, which they occasionally met, the first wave of the coming influx of population, into this region of live-oak and red-wood forests, prairie grass and flowers.

Nor were adventures lacking to remind them of the vicissitudes of frontier life. One night they were camping under the stars, round a fire, which they shared with an immigrant party whom they had met.

Another night the horses stopped suddenly, in the dark; and, on getting out, to explore, it was found they had lost their way and were on

the brink of a chasm. Long and patient scrutiny of the surrounding plain with lanterns at last discovered hoof-marks; and, following them, the lost road was regained.

Another night they chanced rather abruptly upon a "grizzly," growling and crunching his supper by the roadside; but, fortunately, too much engaged with it, to bestow attention upon travelers.

One morning, the stage was summoned to stop by three horsemen, each with a loaded rifle, across the pommel of his saddle. They proved, however, to be, not highwaymen, but honest citizens, in hot pursuit of horse thieves, with the laudable intent of hanging them on the nearest tree.

A veritable robber — another night — climbed into the dilapidated window of the ruined Mission, which served for an inn; but, seen by Mrs. Seward, who happened to be awake, he precipitately obeyed her order to decamp, without the valuables he coveted.

And now, fences and cultivated fields, and here and there a white-washed house, bespoke the approach of regions more civilized. La Natividad came in sight; and then San Juan; and finally, the tired tourists descended, for the last time, from their stage, at the door of the hotel in Gilroy. Here was the terminus of the railway from San Francisco; and the party again found themselves surrounded with all the comforts of civilization, including a reception committee, a brass band, a serenade, and speeches.

After a night's rest, they were again on the way; speeding by steam through San José, Santa Clara, Belmont and Menlo Park to San Francisco.

The Mexican Government had cordially invited Seward, while he was still at Washington, to visit their country. Now, that he was free from official cares, and was traveling in regions so near their frontier, the invitation was renewed. He decided to accept it, and arranged to sail by the steamer of the 30th.

The closing days of his stay at the Occidental were devoted to farewell visits. One notable incident was, his reception at the club-room by the "Pioneers," composed of the old settlers of California — or as they were popularly styled, "The Original Forty-Niners." On this occasion, they presented him with a cane of exquisite workmanship, inlaid with specimens of the mineral ores of various districts. One event, that cast a sadness over the last hours of his stay, was the sudden death of Señor Godoy, the Mexican Consul, who had been warmly interested in the arrangements for his journey through Mexico.

CHAPTER LXVI.

1869.

In Mexico. Manzanillo. Lake Cayutlan. Colima. Hospitalities. The "Barrancas." Over the Sierra Madre. Mediæval Life. Zapotlan. Lake Chapala. Sayula. Zacoalco. Techaluta. Tepatitlan. Guadalajara. "Your Own House." Balls and Banquets. Schools and Institutions. The Bull-Fight. Fire-proof Buildings. El Puente de Calderon. San Juan. Lagos. Guanajuato. Cathedrals. Silver Mines. Queretaro. Last Days of Maximilian. Pulque. The Valley of Mexico. Arrival in the City. Old Friends and Warm Greetings.

On the morning of the 30th of September, the *Golden City* was steaming out through the Golden Gate. Seward and his party were on board. On the voyage down the coast, it was a daily surprise to find how the usual discomforts of sea travel are mitigated on the tranquil Pacific. The great steamer moved, on even keel, over waters hardly ruffled, and through perpetual sunshine. Her spacious cabins and airy state-rooms rose in successive tiers, and were "steady as a church." Her decks presented an aspect like that of a summer hotel. Under the broad awnings, were groups of gentlemen smoking, children playing, and ladies chatting, reading, and embroidering. There was no noise or hurry. Chinese sailors, with placid faces, moved quietly about, while the officers pacing the deck, and glancing around the horizon, seemed to find nothing to order, and nothing to alter.

The first part of the voyage was over waters already traversed in the *Orizaba*. It was not until after service on Sunday that the boundary line of the United States was passed.

Then the first glimpses were obtained of the brown shores of the Mexican province of Lower California. Skirting these for two days more, without incident, except the meeting and exchange of news with the steamer *Montana*, the travelers found themselves, on Tuesday, passing Cape St. Lucas, at the southern end of the peninsula. Crossing the Gulf and approaching the shores of Jalisco, they were reminded that they had passed out of a temperate climate into a tropical one, and out of a dry season into a wet one. A strong, warm rain was pouring down, and it accompanied them into the very harbor of Manzanillo, where they were to debark and enter Mexico.

As this journey has been already narrated* by one of the party, it will suffice here to give a brief *resumé* of its chief incidents.

Landing at Manzanillo at sunrise, they were received and welcomed by Señors Luis Rendon and Jacinto Cañedo, on behalf of the National

* *Our Sister Republic.*— A Gala Trip through Tropical Mexico in 1869-'70, by Colonel Albert S. Evans, Hartford, Conn.— Columbian Book Company.

Government, as by Governor Cueva of the State of Colima. Citizens had come down from Colima to join in the greeting, among them some of the merchants, and Doctor Morrill, the United States Consul.

Two days of driving rain kept them at Manzanillo, but they were comfortably lodged and hospitably cared for. Meantime, telegraphic dispatches came from President Juarez and his Cabinet, welcoming Seward to the country, and wishing him a pleasant journey to the capital.

On the morning of the third day the sky cleared. Under the direction of the Mexican officers, five large boats, carrying the national colors, were in readiness to take the party and their baggage up Lake Cayutlan. The landscape was picturesque and tropical, the lake smooth and glassy, the shores covered with dense growth of trees, among which could be seen the palm, the cypress, and the guayava. Here and there was an alligator basking in the sun, or a flamingo wading in the marsh, while flocks of parrots flew screaming overhead. Midway on the trip a pause was made for breakfast, in the friendly shade of a thicket. Arriving at the end of the lake, stages and mules were found waiting. The afternoon was spent in a ride over muddy roads and swollen streams, through luxuriant tropical vegetation. Another pause for dinner with Don Ignacio Largos, whose house, built of cane, allowed free circulation of air in every direction. Evening brought the party to the great Hacienda of Don Juan Firmin Huarte.

Through the open doorway came a blaze of light and a swarm of attendants. Then followed a hearty and hospitable welcome from the owner of La Calera, a native of old Spain, genial, polished, and enterprising.

Here Sunday was passed; then the journey was resumed. This time it was to be only from the country to the city home of Don Juan; but this involved a climb over mountains, chasms, and torrents. Rising gradually from the coast, the road wound through successive gorges. Just at nightfall, the travelers, looking back, had their last glimpse of the Pacific. It was after midnight when they reached the silent, deserted streets of the ancient Spanish-looking town of Colima. The watchman was crying "*Dos horas y todo bueno!*" when they knocked at the massive gate, and were ushered into the spacious court of Señor Huarte's home.

Life in Colima at Señor Huarte's, was full of contrast to the scenes left behind in the United States. One seemed to have stepped, not only into another clime, but into another century. Within doors, the Moorish arches, pillars, and frescoes, the glazed tile floors, the grand saloon and stairway decked with masses of bright flowers and glossy

foliage, were suggestive of Seville or Grenada. Looking out from the carved stone balconies, or through the iron-latticed windows, one saw strongly-built houses in mediæval style, quaint little shops, ruins of church and palace, plazas with stone seats and fountains, and passers-by, peasants, priests, soldiers, and women, in costumes gay or sombre, such as were worn two hundred years ago. At every corner a group, such as Murillo loved to paint. Now and then a well-mounted cavalier, glittering with arms and ornaments, or a lady with her duenna, whose black dress, lace veil, and prayer-book showed her to be on the way to mass. Heavy carts and patient little donkeys plodded along with marketing or merchandise. No railway whistle, no telegraph poles, no gas lamps, no carriages, no boy with the morning papers.

Three days were passed in Colima. There were dinners and festivities at the mansion, and a christening at the parish church, around whose doorway stood a hundred children eagerly crying "*Padrino, mi medio!*" in accordance with the old superstition that a sixpence from the hand of a new godfather is sure to bring good luck.

But the crowning event at Colima was a ball and banquet at the palace in honor of Seward's visit. Ball-room, corridors, galleries, and arches were brilliant with tropical plants and oriental illuminations. Green, red and white, the national colors, were everywhere. The flags of the United States and Mexico hung side by side. A portrait of Juarez at one end of the hall, and of Seward at the other, were wreathed with flags and laurel. Among the ladies and gentlemen there was every type of the blended Aztec and Spanish races, the Castilian predominating. Quadrilles and waltzes were followed by the favorite national "danza," whose music has a measured cadence and soft, plaintive melody suited to a tropical clime.

At the banquet Governor Cueva addressed "the eminent statesman who presented a barrier to the irruption of those who sought to sow in our soil the noxious seeds of the old continent." He closed by saying, "I salute you in the name of the Mexican people, and offer you its friendship as sincerely as you have been a true and sincere friend to the Government and people of this nation, who applaud and bless you."

Seward made due acknowledgment. In his reply he said that one additional principle remained to be adopted to secure the success of the republican system. It was that "the several American republics, while abstaining from intervention with each other, shall become more than ever heretofore political friends."

A day or two was spent in visiting the cotton mills and the gardens

filled with palms, bananas, cocoa-nuts, cacao, coffee, orange, and lemon trees.

On the morning of departure the escort sent down by the Government of the State had arrived, and were drawn up in line at the gate. They were a fine-looking body of one hundred cavalrymen, well mounted and armed.

As the journey for the next two days would be through the "Barrancas," which are impassable for carriages, handsome Spanish horses, and sure-footed mules were brought, equipped with the comfortable Mexican saddles, for the use of each of the party. Trunks, baggage, bedding, and supplies were strapped on the backs of eighteen pack mules, under the guidance of a muleteer. Señor Huarte, whose thoughtful care for his guests, extended to every detail, had provided a palanquin for Seward's use, in case he should prefer it. Several of the gentlemen from Colima accompanied him, through the "Barrancas," to the cities beyond. Altogether the cavalcade was about two hundred in number. Nothing could be more picturesque than its winding progress, up and down, through the passes of the Sierra Madre — the soldiers with gay uniforms, streaming pennons and flashing arms, the cavaliers with broad sombreros and bright red sashes, belted, and armed to the teeth, and mounted on prancing steeds, the ladies, on easy pacing palfreys, whose trappings were ornamented with silver, and the long train of laden mules, climbing the steep acclivities in obedience to the muleteer's whistle. Still more like a mediæval scene it looked when passers-by, from the opposite direction, travelers similarly mounted, trains of mules with merchandise, peasants and soldiers, priests and nuns, would greet them with courteous salutation or blessing, "*Vaya con Dios, Caballero,*" "*Dios guarde Vd.*"

The wild landscape, the ancient-looking roadway, the gray walls and battlements of the distant haciendas, peering out through the glossy green foliage, all seemed appropriate accessories. When, at noon or nightfall, the bugler, at some heavily-barred, stone-turreted gateway, sounded a parley, and asked leave to enter, it was like a chapter out of Scott's novels, or a page from the adventures of Don Quixote de la Mancha.

The "Barrancas" are huge valleys or gorges, formed by the action of mountain torrents. Some of them are five hundred feet deep, others one thousand or one thousand five hundred. Up and down their steep, precipitous sides, runs the ziz-zag mule path partially paved, but needing constant repair. A dense growth of trees and vines cling to the slope, where it can find a foothold. At the bottom of the valley, a stone bridge spans the little stream, which in the

rainy season becomes a roaring flood, making havoc and devastation. One of the Californians in the party likened them to "minor Yosemites," and found in the great "Barranca de Beltran," a counterpart of Church's "Heart of the Andes."

A very considerable traffic goes through these mountain roads. The travelers met many trains of one or two hundred mules, and estimated that, in a day, they saw two thousand. They carry up from the "*tierra caliente*," sugar, rice, and tropical fruits, and bring down from the temperate region above, earthenware, soap, and other manufactured articles.

At Tonila, the travelers dined with the venerable Governor Vega. At night they were to sleep at the great hacienda of San Marcos, at the foot of the volcano of Colima, over whose crater hung a sluggish cloud of smoke by day — a dull red glow by night. It was after dark when they arrived there. The lighted torches borne by the soldiers, as they came up the mountain defile, were met by a similar procession from the hacienda, making a scene of wild and weird beauty. It is commonly supposed that the Castilian phrase, "*Esta casa es a la disposicion de Vd*," is but a hospitable flourish. But at San Marcos, and, indeed, everywhere that he went, Seward found it to be, not a mere compliment, but an actual truth. The owner of the mansion literally gave his house, with its servants, furniture, and equipage, to his guests, for them to live in, and do what they pleased with, so long as they chose to stay. At every city he visited in Mexico, Seward found "his own house" ready and waiting for him.

The last barranca, that of Atenquiqui, was passed on the afternoon of the 15th. A rest of an hour or two, in a cane hut by the wayside, was taken, preparatory to entering the comfortable Concord stage-coach, drawn by six mules, in which the rest of the journey was to be made. In the evening, as they approached the town of Zapotlan, they found it brilliantly illuminated from one end to the other, in honor of the festival of San José. Here was another hospitable reception; and then a leave-taking of the friends who had accompanied them from Colima, except Señor Cañedo, who had charge of the party as far as Guadalajara.

In the morning a stroll through the plaza and streets, a look at church, market, fountains, and convent ruins, substantial residences and pretty gardens.

Then on the road again, through a landscape showing the different altitude and climate now attained — the palm and sugar cane having given place to the maguey, and the mesquite to corn fields and orchards. Everywhere, lofty mountain ranges bounded the prospect; while near

at hand were the cane huts, with cactus hedges, the fields of corn and beans and barley, with here and there the tree-cotton, the castor bean, and the coffee tree. Long stretches of uninhabited, uncultivated plains were covered with tall grass, or with a profusion of wild flowers — among which the travelers recognized many that, at the North, are carefully cultivated in garden or green house. Calla lilies were growing in the ditches at the roadside. Zinneas, verbenas, and marigolds were weeds in the fields. Tall pink and spotted lilies, and gay striped convolvulus appeared among the grass here, as buttercups and daisies do at the North.

Only one ominous feature showed itself in the smiling landscape. Rude black wooden crosses, surrounded by piles of stones, appeared at frequent intervals; each marking the spot where some victim had met a bloody death.

The shores of Lake Chapala offered a beautiful view. It was like Lake George or Seneca, but without the houses and without the boats. In lieu of other inhabitants, there were flocks of cranes, plover, ducks, and other water-fowl, of varied and brilliant plumage.

Everywhere, the houses of brick and stone, and stucco, were clustered together in villages, for mutual protection. Each village had its church, its plaza and fountain, its dwellings of massive masonry, with flat roofs, broad windows, airy balconies, and paved court-yards, as if they had been transplanted but yesterday from Old Spain. Three-fourths of all the people seemed of unmixed Indian blood; the rest resembled their Spanish progenitors. But the word "Indian" in Mexico is applied to a race widely different from the savages of the United States. In Mexico they are civilized and Christian people, neat, intelligent, and industrious, kind-hearted, and affectionate.

The laborers in town and country would be met on the road, contentedly trudging to market, with long wicker baskets strapped on their backs, containing their scanty produce. Many, as if to lose no time, were busy knitting, embroidering, or plaiting straw, as they walked along.

On each day's journey Seward was greeted with new and varied forms of hospitality and kindness. At Sayula he was met by a cavalcade of a hundred gentlemen, accompanied by ladies in their carriages. He was escorted into the town amid the ringing of church bells and the firing of cannon. There was a banquet with speeches, visits to schools that would compare favorably with those of New England, and churches that eclipse any that the Pilgrims would tolerate. There was a ball in the evening, and a serenade with harp, guitar, and violin. At Zacoalco there was a similar reception and welcome.

At Techaluta, a little village of cane huts, a band of Indian boys, playing the national anthem, escorted the carriage through the single street. There was not a flag in the place; but the poor people had decorated the fronts of their houses with bright-colored blankets, shawls and scarfs, bits of gay ribbon, and whatever finery they possessed. Each family stood in their doorway, with uncovered heads, to say "God bless you," "*Vaya con Dios, Señor.*" "*Dios guarde Vd,*" "*Mil gracias, Señor,*" — "*Adios.*"

As the carriage passed the last houses, and the musicians ceased, a tall, swarthy Indian stepped forward, threw a roll of paper into the carriage; and, with a profound obeisance, withdrew. Unrolling and reading the scroll, Seward found it was addressed "To the great Statesman of the great Republic of the North — Techaluta is poor, but she is not ungrateful!"

At Tepetitlan, they arrived after dark. But the town was brilliant with bonfires, torches, and fire balls, while the air was filled with strains of music from unseen instruments, and the merry peals of chimes from all the churches. Everywhere there were addresses of welcome, long or short, but all marked by good taste, and deep feeling. Everywhere, tables were loaded with the fruits and dishes of the country, of every variety, from the national "*frijoles,*" and "*tortillas,*" to the most elaborate "*dulces*" and "*pasteles*" that skilled ingenuity could contrive.

Cordially as he had been invited and welcomed by the Government of Mexico, Seward was hardly prepared for the warmth and depth of popular feeling, which he everywhere encountered. Mexicans, of whatever ancestry or party, are intensely patriotic; and they were determined to show their appreciation of one who had stood by their country in its hour of trial.

Passing Santa Aña Acatlan, San Augustin and Sant' Anita, the drivers unharnessed the six tired little mules, and put before the coach six milk white horses, with resplendent trappings, for the entry into the great city of Guadalajara, whose white spires and towers were shining in the distance. Three miles before reaching the city, there came out a long line of carriages and horsemen, with the Municipal Council and State officials, to welcome Seward to the capital of the State of Jalisco. His entry into the city was an ovation. The streets were lined with carriages; the sidewalks crowded; windows, doors and housetops occupied; the ladies waving their handkerchiefs; the men shouting "Vivas!" and hurrahs; and the whole scene replete with excitement and enthusiasm.

At the door of a stately house, the procession paused. The keys

ENTRY INTO GUADALAJARA.

IN THE ALAMEDA.

were presented to Seward; and he was informed that it was his own. It was thoroughly appointed and furnished; the table was spread for a banquet; and there was a corps of trained servants at command. Drawing-room and dining-room opened upon a marble paved court-yard. As the tired travelers sat under its spacious arched and frescoed corridors, by the mellow light of shaded lamps, listening to the plashing of fountains and the tinkling of guitars, they appreciated the satisfaction of Hassan Bedreddin, when, after a hard day's work, he suddenly woke up and found himself Caliph.

Seward's first act, when left alone, was to sit down and write a kindly letter of acknowledgment to the people of Techaluta, whose welcome touched him deeply.

A week was spent in Guadalajara, driving through its spacious avenues and well-built streets, and on its beautiful Paseo; looking at its majestic Cathedral with costly adornments, and its scores of ancient and modern churches; strolling through the luxuriant foliage of its Alameda, and the profusion of fruits and flowers in its markets; visiting its palaces and public offices; studying its prisons and benevolent institutions; its great hospital of San Miguel de Belan, for the treatment of every form of human ailment; its Hospicio, where hundreds of orphans and foundlings are sheltered and trained to lives of usefulness. A day spent in visiting the public schools was full of surprises. Some of the buildings were the old convents, and replete with memories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the schools themselves exhibited the highest progress of the nineteenth. Señor Matute, one of the chief officers of the municipal government, explained, that commissioners had been sent abroad to study the schools of other countries. So Guadalajara had adopted a system combining the best features found in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, as well as in Paris, Copenhagen, and Stockholm. Study of books was combined with training in arts, sciences, and trades. In the recitation-rooms the children showed as much proficiency as in the United States. In other rooms were four hundred boys, learning blacksmithing, carpentering, weaving, and tailoring. In the needle-work rooms the girls were sewing, knitting, and copying oil-paintings in silk embroidery. At the boys' High School, was a band of one hundred musicians, all school-boys, who had earned their own instruments. At the music hall of the girls' High School, the pupils were giving the opera of "Ernani." Gymnasiums, art-galleries, laboratories, and libraries, were among the adjuncts of the schools.

On coming out from their inspection, Seward remarked, "Why do

people talk of a 'Protectorate' for a country capable of such things as these?"

Citizens, officials, and associations vied in their hospitalities to the national guest. Preparations were making for a ball to be given in his honor at the hall of the State Congress. The Academy of Sciences presented him a certificate of honorary membership, in which he was styled "Defender of the Liberty of the Americas." He was presented also, as a memento of his visit, with the original royal proclamation of Charles II, of 1676 — a parchment yellow with age, but plainly showing the signature, in a bold round hand, of "*Yo el Rey.*"

One evening was spent at a representation of "*El Valle de Andorra.*" The opera house was a spacious and handsome edifice, with massive walls, holding an audience of four thousand, and having five tiers of boxes, each box having its own distinct entrance, dressing, and refreshment-room.

"Theaters never burn down in this country?" said one of the visitors.

"Never," was the reply of a Mexican gentleman; "how could they?"

Another gentleman remarked that he was much surprised, on his first visit to the United States, at being told not to throw a match on the floor, as it might set the house on fire. "Burn a house with a match!" said he, "I never heard of such a thing!"

With walls of thick masonry, tiled floors and roofs, with no lath or plaster, no shingling or planking, houses in Mexican cities are practically fire-proof. It was said that the little old hand-engines were all that was ever needed; and that there was not an insurance company in the Republic, till the French invaders introduced the fashion.

The ball brought together a brilliant and fashionably-dressed assemblage of all political parties. The fine hall of the State Congress was used as a ball-room; while the tables were set in the decorated corridors, surrounding the illuminated patio — a feature of Spanish architecture admirably adapted for entertainments. Spanish beauty and Aztec grace were exemplified in the Señoras and Señoritas; and in Mexico, even men dance gracefully.

It was two o'clock in the morning, when Governor Cuervo, at the supper-table, announced that the hour had come for the addresses of welcome. Señors Matute and Jones spoke in terms of enthusiastic greeting.

Seward, in his speech of acknowledgment, alluded to his hope for the North American States, and the Spanish American Republics, in the creation of a policy of mutual moral alliance, to the end that ex-

ternal aggression may be prevented, and internal peace, law, and order, and progress be secured throughout the whole continent.

Governor Cuervo responded with hearty assent to that "Great Continental American policy," and said that, as a patriot, he should devote all his efforts to its realization.

One of the subjects under discussion by the municipal authorities, at this period, was the question of abolishing the bull-fights. The custom was linked with so many traditions of the nation, and the race; and was so intrenched in popular favor, that it would be difficult to put a stop to it. Nevertheless, progressive and public-spirited men in Guadalajara were urging its abandonment. Of course, Seward heartily agreed with them. However, it was urged that he should first attend a "funcion," see the performance and audience, and then give his unbiased judgment for or against its continuance. The great amphitheater, packed with thousands of the people of Guadalajara, of every age, rank, and station, was a fine spectacle. Seward had assigned to him the chair of honor. The gaily dressed line of matadores, picadores, banderilleros, and chulos, marched up before him, to make their opening salute, in accordance with the custom, centuries old, of the gladiators, who, in the Coliseum, used to say: "*Te Cæsar, morituri salutamus!*"

But bull-fights and their audiences have been so often described, that the scene needs no repetition here. Suffice it to say, "five valiant bulls were fought," and four "done to the death;" and that while the audience enjoyed it as they would a circus, the American travelers found it bloody, cruel, and only less brutal than the prize-fights in their own land. Their sympathies were less moved than they expected for either the bull, or his assailants, since both seemed to court the blows they received. But the poor horses, blindfolded, and forced into a combat in which they had no interest, exposed to all the danger and having none of the escapes or triumphs, were the real sufferers. It was a pleasure to learn subsequently that the progressive party in the City Council carried their humane purpose into effect by a majority vote.

At Guadalajara Señor Jacinto Cañedo took his leave. He had accompanied the party from Colima, and they regretted to lose his cheerful companionship and guidance. He now returned to resume his official duties at Colima. Don Luis G. Bossero, the commissioner appointed by the General Government, had arrived and took charge of the traveling arrangements. Formerly in the Diplomatic Corps at Washington, he spoke English fluently and perfectly. His tact, courtesy, and knowledge of affairs were invaluable. Under his care the

eastward trip was resumed on the morning of Tuesday, the 26th, in a coach sent down from the city of Mexico, drawn by eight mules and escorted by a large detachment of cavalry.

The incidents of the following week were like those of the preceding ones — the same warm-hearted hospitality and enthusiastic greetings in the villages and cities successively visited, but with an ever-changing panorama of beautiful scenery, and ever-varying objects of historic and poetic interest. At the suburb of San Pedro they parted with the Guadalajara friends who had come out so far to bid them good-bye. At Zapotlanejo they saw the fine old church, and the barricades and bullet marks of the recent war. At El Puente de Calderon they saw the great stone bridge where Padre Hidalgo, with eighty thousand men, struck the blow for national independence in 1811. At Jalos they found a quaint old city, embowered with trees, with a magnificent church building. At Venta de Los Pajaros they spent the night at a hacienda, fortified to resist bandits or revolutionists, and provided with a military force of several hundred strong, mustered and organized by Señor Perez, the owner. At San Juan de los Lagos they saw the Cathedral — one of the finest in Mexico. The towns-people were making preparations to celebrate the centennial anniversary of its consecration. At Lagos, a city of twelve thousand people, was another great church, whose specialty was the possession of the remains of a Saint, brought from Rome eighty years before. The road in this vicinity passed among the numerous small lakes, from which the town takes its name. The fields, fenced in with the tall "Organo" cactus, had the grains and fruits of a temperate clime. At each of these towns there was a deputation of mounted citizens to meet Seward at the gates. There was the house provided for his reception and use. There were addresses of welcome, serenades, and banquets.

Like greeting awaited him at Leon. Here was the novelty of the festival of "Todos Santos" (All Saints), the plaza being illuminated and surrounded with booths for the sale of fruits, flowers, and the curious bon-bon confections in the form of skulls, angels, devils, birds, and fishes, which are deemed appropriate for gifts and mementoes of the day. In the morning, the city, seen from the upper windows, seemed like a garden, the flat roofs of the houses in all directions being covered with a profusion of flowering plants in full bloom.

At Guanajuato they found another old and important city, the capital of a State. Resembling Guadalajara in architecture, it was widely different in site and surroundings. Built in the midst of mountains with streets following the ascent of hills or the curve of ravines, some

of its quaint and unexpected turns were suggestive of Quebec. Massive masonry and heavy embankments everywhere gave it a solid, substantial look. Its handsome residences and terraced gardens added to its beauty, and attested the wealth of its silver mines, which are among the richest in Mexico.

Seward was met and escorted up to the city through the cañon of Marfil. Received, and cordially welcomed by Governor Antillon and others in authority, he was shown to a new and handsome house prepared for his occupancy, was presented with the keys, and duly installed therein.

A week was spent in visiting Guanajuato's ancient Cathedral and numerous churches; its elaborate and substantial water-works, its residences, and terraces, its fine theater, and busy mint, its historic Castle, which Hidalgo and his Mexican followers besieged and stormed in 1810, and which the Spaniards recaptured in 1811, hanging the heads of Hidalgo and his three associates on its four corners. There they remained until the national independence was achieved in 1823, when they were buried with the honors due to martyrs for patriotism. Now occupied by court-rooms and prisons, the edifice looked new enough and strong enough to stand another siege.

Among the friends met here was Mr. Parkman, who had emigrated in his youth from Cayuga county; and after various adventures in the mining region had come to Guanajuato, married, and settled, and had become a prosperous mine-owner. One of his daughters accepted an invitation to go with the party to the United States for a visit, and subsequently joined them at the city of Mexico.

Accompanied by Mr. Parkman and others of the owners and superintendents of mines, Seward visited the shafts and tunnels of some of the principal ones; some "in bonanza," and some "in borrasca:" was shown the various processes of getting out the ore and of "beneficiating" or extracting the silver from it. One of these mines, the Valenciano, discovered by the Spaniards shortly after the conquest, was said to have yielded $800,000,000, and when Humboldt visited it, he estimated that it was producing one-fifth of all the silver in the world. A fine sight was that at "La Serena," where the party, standing in a tunnel, four hundred feet below the surface, looked down six hundred feet further, to the bottom of the shaft, which was illuminated by blazing fire balls thrown in at the top and rushing down like fiery comets.

The day before departure there was a distribution of premiums at the College, followed by a soirée and ball.

Leaving Guanajuato the travelers proceeded through the mountain road; pausing at midday at Salamanca, and spending the night at

Celaya, where, for the first time in Mexico, they heard the sound of the steam-whistle. It came from a woolen factory established there. Another of the modern enterprises there was an Artesian well four hundred feet deep, supplying the city with pure water thrown out in great jets, and having a temperature of 100°.

On Wednesday they arrived at Queretaro, and were received at the city gate by a deputation of State and city officials and citizens. Addresses of welcome, letters and visits were followed by a drive out to the great Rubio cotton factories standing in the suburbs, and named the "Hercules" and "La Purissima." They were encircled by a high wall; and guarded by a uniformed military force, maintained by the proprietors.

The next day was a deeply interesting one. It was spent in visiting the historic spots connected with the final defeat and fall of Maximilian, and listening to the descriptions of those eventful scenes by their eye-witnesses. They pointed out the lines of fortification and siege, the field of battle, the stronghold of the old convent and church of La Cruz, where the imperial forces made their last desperate stand; the streets where the Republicans, under Escobedo, made successful entrance, the spot where Maximilian was captured by Corona, the old Monastery of Los Capuchinos where he was confined with Miramon and Mejia, the theater where the court-martial sat, by which they were tried and condemned to death, and finally the "Cerro de las Campanas," where they were executed.

The sun was just setting as Seward ascended this hill. Standing by the side of the three black wooden crosses, which marked the spot of execution, and looking off toward the distant city, whose roofs and domes were fading into evening shadows, one could realize the feeling of the unfortunate Archduke, who here expiated, with his life, his mistake of attempted "Empire." While contemplating the scene, a carriage drove up, containing some ladies clad in deep mourning, and with them the uncle of Miramon — "Tio Joaquin" — as the three prisoners had affectionately called him, in the days of their captivity. The scene was a touching and impressive one, as he stood there, with uncovered head, narrating to Seward in low tones and with deep feeling, the incidents of the capture, the imprisonment, the trial, the farewell message of the condemned men to their friends, their wishes as to the disposition of their remains, and their last utterances, as they stood up to receive the volley that ended their lives.

Leaving Queretaro on the following day, the coach, with its mounted escort, proceeded over valley and plain, and through passes in the Sierra, till it stopped for the night at San Juan del Rio. Another hospitable

welcome, with addresses and music, greeted Seward's arrival. Here was the boundary line between the States of Queretaro and Mexico.

Two days more were spent, chiefly among rocky hills, and roads that showed they were passing through the mountain chain surrounding the valley of Mexico. Here were great plantations of the maguey, in every stage of growth, and of its manufacture into the national beverage of "pulque." The Mexicans were amused at hearing their Northern guests give it the appellation of the "century plant" wondering why, since here, tall stalks with white blossoms were visible every year in every field

At Arroyo Sarco, high up in the mountains, where the stage stopped for the night, there was a fire on the hearth, "the only one you will see, or need, this winter."

Now came the long descent toward valley and plain, sometimes almost imperceptible, as the road wound through forests and fields, sometimes quick and rapid down some rocky declivity, but all the while downward and downward still.

Emerging from woods and rocks, on Monday, the 15th, as the road wound along the mountain side, the travelers saw, gradually unfolding before them, one of the most magnificent panoramas of the world. The valley of Mexico lay spread out in the mellow autumn sunshine, dotted here and there with white villages and sparkling lakes, and surrounded by the blue mountain range from which, high above the rest, rose the snow-clad cone of Popocatapetl. Far in the distance were the gleaming towers and spires of the city of Mexico. On one hand stood a steep hill crowned with the palace-like castle of Chapultepec. On the other was the clustering group of churches and chapels in Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Down from the mountain, crossing the level plain, passing cultivated fields, long causeways and suburban villages, the stage whirled on, till suddenly confronted, some miles from the city, by a brilliant welcoming party. Señor Lerdo de Tejada, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Romero, the Minister of Finance, and Mr. Nelson, the American Envoy, were waiting with carriages and a cavalry escort, to receive and take them to the city. At the Garita de San Cosme, the carriages paused again, for there stood President Juarez, with his wife and daughter, come out to welcome the guest of the nation. The cordial greetings of old friendship were exchanged as the cavalcade rapidly went on through the streets past the old Alameda of Montezuma, and the great equestrian statue of Charles the Fourth, past stately churches, handsome dwellings and public edifices, to the corner of Alfaro and San Augustin.

An open gateway led into a "patio" lined with plants and flowers, and around it were the rooms of a charming house fitted up with luxury. President Juarez, with a smile and wave of his hand, said, "Mr. Seward, will it please you to enter your house? This is your home!"

Certainly the kind friends who had prepared this home had spared no pains to give it every requisite for quiet comfort, or for social entertainment. Built in the favorite Spanish fashion, its large reception, drawing and dining-rooms looked out on the ornamental courtyard, whose galleries, draped with tropical foliage, offered a choice of sun or shade. Furnished and decorated in accordance with modern European taste, it was supplied with a corps of servants and equipages to meet every possible wish. As if to remind him of home, two of Canova's statues on the main stairway were the same as those in the entrance hall of his house at Auburn.

Visitors, Mexican, American, and European, came to proffer warm greetings and kindly offices. With some, it was the renewal of old friendship begun in Washington; with others, it was the opening of a new and agreeable acquaintance. It was especially pleasant to meet again the Juarez and Romero families. The members of the Cabinet called in a body. Military and civil officers, formal deputations and private citizens, all came to welcome the national guest, and made him feel that he was no stranger, but a well-remembered friend.

CHAPTER LXVII.

1869.

In the City of Mexico. Palaces and Battle Fields. Banquets and Receptions. The Castle of Chapultepec. The Mexican Congress. The President and Cabinet. Ball at the National Theater. Leave-Taking. Puebla. Cathedrals and Convents. Tlascala. A Visit to Cholula. Ancient Monuments. Las Cumbres. A Majestic Prospect. Orizaba. Tierra Caliente. Vera Cruz. The Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa. Farewell Letters.

A MONTH was spent in this charming home. The city of Mexico has many places of historic interest. No day was allowed to pass by its hospitable people, without some agreeable excursion. The majestic Cathedral, the spacious Plaza, the curious Aztec Calendar Stone, the National Palace, with President, Cabinet, and Congress in exercise of their official functions, the Museum, with its ancient Aztec memorials, and bloody Sacrificial Stone, the Mint, and Assay Offices, the School of Mines, with its admirable equipment for educating miners, scien-

"SEÑOR SEWARD'S HOUSE."

"EN CASA."

tists, and engineers, the orderly and busy streets, the gaily ornamented shops, the massive old convents and beautiful churches, the Academy of Design, with paintings and sculpture that showed the Mexicans to have more natural taste and aptitude for the fine arts, than their Northern neighbors, the libraries with their treasures of rare and ancient volumes, the Monte de Piedad, whose benevolent functions have gone on uninterruptedly during a century of wars and revolutions, the public institutions and the private dwellings, all seemed to have a welcome for the nation's guest.

Strolls through the beautiful Alameda, drives on the fashionable Paseo, and walks about the streets, with ever novel views of the distant and glistening summits of gigantic Popocatapetl and his spouse Ixtacihuatl, "the Woman in White," were followed by longer excursions about the city and its romantic suburbs.

One of these drives was to look at the old cypress tree, under which Cortez is said to have taken refuge, on the "Noche Triste," after his bloody and disastrous battle in the city. Another was a visit to Tacubaya with its fine country seats, and to San Fernando with its historic graves.

One day was spent in visiting Guadalupe Hidalgo; where thousands of Indians were congregated to hold their annual festival in honor of their patroness, "Our Lady of Guadalupe." A picture of the Virgin Mary, with Aztec dress and complexion, is enshrined there with reverence, as being of supernatural origin, and as commemorating her aspect at the time when she appeared to Juan Diego. The tradition has built up a great town, with churches and convents, around the spot where he saw his vision.

Another interesting day was spent in company with the Ministers of War and Finance, and their families, in visiting the battle-fields of Contreras, Churubusco, Chapultepec, Molino del Rey, and the Belen Gate; as well as the hacienda of La Cañada, a favorite resort of Maximilian. Then there were excursions by boat, up the Grand Canal, to see the monument to Guatamozin, the famous "Floating Gardens," the "Rock Piñon," the warm springs, and the lakes Chalco and Tezcoco.

One morning, as the party were passing through a hall of the National Palace, an attendant threw open a side door and invited them to look in. A large room was piled full of the dusty, mouldering relics of the dead Empire — scarlet canopies, laced liveries, jeweled swords, gold and silver cups and vases, rods and maces of court ushers, belts and caps of imperial guards, royal portraits, chairs of State, battered statuary and broken monograms, furniture from throne and banquet

rooms, costly trappings and useless rubbish, all thrown confusedly together as no longer of any service. It was like the property-room of a theater, save that here the tragedy was a real one, and its insignia were of enormous cost. No sermon on the vanity of human greatness was ever preached, half so eloquent as that silent room!

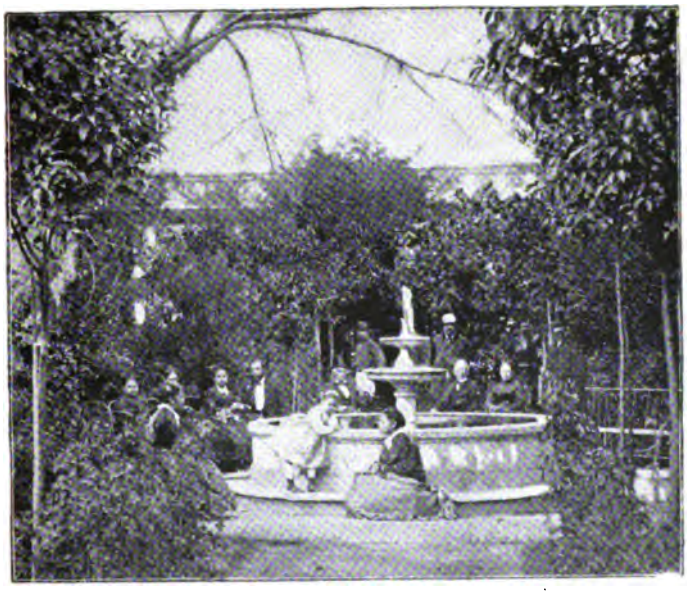
There was a round of festivities and hospitalities, public and private. There was a dinner at the United States Legation, followed by a ladies' reception. There was a dinner at Mr. Lerdo's, and another at Mr. Romero's. There was a military parade of the regular troops. There was a "*gran funcion*" at the Circo de Chiarini, another at the Opera of "*Crispino e la Comare*," and another at the Iturbide Theater of "*La Cābaña de Tom*" (Uncle Tom's Cabin).

The 24th of November was spent with President Juarez and his family at the beautiful castle of Chapultepec, which had been fitted up with all the decorations and appliances of modern art as one of the imperial residences. The dinner was served in the great hall, and several hours were passed in looking at the State apartments, galleries, corridors and court-yards, fountains and gardens, terraces and groves, and in viewing the magnificent prospect. The golden-hued valley of Mexico stretched away in the sunshine; the white walls and towers of the city gleaming in the foreground, while in the remote distance loomed up the snowy summits of the two mountain giants — Popocatapetl and the "Woman in White."

On the 27th of November came a grand banquet at the National Palace, the invitations to which were issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the name of the President of the Republic and "in honor of William H. Seward." Four hundred guests, including all the chief officers of the Government and the leading members of Congress, sat at the table — Juarez and Seward together at the head. Here, as at the other festive gatherings, music, toasts, and speeches prolonged the proceedings to a late hour. These were full of enthusiastic and affectionate references both to the United States and to Seward. One of the most eloquent of the orators was Señor Altamirano of Guerrero. He said:

> This banquet is not to the foreign monarch, who, leaving his throne for travel, is received with official orations; nor to the conqueror, raising the cup to his lips with a bloody hand. It is the apostle of human rights, the defender of the dignity of America, and one of the venerable patriarchs of liberty, whom we welcome in our midst, and in honor of whom we decorate with flowers our Mexican homes. * * * It is not merely Seward, the great statesman of the age, premier of the United States. I see, and only wish to see in him, the friend of humanity, the enemy of slavery, and the liberator of

AT THE CASTLE OF CHAPULTEPEC.



IN THE PATIO.

the bondsman! His heart, his thoughts, his whole life have been consumed in the task!

In his speech of acknowledgment Seward adverted to the crisis of 1861, when Slavery had taken up arms in alarm for its life, and had organized rebellion, aiming at the dissolution of the Union:

The statesmen of Europe, with its press almost unanimous, announced that the United States of America had ceased to exist as one whole sovereign and organized nation. The Emperor of France, emboldened by the seeming prostration of the United States, landed invading armies at Vera Cruz and Acapulco and overran the territories of Mexico, overthrowing all its republican institutions and establishing upon its ruins an European empire.

With the United States in anarchy, St. Domingo reëstablished as a monarchy, and Mexico as an Empire, it was unavoidable that republicanism must perish throughout the whole continent. * * * In that hour of supreme trial, I thought I knew, better than the enemies of our cause, the resources, the energies, and the virtues of the imperiled nation. The United States became, for the first time, in sincerity and earnestness, the friend and ally of every other Republican State in America, and all the Republican States became, from that hour, the friends and allies of the United States.

On the 9th of December, came the grand ball at the National Theater, which closed this series of hospitable demonstrations. The theater was brilliantly lighted, and decorated from floor to roof with flowers, and with Mexican and American flags. Three thousand guests were present. After the opening quadrilles, there were waltzes, and galops, but most frequent of all, the favorite national "danza," with its soft, slow music, and its graceful movement — the dance of all others best adapted to a great ball, since it enables each guest to meet and exchange greetings with every other.

The street by which the guests arrived and departed seemed to have changed into a great illuminated and decorated arcade.

The time fixed for departure was now approaching. Farewell visits were made and exchanged. The day before leaving, there was a "last breakfast," at the beautiful country seat of Mr. Barron at Tacubaya. Many and warm were the heartfelt expressions of affection and regret that were exchanged with Mexican friends, on bidding adieu to them and to their historic city.

And now the mode of travel was changed. Mexico's first railway had been completed, from the city, as far as Puebla, and a special train was in waiting to take Seward thither. He left Mexico on the 18th of December in the President's car, and was accompanied as far as the first station by Señors Lerdo, Romero and Mejia of the Cabinet, and their families. Luxurious and easy as was the car, it had

one disadvantage as compared with the stage coach in the mountains; for it gave but passing glimpses, instead of intimate acquaintance, with the country traversed. The train whirled only too rapidly through Ometusco, Apam, San Juan Tehuacan and the battle-field of Cortez at Otumba.

Reaching Puebla toward evening, after a run of one hundred and sixteen miles, they were welcomed by the Governor and the local authorities, and were lodged in the Bishop's Palace — that prelate having gone to Rome to attend the Ecumenical Conference. The Palace was a spacious and stately structure, with long suites of apartments for the accommodation or entertainment of clerical visitors, as well as the keeping of valuable records and works of art. Some of the walls and ceilings had been frescoed by modern artists. One, containing the doorway to the Bishop's sleeping-room, had been painted (through some religious or artistic whim), in exact imitation of the entrance to a grated prison cell. It was said that Maximilian, who occupied the room on his last visit to Puebla, started back and shook his head with a melancholy smile, on seeing this ominous presage.

Directly across the plaza was the great Cathedral, the largest and richest on the continent, and all around could be seen the towers and steeples of the churches and convents that attested the fidelity of Puebla to the ecclesiastical organization of which it had long been a stronghold. Besides these edifices, Puebla had other points of more modern interest, in its fortifications and battle-fields, its buildings riddled and shattered by artillery during the war with the French. The victory won here by Zaragoza, on the 5th of May, has made the *Cinco de Mayo* a national holiday.

One day was devoted to an excursion to Tlascala — a city three centuries old. Here was the capital of the Indian Republic, whose people became the allies of Cortez, and aided him in his war on Montezuma's empire, and the final conquest of Mexico. Many buildings are still standing which date back to the time of the conquest. Among them is the church built by the Spaniards in 1529 — the first spot on the continent dedicated to Christian worship. The Governor of Tlascala and his Staff, met, and welcomed Seward to the city, and taking him to the State Palace exhibited the antiquarian relics preserved with care — among them portraits of the "Conquistadores," and of the Tlascalan allied Chieftains — ancient documents bearing their signatures, Aztec weapons and musical instruments then in use; and the royal banner unfurled by Cortez, faded and worn, but still nearly whole.

Another interesting trip was to Cholula, to visit the celebrated pyr-

amid, whose origin was in some remote age before the days of historians. As the carriage approached the town, its people were seen gathering in the plaza; while a hundred church bells were chiming forth a welcome. Ascending to the top of the pyramid by the winding pathway, paved with lava, they found there the old Spanish church, standing on the ruins of the still older heathen temple, devoted to human sacrifices.

The Prefecto and other authorities received Seward with addresses and a collation. One of the incidents of the feast was the appearance of a band of musicians, attired in the costumes and playing upon the ancient instruments, the wild and plaintive melodies of their Aztec ancestors.

In his speech, Seward said:

The scene around me seems like one to awaken momentary inspiration. I am on the steps of the Aztec Pyramid, which is one of the most stupendous altars of human sacrifice, ever erected to propitiate the Deity, in the ages when He was universally understood to be a God of vengeance. Around me lies that magnificent plain, where an imperial savage throne was brought down to the dust, and I am surrounded by Christian churches and altars.

After a long contest with monarchial and imperial ambitions, the independence of the ancient Aztec race has been reconquered, without the loss of the Christian religion, and consolidated in a representative Federal Republic. Witnesses of towering majesty and impressive silence are looking down upon me —La Malinche, bewildering, because she is so indistinct, and the volcanoes of Popocatapetl, Ixtacihuatl and Orizaba, clad in their eternal vestments of snow, attest that nature remains unchangeable, and only men, nations, and races are subject to revolution.

Returned to Puebla the party were entertained at a banquet by Governor Romero y Vargas, at which forty or fifty guests were present. On the morning of the 23d, they bade adieu. The Governor and his Staff accompanied them as far as Tepeaca, where they stopped for breakfast. Then they proceeded on their way in a stage, escorted by a detachment of the neatly-uniformed Rural Guard of Puebla — the railway to Vera Cruz not being yet completed. It was fortunate for them that it was not, for then they would have missed the majestic scenery of Las Cumbres and Aculzingo, where the road descends from the temperate plateau above to the torrid plain below — six thousand feet — in ten miles. Gazing at the apparently illimitable prospect of mountains, cañons, cascades, precipices and plains, a Californian remarked with a sigh, "Until to-day I thought that nothing could beat the Yosemite!"

They arrived at the quaint old city of Orizaba, on Christmas Eve. Horsemen and carriages were in waiting at the gates, city authorities

with the over-pleasant and welcome greeting, and a large and handsome house ready for occupancy. Ten days were spent in Orizaba, enlivened by the festivities of the Christmas season. Many usages and customs with which a devout race has surrounded it were new to the American travelers. Then there were fine old churches, handsome fruit gardens, and modern factories to be visited. Many localities were pointed out that had been the scenes of incidents of the French invasion, or of the war with the United States, crumbling fortifications, deserted camp grounds, and battered walls. The front of one church bore so many scars of battle, marks of bullets and of cannon balls, that inquiry was made, "when that fierce fight occurred?" The bystander, to whom the question was addressed, shrugged his shoulders, and said he did not remember, "*Es costumbre del pais, Señor.*" (It is the custom of the country, sir!)

Magnificent scenery surrounds Orizaba, whose prominent feature, everywhere visible, is the high, conical snow-capped peak which bears its name.

Leaving Orizaba on the 4th of January, they overtook and passed a procession peculiar to Mexico. This was a great "*conducta*" — a train of more than forty carts laden with thousands of dollars in specie, for export. Each cart was drawn by fourteen to eighteen mules, and the whole were guarded by a force of eight hundred Government troops. The "*conducta*" halted, and the soldiers presented arms as "the nation's guest" passed by.

The journey to Vera Cruz by way of Cordova was through a wild and rocky region. The road passed through luxuriant tropical forests in its gradual descent to the coast. A short pause was made to look at the work on the Chiquihuite Pass — a gigantic piece of railway engineering.

Now they were in "*Tierra Caliente,*" out of the region of grain fields, orchards, and magueys, and again among bananas, oranges, sugar plantations, and cane huts. At Paso del Macho, a train was in waiting; and in a few hours more they were in Vera Cruz. "Mr. Seward's house" was ready here also. This time it was one belonging to Mr. Schleiden, a merchant of Vera Cruz, and a brother of an old friend, formerly Minister at Washington from the Hanseatic cities. The Governor of the State of Vera Cruz, the Collector of the Port, and other Federal and State officials in full uniform, soon came to pay a visit of ceremony and tender a welcome.

Only one more week remained before departure. It was passed in rambles through the well-paved, substantial streets of Vera Cruz, visits to its historic spots, to its great Mole, and to the Castle of San

Juan de Ulloa. One day was spent in penning farewell letters to the kind friends who had made the journey through the Republic so memorable and enjoyable.

Besides the formal letter of thanks addressed to the Government, Seward wrote to President Juarez:

> But I could not think of leaving the country without making a more direct and unstudied acknowledgment of my profound sense of obligation to you for the attentions and hospitality with which you have received myself and family during our delightful sojourn in Mexico. I feel sure that I am safe in congratulating you upon the finality of peace and regeneration, in the great country which you have rescued from anarchy and foreign conquest.

To Mr. Romero, he wrote:

> It is not to renew my grateful acknowledgment that I write this parting letter, so much as it is to assure you of my profound sympathy with you in your arduous labors for the restoration of law, order, prosperity, and prestige in Mexico.
>
> I feel quite hopeful that these labors will be appreciated by the people and Government of Mexico soon; but even if this should fail to be the case, talents, energy, and loyalty like yours will not be suppressed. You will in that case only rise to higher usefulness and honors hereafter.

And to Mr. Bossero, the Government Commissioner who had accompanied him from Guadalajara, he expressed his thanks "for cares and attentions, which have not merely saved me from every danger and discomfort, but which have made the journey of my family and friends a constant instruction and continual pleasure."

There was no steamer from Vera Cruz proceeding directly to the United States, all the lines touching at Havana. As the change from a tropical to a northern climate in mid-winter was not desirable, Seward decided to spend a few weeks in Cuba, so as to reach home in the early spring. Accepting the courteous invitation of the owners of the New York and Mexican (Alexandre) line, he embarked on the *Cleopatra*, Captain Phillips, on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 11. Long after she had passed the Castle and out of the harbor, and had lost sight of the coast, the snowy crown of the Pico de Orizaba was glistening in the rays of the setting sun on the distant horizon. It was like a last glimpse of an old friend, and the party sat on deck in the evening watching it, and recalling their thousand-and-one pleasant memories of the journey through Mexico.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1870.

The *Cleopatra*. At Havana. War Times in Cuba. The Insurrection. The Spanish Volunteers. Reviews and Serenades. At San Ricardo. Plantation Life in Winter. Returning Home. At Baltimore. Hospitalities in New York. At Home Again. The Lessons of Travel.

A CALM sea and days of sunshine made the run to Havana pleasant enough. The *Cleopatra* paused a few hours off the coast of Yucatan, to send a boat to the port of Sisal. On its return, there came a deputation of State and Federal officers to greet Seward, and to tender him the hospitalities of Yucatan.

At noon, on Sunday, the *Cleopatra* steamed into the harbor of Havana, under the frowning walls of the Moro Castle, surmounted by the red and gold banner of Spain. The harbor was crowded with shipping. Spanish ships of war, military transports, and merchantmen in large number betokened a season of active business. Three or four naval vessels of the United States were also at anchor.

Landing, and proceeding with Mr. Hall, the United States Consul-General, to the hotel "El Telegrafo," Seward found a great change in the aspect of the town, since his former visit. All exposed portions were bristling with sentries and cannon. Flags were flying in the busy streets; troops mustering and marching; drums and bugles echoing at all hours of the day and night. In every group appeared the gay uniform of the Spanish volunteers. It was "war times," and scenes around him vividly recalled those in Washington during the civil war. Across the plaza, in front of the hotel, was the railway station. Trains every hour were arriving with returning soldiers, or departing with battalions ordered to the front. The insurrection which was in progress at the other end of the island, had brought an influx of military population, and given an impetus to local trade. Most of the Cubans whom he had met in 1866 were gone. New civic and military functionaries had come in, with a new Governor-General, and on the Paseo, in the theater, and in society, Spaniards had taken the place of Cubans.

Traveling now as a private citizen, he had expected to proceed quietly to the interior, to spend a short time with friends living there. But though his coming was unexpected, courtesies, public and private, awaited him. Military and civil officers came with greetings. The Captain-General invited him to a grand review, and to his country-seat. The volunteers received him with military honors, and serenades, at Havana, Matanzas, Cardenas, and the other towns through

which he passed. Colonel Zulueta, their chief, took him by special train, to visit, on successive days, his three princely estates at "La España," "Vizcayna," and "La Havana," covering, altogether, nearly as much ground as the District of Columbia. Other excursions, by land and water, followed.

It was not until the 28th that, under the guidance of Mr. Ramon Williams, the United States Vice-Consul-General, he finally went for a quiet sojourn to San Ricardo, a sugar plantation, belonging to Mr. Richard Smith of Bristol, R. I. Here, after the fatigue of months of excitement and travel, came a fortnight of rest, in the secluded home of an amiable family.

Life on a sugar plantation in the winter offers to the casual visitor many attractions; the balmy climate, the luxurious repose of calm, quiet nights, and sunny days on the broad shaded verandas, varied by excursions on foot, in carriage, or on horse-back, during the cooler hours toward sunset. It presents, too, the contrast of scenes of busy activity in the fields and the sugar-house, where the laborers are preparing the product for market; and occasionally, after working hours, there is a season of merriment in the moonlight, with songs, and dances, and musical instruments that date back to Africa.

Taking leave of "Don Ricardo," and his rural home, Seward returned by way of Cardenas and Matanzas to Havana in time to take the steamer *Cuba* for Baltimore.

The *Cuba* sailed on the 16th of February, touching at Key West that evening, and then proceeding up the coast. Tropical sunshine was soon left behind. After passing Hatteras, blustering gales and snow squalls gave the travelers notice that the Northern winter was not yet over. But, without special incident or accident, they found themselves comfortably installed at Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore, on Washington's Birthday.

Here many of Seward's friends came from Washington, Philadelphia, and New York to greet him. After a few days' stay he went on to New York, and, stopping at the Astor House, spent a fortnight there. The city authorities tendered him a public reception, and private hospitalities were showered upon him from all sides. His parlor at the hotel was a continual levee. Deputations from the Chamber of Commerce and other public bodies came with addresses. He especially enjoyed the quiet dinners with old friends in their own homes, many of whom he had only seen, during the past years, in hurried intervals of public business.

Like cordial welcome awaited him at Auburn, when he reached there.

He wrote to his son:

A committee of twenty-five citizens, all especial friends, met us. All the remaining male inhabitants of Auburn were waiting for us at the depot. The ladies were gathered at the house. We had accomplished the journey comfortably, and the greetings here were inspiring. I have been quite well since my arrival, although the earth is covered with a shroud of snow two feet thick.

Many visitors and delegations from the neighboring cities came to see him. To one party from Syracuse, he made a brief speech:

You have reminded me that since we parted last, I have been a traveler, and you greet me all the more cordially as a neighbor returned home.

I should like, if it were convenient, to speak to you of the glaciers, mountains, forest, and tablelands, of the mines and caves, of the cataracts, rivers, lakes, seas and oceans, their majesty, beauty, and riches; of States beginning, and of States begun, of States growing, and of States struggling, of States rising, and of States dissolving, to recompose themselves again; of men and races — Indian, African, Asiatic, and our own; their characters, and wants, powers, parts, and places, in the complex system of civilization. * * * Let it suffice to say, that everywhere, within the United States, and without the United States, I found in political institutions, and in the current of public events, and in the progress of order, law, freedom, and humanity, a full confirmation of the principles, politics, and sentiments in which the people of Auburn and Syracuse have been educated, and which, without shrinking from the sacrifice of life and fortune, they have so long maintained. The first century of our national existence draws to a close. While the seals of the second century are being opened, we shall be passing away, relying on the benevolence of God and the progress of humanity. Let us hope, without doubting, that our successors will be wiser and better than we have been; that henceforth the reformer of the nation may never be found lacking in patience, the patriot in zeal, the soldier in prudence, or the statesman in constancy; and above all, that the nation itself may never distrust its own gracious destiny.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1870

At Home Again. Occupations and Letters. Old Friends. Preparations for a Voyage Around the World. The Departure.

ONCE more ensconced in the old home at Auburn, he was taking a season of rest, surrounded by visitors and friends, before resuming his travels. His letters to his son at Montrose on the Hudson described his occupations. The tremulous, and often illegible, writing, showed the gradual decline of strength in his arms; but the cheerful words and tone gave no note of decay.

March 17.

St. Patrick's day has come, and three feet of snow have come. But the robins have not come, neither do I think you will come this week. I have found it quite difficult to live without exercise in very cold weather. But I am hopeful of better things. Meantime, I talk with friends, write as many letters, and read as much as I can.

I am likely to need you long here, to overhaul and arrange the papers gathered around me.

All is bustle and improvement in the gardens, barns, and grounds.

Yesterday I visited the cemetery. The snow-drifts cover nearly all the grounds, and the marble, like the snow, is discolored by the fallen leaves. But spring will soon restore the sweet and placid beauty of the loved mother's and child's repose.

May 17.

We are at the close of a busy week.

On the 16th the Wells College, old and young, came here to celebrate my birthday. The sun was bright, and the air light and pure. The party seemed pleased with all, inside and outside.

June 1.

I am pleased with the report of your industry among fruits and flowers. I shall take the earliest occasion possible, to pay my respects, content with a ramble among the rocks. Our own place has become a retreat for "Hadji." We had yesterday three hundred Sunday-school scholars, on an excursion from Dryden. We are promised another of the same sort to-day.

Miss Cushman writes me a sad, but very affectionate letter from Rome. She comes in August, to remain for life. I will send it to you.

June 11.

If you ever meet again with Mr. Weed, or with Harriet, I wish you would tell them that Mr. Weed is, in my judgment, as well as any man has the right to expect to be, at the age of seventy-three; and that I am sensible that I have reason to be thankful, that I am well enough, at the age of sixty-nine, to be able to correspond with them, and all other friends, by letter or telegraph, and even to visit them, when I can either aid or cheer them.

A few days later, the proposed visit to Montrose was made. He stayed several days, and seemed to especially enjoy excursions to various historic points in the neighborhood — Stony Point, Crompond, Tarrytown, Paulding's monument, the scenes of Arnold's escape, of Andre's capture, and of the meeting of Washington and Rochambeau. Many friends from New York came up to see him there. Returned to Auburn, he wrote:

June 28.

I have concerted a plan of travel, of a year or more, in Asiatic countries, not forgetting my favorite scheme of visiting South America. We may find it necessary to go before cold weather comes here, to avoid the cold weather in Pekin. I am to spend the winter in the tropics; but, as yet, undetermined whether in Asiatic or South American climes.

No: I have not read "Lothair." We attend to three occupations — receiving visitors, work, and exercise; we do each one thoroughly; there is no place among the three where reading comes in. There is much company — some of it imminent."

In July, F. B. Carpenter, the artist, made the visit to Auburn, of which he subsequently published a graphic description, recounting Seward's conversation with him over incidents of the war, and the emancipation era.

Early in August, preparations for the journey round the world had been completed. He wrote:

August 10.

We are all on the verge of departure. I am more than usually well, and all our party are cheerful. The Central Pacific, and the North-western Railway give me the freedom of their roads. The Navy Department has directed special orders. The Randalls have decided to overtake me at San Francisco. Mr. Weed and Harriet came on Saturday night, and leave at eight to-night. Mr. Evarts came on Saturday and leaves at eleven to-night. Mr. Baker arrived on Saturday afternoon, and accompanies me to Detroit. The Risleys came Sunday morning.

We leave Wednesday at three.

When the hour of departure arrived, neighbors and friends gathered to take leave. Many of them had grave misgivings as to the effect of so long a journey upon his already impaired health, but he replied:

The journey, though long, is now made easy by steam on land and sea. When I come back, remember to meet me at the eastern door of the railway station, though we part at the western one.

CHAPTER LXX.

1870–1871

The Journey Round the World.

A YEAR and two months were now passed in traversing the continent by rail and the Pacific by steamer; landing in Japan; penetrating the Inland Sea; crossing to China; going up to Pekin and the Great Wall; exploring the Yangtze; proceeding thence to visit Cochin China and the East Indies; steaming through the Straits of Malacca to Ceylon and Madras; traveling through the Indian Empire from Calcutta to Delhi and Bombay; embarking again to cross the Indian ocean and go up the Red Sea; pausing to visit Egypt; then going through Palestine up to Jerusalem; then to the Isles of Greece; resting in Constantinople on the shores of the Golden Horn; then up the Danube and through Hungary, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, France, Germany, and England. Received everywhere by sovereigns and statesmen, as a friend known through long official intercourse, and by the people as a representative of the Great Republic, Seward made his circuit of the globe, finding everywhere instructive scenes and suggestive incidents. The story of this journey has already been told in another volume, ending with the day when, in accordance with his promise, he reentered the Auburn station through its eastern door.

"*Travels Round the World.*"—Edited by Olive Risley Seward. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1873.

CHAPTER LXXI.

1871–1872.

Home Life and Occupations. Invitations and Visitors. Writing a Book. Autobiography. The Story of Travel. Table Talk.

THE old home at Auburn was in autumnal glory. Without, the trees were wearing their robes of red and gold. Within, fires were blazing, and all was life, bustle, and activity. Friends were thronging to take the returned traveler by the hand, and talk with him about the scenes he had visited. His voice was as cheery, and his eye as bright as ever. But three score years and ten had set their mark.

His step had lost its elasticity, and the feeble hand could no longer grasp the long-used pen. He wrote to his son:

October 19, 1871.

I have been less vigorous than at Montrose. William has made the most comfortable and cosy accommodations for me possible. But my friends, although they have not come together, have kept coming all the time, until I begin to despair of repose, much more of opportunity for study. This morning, however, I have begun to resume my ancient method of punctuality in correspondence.

Derby's letter is kind and generous. The Harpers have written to me, proposing to publish the book. The subject is in abeyance.

The *Sun*, to-morrow, I suppose, will contain Stanton's interview. You will be able to judge on reading it, perhaps, whether what I might dictate would be worth publication.

October 24.

The reception of visitors, almost uninterrupted, day or night, exhausted me, but the pressure, which, great as it was, I should be an ingrate to complain of, has abated, so as to leave me a few hours every day, for bringing up arrears of correspondence.

I have letters of invitation from everywhere, for lectures and speeches, all of which, like that of the Mercantile Library, have the unexpressed object of a friendly reception, or, as it is now-a-days called by hyperbole, an "ovation." Of this latter enjoyment, I have had all that the most ambitious could covet, and as much as a shattered frame can stand; so that you must tell them, with many thanks, that I am enjoying my rest here too much to think, for a moment, of leaving it, even to engage in so pleasant a duty as meeting my warm-hearted friends in New York, in character of lecturer, or otherwise.

I am glad you think well of the book. It grows upon myself. The present discipline of letter writing will be a test of physical strength, concluded before you come.

As these letters imply, his friends had been urging him to write the story of his travels, and of his life. Now that he was at home, and at leisure, the occupation seemed a congenial one. It was not in his nature to remain idle, or to indulge in morbid apprehensions and procrastinations. Though his hands had so far lost their strength, that the manuscript would have to be written by an amanuensis, he went to work with his accustomed zeal and cheerfulness. Before the month was over, he had commenced the opening chapters of his "Autobiography." The old "office," or study, had been long awaiting his return. His habit was to proceed there immediately after breakfast, and then, having disposed of such letters as required prompt answer, he would begin work on the book. A file of *Niles' Register*, and another of the *Evening Journal*, were at hand for reference in regard to names and dates. The chain of events was fresh enough in his mem-

ory. Sometimes he sat in the old writing chair, sometimes half reclined on the broad lounge by the bay-window, while dictating. Every day there were many visitors and many letters. These occupied time, and delayed the progress of the manuscript, but he was unwilling to deny himself to friends, or to refuse courteous response to correspondence. Occasionally, when the letter-box was brought to him, he would say, with a smile:

"Well, let those wait till to-morrow, they are only grass-hoppers!" alluding to the scriptural saying that in old age, "the grass-hopper becometh a burden."

In the afternoon he would take a drive for an hour or so before dark. Sometimes it would be to Fort Hill, sometimes along the shore of Owasco lake, but most frequently to the hospitable home of the Martins at "Willowbrook." Rain or snow seldom prevented this daily exercise, though his increasing sensitiveness to cold made the Alaska fur cap and the shaggy Thibet coat acceptable additions to ordinary wraps.

His bedroom adjoined the study, and he was still able to move easily about on the first floor, to dining-room and parlor, and on the level garden walks. Going up or down stairs had become fatiguing, since his hands could no longer grasp the rail. This infirmity was gradually increasing, though by almost imperceptible degrees. Doubtless its progress was retarded by the daily exercise he persisted in, under direction of his physician, Doctor Dimon.

The Autobiography, it was thought, would occupy a long time, perhaps be continued during years. But, meanwhile, the public were desirous to read at once about the most recent of his experiences — the journey round the world. After some discussion with family and friends, he decided that it would be wise to lay aside the story of his life for a time, and begin that of his travels. So he took up the notes prepared during his journey, with the aid of his adopted daughter, Olive Risley, and commenced the work that was destined to be his last.

Speaking of it, in one of his letters to his son, he said:

January 4, 1872.

We have bravely gotten into it at last, and are crossing the Pacific ocean in retrospect, about as rapidly as we crossed it in actual travel. Come at such times, and for such periods, as you can.

His children and grandchildren were now all gathered at the old home, in accordance with his wishes. Most of them remained there during the winter and the ensuing summer.

As not unfrequently happens, the decline of muscular power was

accompanied by an increase of nervous sensibility. But he would not allow this to seriously interfere with his equable temper. Age, when querulous and morbid, becomes a burden to itself and friends. Age, when cheerful and philosophic, is the most instructive of companions. His ripe experience and warm sympathies made his conversation genial and delightful. Said one of his friends:

"I always feel, when closing the door after a visit there, as I do when closing the pages of an interesting volume."

Of course, the topics were suggested by passing events, the changes in the season, the visits of his friends, the news of the day, the letters received in the morning, the books read in the evening, etc. It was so at all hours, but especially at the table, when guests and family sat chatting after the meal. Some remembered bits of that table talk, subsequently noted down, though doubtless imperfectly, may be of interest here.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1872.

Table Talk.

February 8.

When the morning mail comes in, there are two forms of unhappiness about letters. One is not getting them; and the other is getting too many of them. Ladies often have the former trouble. Mine, all my life, has been the latter one.

Ole Bull, besides being a great violinist, is a man of great good sense. While there are a thousand men who can talk, he is the only one who can make his violin talk, and talk sensibly.

Missionaries to the East, for success, need two things. First, they should be doctors, as well as preachers; and second, they should be women, instead of men. If a missionary will show that he can cure their bodies, the people will intrust him with the cure of their souls. And women missionaries, who can cure the sick, will obtain admission into that Eastern domestic life from which all men are now excluded.

February 9.

Success in any undertaking comes of patient, unremitting effort. You cannot have it, unless you resolutely concentrate your energies upon your work; and resolutely refuse to be diverted by other subjects, no matter how import-

ant or interesting. When something else thrusts itself in, and demands notice, you must be ready to say: "I pass that by. I am going ahead."

February 10.

The climate of Pekin is the climate of Auburn. With this simple starting point for comparison, it is easy for an American to understand the variations of climate throughout the whole of China.

If people who cannot spare time from work, to play whist in the evening, would occasionally play that game or some other, they would find they could accomplish more work during the day.

February 11.

This is the only country where the smaller cities have the ease and comfort, elegance and fashion, popularly assumed to belong exclusively to the metropolis. A stranger looking at a handsome equipage, or stepping into a church, an opera-house, or an evening party, at Auburn, would not find any essential difference betwen them and those he sees in New York. In England, it is different. Wealth and taste, talent and culture concentrate in London; and those who desire to enjoy them, must go there. In Goldsmith's or Johnson's time, one could find no theater in the rural localities, save perhaps a company of strolling players in a barn. The large extent of the United States, their subdivision of political power, and their rapid intercommunication by railroads, telegraphs, and newspapers, are perhaps the reasons why the highest cultivation and refinement are not monopolized by one great city.

Looking out on this winter landscape of hills and plains, fields and forests, it is curious to think that every flake of snow and particle of ice in it have precisely the same destination. It is only a question of time, with each one, how soon it will be in the Owasco creek, on its winding journey of a thousand miles to the Atlantic ocean.

That is not a very satisfactory life, led by many owners of real estate in the vicinity of great cities. Their property is of great value in the future, but of no salable value in the present. So they lead lives of toil, privation, and self-denial, eagerly expecting the day when speculation will call for their lands. That day is certain to come; but to many of them it will not come until they are dead and buried.

One of the sad things in life is to find how families, whose position seemed assured, gradually fall into a decline of numbers and of prosperity; until their scattered descendants, reduced to poverty, no longer even remember the ancient home, once the center of so much pride and enjoyment.

February 12.

Ours is the best latitude for dinners. Go either north of 45° or south of 35°, and you will find that meats, fish, game, and vegetables seem inferior.

At the North the climate checks the growth of products; at the South it enervates the producer, and takes away the appetite of the consumer.

In the West Indies fruits, fish, and fowl abound. Yet when you go to dine, they serve you with canned oysters from New York, salted fish from Boston, potatoes from the Bahamas, patés from Paris, beef from Florida, apples from New Jersey, peaches from Delaware, peas and asparagus from England, wine from France, and cheese from Germany.

February 13.

The "Know-Nothing" movement was to me a source of apprehension. I had come to believe, after many years' observation, that the American people were so well grounded in political and religious principles, that while they might err temporarily in judgment, they would adhere firmly to their benign system of Government. But, when I saw not only individuals, but whole communities and parties swept away by an impulse contradicting the very fundamental idea on which the Government rests, I began to doubt whether the American people had such wisdom as I had always given them credit for.

In Guadalajara, Mexico, there is a great literary treasure which the world passes by unnoticed and unknown. The convents and colleges were, for over two centuries, accumulating libraries, containing rare and valuable books and manuscripts in various languages. When the revolution took place which overthrew the supremacy of the Church, these institutions were broken up, their property confiscated, and these libraries became the property of the several States. So the State of Jalisco found itself the possessor of a vast accumulation of books, containing a multitude of duplicates. These duplicates it would gladly sell or exchange, and still retain a library such as few European capitals can boast. But Guadalajara is so remote, so cut off from communication with the literary world, by the political and commercial condition of Mexico, that the great treasure still rests there in the dim and dusty seclusion of the upper rooms of a University, whose very existence is hardly talked of on either continent.

As long ago as the reign of Henry VIII, when royal despotism first began to be tempered by Parliamentary debates, English politicians divided into two parties, which have existed ever since — the one in our time, bearing the name of "Tories," and the other that of "Whigs" or "Liberals." The Tories, as a rule, have been the upholders of Government against hasty encroachments; and the Whigs the advocates of reforms. Though there are, and have been, many conservative men in the Whig party, and many liberal men in the Tory party, yet the general drift of the policy of one has been toward reaction, and of the other toward progress. So, balanced by the two, Great Britain has moved steadily on a middle line, between them.

Of late years, a third party has arisen, known as Radicals, consisting of earnest thinkers and active workers, impatient of the slow progress of reforms under Whig auspices.

During our civil war the Tories, for the most part, were hostile in feeling to the Union cause, while the Liberals and Radicals warmly sympathized with it. Yet there were some notable exceptions of men, who, though liberal in politics, were opposed to us, while several Tories were among our hearty friends.

February 16.

It was reserved for the Mormons of the United States to establish real, genuine polygamy. There is no place in all the Oriental countries, or indeed anywhere in the world, where they have it. In Turkey, China, and Japan, a man has one wife and several hand-maidens or concubines, like the ancient patriarchs. But only in Utah is there a polygamy in which there are several wives of one man, all of equal rank and recognized position.

Our army dwindles and our ships of war are rotting in the Navy Yards for the lack of appropriations. But it can hardly be expected that a nation in the enjoyment of perfect peace and the full tide of great industrial and commercial enterprises, can divert its time or its means from them, to prepare for wars which may never come.

February 17.

To counterfeit insanity is so difficult, that a very brief examination usually suffices to detect the cheat. Human ingenuity is not capable of conceiving or imitating madness, for any length of time. Even authors of fiction often fail in depicting it successfully.

The incongruity of American names is often commented on. Yet there is a philosophic key to it. The Americans are a cosmopolitan people. They watch the march of events, not only in their own country, but throughout the world. Every year they have new places to name, and they bestow titles upon them, chosen from their own current history, or that of the world at large. When they first land here, they give their villages the names fresh in their memories, of localities left behind them. When they have expelled the Indians, they retain the Indian names as memorials of the banished race. When the political or religious discussions of the day bring classic or scriptural themes into prominence, towns are named after the heroes and cities of Greece and Rome, or those of Palestine. When the Polish revolution came, straightway we had our Warsaws and Kosciuskos. When Lord Byron went to sing and fight for Greece, we christened a town on the Erie canal Port Byron; another on the river we called Athens, and another Iona. When Napoleon won battles, we perpetuated their names in Lodi and Marengo; and when he was defeated, we founded a Waterloo in Seneca county. Our own statesmen, Presidents and Generals are canonized, not in the calendar, but in the post-office directory, as fast as they come to fame. I could almost tell you, on hearing the name of a town, the era when it was christened.

Travelers have, for centuries, labored under an unmerited imputation of being given to lying. Most of them are truthful, for it is easier to set down

facts actually witnessed or heard, than it is to conceive and invent elaborate fictions.

But tht stories they tell are so new and so incredible to the minds of their readers, that they are set down as positive romance. Marco Polo, who traveled in Japan and China in the thirteenth century, was, for five hundred years, believed to be an arrant romancer. It is only now, in the nineteenth, when we begin to go there ourselves, that we find Marco, after all, only told things as he saw them. I remember reading on the title-page of "Baron Munchausen," the motto, "Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was not to be compared to thee, thou liar of the first magnitude!" Who Pinto was I did not know, but found afterward he was a great traveler in the East in the fifteenth century, who said that he was nineteen times a prisoner, and seven times a slave, in the course of his adventures. Now, after three hundred years of obloquy, Ferdinand Mendez Pinto is vindicated by modern travelers in the same region, who show that the things he relates might very well have happened, and probably did.

February 21

When we speak of "civilization," we generally mean the amount and kind of civilization that we have reached ourselves. We deny the title of "civilized people" to many nations versed in profound learning and experience of which we are ignorant, because they are not familiar with our houses, steamboats, telegraphs, churches, and newspapers.

The strength of the moral position of the United States is appreciated by very few of the Americans themselves. It hardly seems necessary for the United States ever to go to war. The simple statement on their part, that they feel that they have been wronged or unjustly dealt with, brings the offending nation to terms, for none can stand against the public opinion of the world. That opinion is on the side of the United States, because they are never, knowingly, unjust to any nation: and the world feels that they are entitled to justice.

February 24.

I have never found but one infallible recipe for having a good night's rest, and that is, to have been restless and sleepless the night before.

Old pamphlets gain value by time. Probably there is no one of those bound volumes of old pamphlets on that upper shelf, which, taken at random, would not furnish us with quaint and curious information, as suggestive of thought, inquiry, and reflection, as a volume of the wisest philosopher in the library.

Our ideas of the grandeur of Greek and Roman temples, derived from the classic authors, undergo a great shrinkage, when we come to see the edifices themselves. The old temples are architecturally beautiful, but have none of that vast and solemn grandeur which came in with the Gothic Cathedrals of the Middle Ages. The Temple of Minerva at Athens, celebrated for so many ages, is not so large as one of our Auburn churches, and is a pigmy affair by the side of York Minster.

There are many men who can spread a story over twenty pages; but very few who can condense it into one.

Nations persecute for religious opinions. Yet the heathen, who believes in two or three dozen gods, is apt to be tolerant of one or two more. The persecutions of Christians in polytheistic countries, if carefully studied, will mostly be found to be based on popular fears (well or ill-founded) of their disloyalty to the sovereign, their defiance of the laws, or their designs on property or children — not their opinions on theology.

February 26.

Mrs. —— likes nothing better than to entertain and provide for clergymen and missionaries. I think she would deem it a pleasure to take charge of the Commissariat of the whole Church Militant.

Passing through a great library in England, with Sir Henry Holland, we came upon an alcove, where an author sat, surrounded by great piles of works, on the subject of which he was to write.

"There," said Sir Henry, "is an illustration of the feebleness of all our boasted intellect and invention. That is the way books are made — out of books. Here are eight hundred thousand volumes, on these shelves, slowly and laboriously reproduced out of each other, during successive centuries." And they will continue, for centuries to come, gradually evolving others, in which an original thought, or a novel fact, will be the exception: while the great mass of their facts and ideas will be selected, copied, and rearranged with more or less skill, from their predecessors.

One who reads Chaucer is spared the trouble of reading a great many other books — for his poems are an epitome of literature. as it existed in England in his time.

One cannot but feel in reading such works as those of Æsop and Chaucer, and La Fontaine, how long it takes to educate mankind; how simple must be the machinery used to do it, and how often the lesson must be repeated! Here in the "Nonne's Tale" of "Chanticleer and Partelotte," is the same old familiar truth, taught for centuries, and which yet has to be taught by the same sort of stories still, viz.: that if a man cheats us once, it is his fault, if a second time, it is our own.

The whole world derives from Palestine its highest conception of female character, its highest type of woman, investing her with angelic attributes. And yet, when you travel through Palestine to-day, you will find the women there, for the most part, below the ordinary standard of attractiveness, beauty, delicacy, intelligence, and virtue.

There is a fraud which seems to run through all histories. The early age is presented as better than the later one — the Golden Age precedes the Age of Iron. Yet, as a matter of fact, each generation gains more wisdom and refine-

ment than its predecessor. Read Herodotus, whose narrative of the Egyptians goes back to the days when their life was but one remove from that of beasts, without science, enlightenment, or even decency. The Greeks were not a whit better, though Herodotus, being a Greek, does not mention it; and the Egyptian records are equally careful to avoid reference to that not flattering period of their genealogy.

February 28.

It is as dangerous to name a street or a town after a living person, as it is to name a child after one. There is no telling how soon the innocent namesake may fall into undeserved ill-repute, on account of the misdeeds, of which the original owner is always capable, while he lives.

Everybody wonders now-a-days how we come to have Brutus, Marcellus, Aurelius, Sempronius, Cato, Rome, Carthage, Syracuse, and the like classic titles so plentiful in this region. But those whose memory goes back to the time when the places were named, recall how the heroes and events of ancient Republics used to be held up as models, to the new and juvenile Republics, then commencing their career. Simeon De Witt, when Surveyor-General, finding that names were needed for a number of new townships just opened for settlement, selected them from a Classical Dictionary at his elbow.

Chinese, English, and Americans, all deplore the vice of opium-eating, as fraught with great danger to the future of the Chinese people. Yet there probably is not half as much harm done there by eating opium, as there is done here, by drinking rum, nor half the amount of crime resulting from it.

While I was practicing law in Auburn, a convict in the State prison sent for me to ask me to become his counsel. He was then working out a term of ten years, to which he had been sentenced for having mysteriously abducted his wife and child, taking them off in a boat, on the Cayuga lake, and returning without them, they never having been heard of afterward. He could not be convicted of murder, because there was no *corpus delicti;* but the belief, not only of the public, but of the Court, was so strong, that he was condemned to the longest term the law would allow for "assault and abduction." He told me he was informed that he might be again put on trial, after the expiration of his present sentence: and, if the bodies in the meanwhile should be found, he would be adjudged guilty of murder, and hung. What he wanted of me was to promise to defend him. I declined to do so, believing him to have richly deserved the punishment he was undergoing, and even the greater one he dreaded. Time rolled on. The bodies never were found. But years afterward, while in Calcutta, I read in an American newspaper that he had been tried for another and later murder, found guilty, and in spite of great efforts to procure his pardon, had been executed. That was Ruloff, the Tompkins county murderer, whose case made such a stir recently.

If the United States Government had been wise, they would have accepted the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty for the settlement of the Alabama Claims. If the British Government is wise, it will now accept the Washington Treaty for the same purpose.

March 1.

While in Paris I was invited to see the method of editing a Parisian newspaper. The Editor-in-Chief met his associates, and they all sat round a table after the manner of a Board of Directors. Then the Editor-in-Chief, taking out a paper covered with memoranda, said to one of his assistants, "Monsieur So and So, news has been received from ———— to the effect that such and such events have taken place. This, I think, calls for an article in this sense;" and he proceeded to give him briefly the points for such an article. Turning to the next one at the table, he said, "Monsieur So and So, please prepare an article on such a subject:" giving him in like manner the points of it. So he passed rapidly to each member of the editorial conclave, assigning each his work for the day; which, it was understood, was to be brought in at five o'clock in the afternoon, when it would be revised and given to the type-setters, so as to appear in the journal of the next morning.

After thus distributing the editorial work, the Editor-in-Chief was free to go with me, to make visits or take a walk; his business being over until the time when the editorials he had directed should be handed in for his revision and approval. The whole seemed to be very systematically and methodically conducted.

March 2.

It seems to be conceded now that animals have reasoning powers; of course greatly inferior to those of man, but differing from them only in degree. But it is claimed that the point of difference is, that man has a moral sense of which the lower animals are destitute — that he knows when his actions are right and wrong.

Yet a dog knows when his actions are likely to bring him into danger of reproof. And if you pursue the investigation of the warning given by the human conscience, to its ultimate essence, it is not easy to say whether it does not comprise a fear of that identical sort.

There is no country in the world, not even in Europe, where the traveler can make his journey with such comforts and luxuries, and with so few inconveniences and hardships, as he can in an American steamboat or an American railway car.

March 3.

I wonder sometimes, when reading the reports of a lawyer's flings at parties in and out of court, and even at the judge himself, that the lawyer, as a shrewd observer, should not perceive that such demonstrations not only harm his clients, but weaken his own professional prestige.

Judges, unless born with a good degree of equanimity, or of a philosophical turn of mind, are apt to become occasionally querulous and impatient in the

disputations over which they preside. The power to cut short an argument which seems ill-founded, engenders a disposition to exert it. I recall two notable instances, however, of judges whose courteous and patient bearing always impressed me — the more, perhaps, because I was strongly opposed to them in political opinions. Those were Judge Nelson of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Chief Justice Taney of the same court. I never left them without the feeling that, whatever their decision might be, I had been treated with the most courteous patience, and that the points urged in behalf of my clients had received their fullest consideration.

Is it not a curious illustration of the changes of our age, that here is a citizen of this town of Auburn, going out to the banks of the Danube, the great granary of Europe, to reap their harvests, with machines of American invention and manufacture?

Nature intended men to live near together. But she has not made it compatible with their health or comfort to live much more closely than they do in this "unpretentious little town," as the New York reporters call it.

I find one effect of a journey round the world to be, that, whenever I am reading history, biography, poetry, or romance, the name of a locality immediately brings up recollections more or less vivid, of the appearance of that place when I was there, or of the neighborhood in which I heard of it. The leading events, real or imaginary, in nearly all the books we read, are placed in countries, either on, or near the line of travel one usually takes to circumnavigate the globe.

March 5.

The higher the degree of civilization to which a nation has attained, the longer is the average of human life. More physical comforts, greater security from danger, better medical care, follow naturally in the train of popular enlightenment. Man lives longer here than in any barbarous or semi-civilized region.

Great cities are, perhaps, exceptional to this rule. Or rather, to ascertain the average duration of life in a country, we must take both the urban and rural mortality rates; for the one will be below, and the other above, the true average.

March 6.

The secret of the commercial greatness of New York lies primarily in the fact that the Alleghany Mountains, which, everywhere else, present obstacles to commercial intercourse between the East and West, here sink down, and allow a pathway through them, by the valleys of the Mohawk and the Hudson. Of this pathway, commerce has availed itself, first by batteaux and sloops, then by canal and steamboat, and lastly by long lines of railway, perpetually growing in capacity and power.

Between Utica and Syracuse runs the dividing line, the waters on one side of which flow southward and eastward to the Atlantic ocean; while on the other side, they run northward to the lakes. Yet this "divide" is so imperceptible, that the whole region seems a dead level for sixty miles. Here it is that roads and railways and canals cross it, carrying down the products of the West, and bringing back the merchandise of the East.

March 7.

There is one log house standing now in the vicinity of Auburn. Fifty years ago when I came here, the log houses were in the majority, in all this region; and a brick house was as much an object of curiosity as that one seems now.

March 8.

Parties are powers in our national politics, who will let no man serve his country, however patriotic and disinterested he may be, who does not travel on their road and pass through their gates. The question for every citizen is, how much or how little of the tribute they exact, he must pay, before he is allowed to pass.

Born and brought up in the Jeffersonian Democratic party, then the dominant faction in the country, I learned at an early period that that party was shielding and defending slavery. I chose rather to enroll myself in one of the factions which were making an ineffectual fight against it; and so I became an anti-Mason and an Adams man; until those parties were merged into the Whig organization, which, in its turn, was merged into the Republican party. With that I acted, until the war combined patriotic men, whether Republicans or Democrats, into a Union party, supporting the Administrations of Lincoln and of Johnson. There my public life ended. I have ceased to be a partisan; and have no desire to surrender my independence, or impartiality, to the dictates of any party that I now see around me.

You think Presidents should be civilians, not military men? Consider for a moment. When the Republic was organized, the civilians came into power, and wielded it for seventy years. They had all the Presidents, except three generals — Washington, Jackson, and Taylor. Every one of those three governed, not as a general, but as a civilian, successfully, wisely, and well. Then the civilians at last, by their hot debates, plunged the nation into civil war.

The Army saved it; and it was the natural and pervading sentiment that the chief place was due to that Army's head. After Appomattox, I foresaw that the President would be a military man, for the eight years to come. Its General must be elected for one term; and then, as there would be opposition, he must be reëlected, to satisfy that popular sentiment. So Grant was elected, and will be reëlected. It would have been the same with Sherman, if, for any reason, he had been in his place. This is March, 1872. See if November, 1872, and March, 1873, do not verify the prediction.

Animals have a higher degree of intelligence than we give them credit for. That intelligence is cultivated and developed whenever they are with persons who take pains to study and direct it. Nearly everybody who has had a pet dog, cat, bird, or other animal, is surprised by the discovery of capabilities, which he imagines are peculiar to it. But every other similar animal would probably show the same, were the same care and attention given it.

March 10.

Coming from the East, I met with the extreme points successively touched, by the two great conquerors of Europe. On the banks of the Ganges, they showed me the spot where the soldiers of Alexander the Great mutinied, and refused to cross; so putting a limit to his conquests. On the banks of the Nile, they showed me the monument which commemorates how General Bonaparte, with the Army of the French Republic, once reached that remote spot in the desert.

One difficulty that missionaries encounter in converting the Hindoos is that they must be prepared to support the converts; for they lose caste and opportunity to gain their livelihood, whenever they embrace the Christian faith.

March 13.

The evening paper says that a hundred women, in different parts of the United States, are studying law. The intricate subtleties and tedious ratiocination of the law are, of all things, the least congenial to the female mind, which likes to reach conclusions at a bound. Women are often as successful as men in the arts and natural sciences. As doctors, I am not sure that they are not better adapted by nature, than men are. But I doubt if nature intended many of them to be lawyers.

An eminent legal mind is not always the wisest one. Given the side that he is on, and your great lawyer will demonstrate to your satisfaction, and that of the world, that it is the right one. But sit him down to impartially solve questions outside of his profession, and he will hesitate between conflicting theories as to which side ought to be the right one.

March 14.

The natural impulse of nearly every one, who hears of a question, is to form an opinion as to the right and wrong of it, and to adhere to that opinion, even without facts to support it. But the lawyer cultivates a different habit of mind. His first experience on going into court is, that nothing he can advance will be received, unless fortified by precedent, authority, or evidence. So he comes, in time, to undervalue the surmises, intuitions, and suggestions, which often lead other men to truth, but which to him seem baseless, and therefore useless.

The Government of the United States does not provide its officers with means to entertain guests, or to maintain State or dignity. So far from guar-

SEWARD IN 1872.

THE DINING ROOM AT AUBURN.

anteeing them to live handsomely, it does not even guarantee them a living at all; it contents itself with giving the pay, that, in addition to their other means, may support them. In a word, it employs servants, as we all do, at the lowest rate that will secure faithful service.

The President's salary is the only exception to this. In the beginning it was thought necessary that the Chief Magistrate should keep up some sort of dignified living, and so he was given a house, servants, and a salary of $25,000—no very great sum now-a-days, but, at that time, a very handsome income. Out of it many Presidents have saved money.

I do not think it a defect in our Government that salaries are not higher. On the contrary, I approve of the low salaries. It is a safe principle for a Republic. The American people are right in thinking that serving them well is an honor and a privilege in itself, and that those who so understand it are most capable of performing it. Make the public service attractive on account of the dollars and cents to be obtained in it, and it will be sought more than it is now, by men of mercenary character. When one sees how great railway enterprises are damaged by the fraud and rapacity of money-making officials, there seems reason to be thankful that the offices of the General Government are not so lucrative as to be any more tempting than they are.

You ask how, in a long and varied political career, I should have kept so free from the personal altercations and the charges of peculation which seem to be the lot of every public man in this country? Perhaps it was because my public life was governed by two fixed principles. One was, not to allow myself to be diverted from great public questions by mere private griefs and annoyances. As I announced early in my senatorial life, no honest, wise or courteous opponent would insult me, and none other could.

The second was, that I would never have any public money in my hands. Even my salary I expended freely in my official life, and added to that expense, every year, as much more, out of my own pocket. I never had an office in which I did not spend three times as much as the salary, so as to perform its duties and discharge its social obligations in a suitable manner. I used to take the whole amount of my senatorial salary and expend it in printing and circulating speeches so as to instruct the people, as far as lay in my power, on the great questions of the day.

March 15.

What a difference between the neat and comfortable seats and desks of the school-house of to-day, and those of the school-house of my youth! Once, I remember, when the bench on which the scholars sat was a rough pine board, without a back, and supported at either end by two blocks, sawed off the end of a log. These were not very accurately sawed, and the consequence was that the board sloped down toward one end, and the boys at the higher end kept sliding down, against those at the lower. The schoolmaster saw it, and his method of rectifying the difficulty was to give the boys a flogging all around, because they did not perform the impossible feat of "sitting still."

On board the steamer, on one of my voyages, we had a Chaplain who preached boldly and impressively: "Do you ask what proof I have to offer of the blessed state of those who attain to heavenly abodes: I assert it. Let any one who can, prove the contrary!" This was unanswerable, and the congregation so regarded it. The next day, there was the cry of "a sail," and everybody crowded to the bulwarks, to look through spyglasses at the distant ship. Of course, there was the usual speculation as to who, and what, the vessel could be. One passenger spoke up: "I know," said he, "that vessel is the *Gyascutus*, a Portuguese bark, bound from Shanghai to Peru, with a cargo of Coolies." The statement was received at first without question, but after a moment's reflection they began to ask him, how do you know?" His answer showed he had profited by what he had heard in Church. "I assert it," said he, "and I defy any one to prove the contrary!"

March 18.

It is a mistake to suppose that republican government fails in its mission, because it often fails to choose its best qualified men for its places of public trust. There is no form of government that has not the same shortcoming. Republican government is essentially representative government, and the people instinctively choose, to represent them, men who are, or whom they suppose to be, like themselves, not too rich, too wise, too learned, too experienced, but men whom they imagine have thoughts and wishes like their own, and, therefore, will really and truly represent them. The man whom the highest intelligence would select, or whom a council of five hundred intelligent men would select, might have greater abilities. But he is not the man of the popular choice, for the people are looking, not for a preëminently wise ruler, by whom they will be governed, but a representative officer through whom they may govern themselves.

And the results, whatever fault we find with them, compare very favorably with those of any other system. Compare the line of Presidents of the United States with any line of Sovereigns or Chief Magistrates in any other country during the same time, and see if there is any system that works better than our own.

One of my early lessons in political wisdom was when Judge M. and Mr. G. were rival candidates for Congress, forty or fifty years ago. "Well," said a friend to me one day, "who is to be elected to Congress?" "Judge M.," I answered unhesitatingly. "Why?" said he. "Because," said I, "he is beyond all question the best man; the man best qualified. He has been first Judge of the county, has had several public trusts and always discharged them with fidelity. He is one of the oldest inhabitants. He is a man of high ability and experience. He is a careful student of public affairs and understands political questions. Nobody doubts his uprightness, honesty, and indomitable integrity. He is a man who would do credit to his constituents in Washington. His opponent, Mr. G., is a respectable, good-hearted man, who owns a distillery and has a good many friends, but what does he know about politics,

or about any thing, in comparison with Judge M.? Do you not see it so yourself?" "Well," said my friend, "If it was an abstract question, who was the best man for the place, I should agree with you. But I have been around through the county talking with the people I met on the roads, and in the barrooms, and on the ferries, and they are all talking for G., and I guess he'll be elected. I told them, as you told me, that the Judge is the best man, knows the most, and all that. But their answer was that G. is a good fellow, and sells good whisky, and that he knows enough too, for them — and besides that, they don't want a man that knows any more than they do themselves. So I guess G. will be elected." And sure enough, he was, by a large majority.

March 22.

Few people are capable of an artistic conception about any thing. Of the multitude whose daily occupation is with our dinner, how few ever attain to a proper notion of how to cook it!

March 23.

A man must not seek both money and office at once. The largest liberality and help are accorded, in this country, to the man who seeks either. But when he is manifestly in pursuit of one to help him to the other, or of both together, he falls under suspicions which can hardly be called unjust or unreasonable.

That was an amusing experience of Mrs. —— with her servant. He was a sober, steady man, though not over bright, who plodded faithfully through his few duties for some months, when suddenly he astonished her one morning by announcing that he had made up his mind to leave and get married. "To anybody in particular?" No; but he thought he had better do it. "Well, but John, have you thought fully about it? You are comfortably situated here now, earning enough for your own living, but not enough to support a family. Think of the expense and trouble it may get you into — giving up a good place and having no certain prospect of any other? Had you not better postpone it a while till you see your way more clearly?" Moved by these arguments, John gave it up for a while. But returning, soon afterward, he announced that he had reverted to his original determination.

"Now, I should like to know, John," said Mrs. ——, "what reason you have for this project, since you say that you have no especial attachment or engagement with anybody?" "Well, ma'am," said John, sinking his voice into a confidential whisper, "you see, I have been looking around and thinking it over a great deal, and I've about concluded I'd better get married now, because I'm afraid if I wait till next year, that girls will be scarce!"

Those who do work well, expend no more trouble upon it, than those who do it badly. It costs an incompetent cook as much vexation to get up a bad dinner as it does an experienced cook to get up a good one. It costs an incompetent orator as much trouble to make a poor speech, as it did Demosthenes to make a good one.

March 26.

In time of war all spies, all plotters, all sympathizers, aiders and abettors of the public enemy, clamor loudly for their "constitutional rights," as peaceable citizens; in order to do their hostile work with impunity, in the very camp of those they seek to overthrow. Yet when they are arrested or harshly dealt with, they always find advocates, even among the loyal: who fear that, with so much severity, their own liberties may be jeopardized.

It is unfortunate that the Alabama Claims dispute should be protracted. In the end, all that either party will get, will be just what they had the opportunity to have at the beginning — terms similar or equivalent to those of the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty of 1868.

March 27.

The cheapest, the easiest, and probably, in the long run, the most satisfactory way to build a house, is to build for one's present needs, not the distant needs of the future. The young workingman who puts up a two-roomed cottage, such as he can easily pay for; adding to it when he gets a wife; adding a little more when children come; adding a little more as his means increase, his guests multiply, his tastes develop; and keeping all the while within his means, will have a home that exactly fits him and his purse, all his life long. But if he sets out to build a mansion with reference to future and visionary occupants, purchasers, and funds, he will usually find that it does not fit the wants of himself or his family, nor those of the man he sells it to; as he ultimately does, to reimburse himself for the unnecessary expense of its construction.

Our forefathers, in the time of the Revolution, were wise enough to decide the question of a capital on exactly this principle. They put it just where it would be central and convenient for the thirteen States that then existed; and it has served its purpose well. On the line between the two sections which came in collision, it was an important agency in strengthening the popular determination to preserve the Union, and enabling it to be accomplished. So much we have gained from having the capital at Washington during the first hundred years of our national existence. It is not at all improbable that the next hundred years may show a better and more central locality, perhaps beyond the Mississippi, perhaps in Mexico. But, for the present, this one has served its turn, and achieved its purpose.

The world is growing richer. Not only in America, but in Europe, the mass of mankind are, on the whole, in easier circumstances. There is no lady at this table who does not wear a more costly dress than her grandmother could ever afford, even for a ball. There is no gentleman here who has not a better and more expensive coat than was worn fifty years ago. Nay, there is no one of these waiters behind our chairs, who is not better dressed to-day than most employers were in the last century.

March 28.

There are two places where a public man commands respect. One is when he is in his office at the capital, exercising its functions and performing its duties. The other is, when he has retired, and lives in his distant home, attending to his own affairs, not meddling with the labors, the debates, the solicitations, or the controversies, from which he has earned exemption.

But a sad spectacle is, to see an ex-public functionary returning to the capital, hanging about the scene of his former labors; impotent to share in them, yet unwilling to leave them; shorn of his prestige and dignity, wandering about his lost kingdom like the Ghost of Hamlet's Father, where none listen to or care for him — further than to ask the natural question as to why he is there, and to express the jeering suspicion that it is for no good. Washington at Mount Vernon, Jefferson at Monticello, Adams at Quincy, Lafayette at La-Grange, have become objects of historic reverence. But an ex-Cabinet officer becoming a claim agent, or an ex-Congressman turned into an office-seeker; as they often are, at Washington, present the pitiful reverse of the picture.

March 29.

Civilization seems to be essential to female beauty. The women of barbarous and uncivilized races are apt to be coarse, ugly, repulsive. Savage men are often handsome. But beautiful women are mainly to be found among civilized races. As a nation grows in enlightenment, its women rise in intellectual power, in physical beauty, and in the estimation of men. Look at the Malays, Arabs, Indians, Hottentots, Esquimaux, and while you find plenty of fine men, you will see few handsome women.

March 30.

As you pass along the shores of the Nile, you will see an Egyptian laborer digging down twenty, forty, or a hundred feet, among buried ruins, and excavating mummies which he brings out for sale. They were buried with the pomp and ceremony of respectful and affectionate grief, some time. But now they are nobody's relations, nobody's property. It gives one a strange and sad feeling, to find how an entire generation passes out of all remembrance, knowledge, sympathy, or connection, with those who follow it, even on the same ground.

March 31.

The controversies and conflicting ideas, in Great Britain, about Indian affairs, for a century past, have arisen, for the most part, from the failure of many leading minds to appreciate the real situation in India. The most successful and vigorous English rulers there, while extending the British Empire and enlarging British trade, were continually charged with arbitrary misuse of military power, stratagems, oppressive exactions and seizures, and continually called to account, because they did not act constitutionally, and with due regard to the forms and delays of law, as they would in England. The truth was, that the Indians were not Englishmen, and Great Britain was not

merely trading with them, but subjugating them. The situation was a military, not a civil one, and though in England it was called Peace, it was in fact War. *Inter arma leges silent*, and the same measures, which would be highly reprehensible against peaceable subjects, became proper and necessary against hostile governments, or treacherous mutineers.

We had a somewhat similar experience in our war. The Confederates, though banded together for the express purpose of overthrowing the Union, yet claimed the constitutional right of peaceable citizens "to be let alone," and their cry that, in resisting them, we were making an "unconstitutional war," turned a great many heads that were old enough and wise enough to have known better.

April 2.

It is unfortunate for the Woman's Rights movement, that some of its advocates begin to identify it with the doctrines of Free Love. The mothers, wives, daughters and sisters of moral and Christian households are not going into a movement to break up the marriage tie, and abolish family relations. The privilege of voting and holding office, they would deem a very inadequate compensation, for the loss of all that field of domestic life and duty, which they justly prize so highly.

Whoever is ready and willing to work, will have work; and the more he does, the more work will come to him. Work does not seek the idle man, but thrusts itself upon the industrious one.

April 3.

W., who is a banker, was going down street this morning, when a man accosted him and told him he had $900, which he desired W. to take charge of for him. "Certainly," said W., "come along with me to the bank, and you can deposit it there." "No," said his friend, "I don't want to go to the bank — I don't want to have any thing to do with the bank. I want you to take it yourself!" "Well, but why don't you put it into my bank, then?" "Because," said he, "I know you, and I don't know any thing about the bank."

W. had no very clear idea of such a difference between himself and his bank — which represented his credit and his property — if any thing, he probably thought the bank was the better of the two. But the man had it perfectly clear, in his mind, that he might safely intrust the money to the banker, though it might be dangerous to put it in his bank.

In the last century the great ate off silver plates, and common people off pewter ones. The long rows of shining plates, that used to grace the sideboard or the kitchen dresser, are still remembered. But now, all the world eat off porcelain. Brought first from China, imitated in France, then in England, Germany and America, its use has become so universal, that in my journey round the world, I only twice saw metallic plates on the dining table. Royalty itself uses Dresden and Sevres.

I like to walk through an old grave-yard and look at its quaint and curious epitaphs. In one such, near a little village in Connecticut, I found this inscription: "Here lies John So and So, born, etc. He was an honest and faithful man, a devout Christian, and though a man of color, amassed in his life considerable property, out of which, at his request, his executors have erected this stone to his memory."

It was before the days of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the executors evidently thought they must excuse themselves for the expense they had gone to, or else deemed the fact of a colored man's having property such a rarity, that it deserved a monument to commemorate it.

The African is not a provident race. Like others of tropical climes, it loves to enjoy the present sunshine, and cares little about making provision for rainy days in the future.

In Europe and America at present, the blonde seems to be considered the highest type of beauty. In Hindostan orange color is the fashionable shade. Poetry and prose alike celebrate its beauties there, just as they do the blonde complexion here.

Chancellor Kent went once to call on John Quincy Adams, and the conversation took a wide range through law, politics, and literature, and finally Shakespeare's tragedy of Othello was a topic. "Mr. Kent," said Mr. Adams, "what do you understand to be the moral of that play of Othello?" "The moral," said the Chancellor, "why, I suppose it is to show the evil consequences of jealousy in Othello's case, and of trusting to treacherous advisers such as Iago — perhaps the folly of drunkenness, as exemplified in Cassio. I suppose there are several morals to it." "Not at all," said Mr. Adams, "the moral is a perfectly simple one. It is that a white woman ought not to marry a black man. There is no end of the mischief of such a marriage!"

April 5.

All the world over, there is a substantial agreement among educated and thoughtful men, in the belief in one God. Mahometans, Parsees, Hindoos, Chinese, Egyptians, Ethiopians, all agree, to this extent, with Christians. When you talk with an educated man, of any race or religion, he will tell you that God is one Spiritual Being, the Creator and Guardian of the Universe. When you ask him about the images which his countrymen worship, he will tell you that the image is not the object of his adoration; it is simply the visible representation of the invisible Being whom he believes in; or merely the portrait of some real or imaginary person who is supposed to have the power of intercession with that great Being. The Pagan knows, just as well as the Protestant Christian, that a wooden, bronze or wax image is an article of human manufacture; but he uses it to stimulate and fix his wandering attention upon religious truth. The idea of an invisible Spiritual God, he finds so vague and indefinite, that it needs to be fortified by images and pictures, in order to produce due impression on his mind. This is his theory. In practice, the re-

sult is, that the ignorant and superstitious very soon confound the one with the other, and even lose sight of the great Spiritual Being entirely, in their absolute idolatry of the stock, stone or beast, originally set up merely as a symbol.

The learned Parsee, the Hindoo, the Buddhist all have the same argument in behalf of their images as the Catholic has in behalf of his. The Mahometan goes to the root of the matter. To make it absolutely certain that there shall be no image-worship, even by the ignorant and unintelligent, he prohibits the making of images at all, of "any thing that hath life."

The railroad in India is going to accomplish more even than its projectors dreamed. Besides its political and commercial value, it is destined to exert an important influence in weakening the iron bands of that system of "caste" which has hitherto proved impregnable. The Hindoos like to travel, repugnant as it is to all their religious prejudices, to travel in the same car and in hourly contact with people of lower caste, even pariahs and unbelievers. The effect is very gradual, but it is already perceptible.

I do not see why the Darwinian theory may not as well be proved backwards as forwards. Granting all the resemblances it claims between man and the monkey, why may it not be asserted, with equal force, that the monkey is a degenerate man, as that the man is a developed monkey? If Man has been "evolved" as the "fittest" for the town, why may not the Monkey have been "evolved" as the "fittest" for the forest.

April 7.

The British Indian Empire is a striking illustration of the weakness of a divided people. There are two hundred millions of native people; enough to sweep everybody off their soil. But they never will; for they are so divided by their religious and political traditions that forty thousand Englishmen easily become masters of the whole country, develop it, improve it, rule it, and govern it better than it ever was, or could be governed, by the Hindoos themselves.

April 9.

The fact about drinking seems to be this: Nature provided, in warm countries, one fruit, the grape, whose juice made a pleasant, healthful beverage, exhilarating when used in excess, but not very intoxicating. All nations there became fond of it, using it in their festivities, and celebrating it in their songs. Northern nations desired the same sort of enjoyment, but, in their colder soil, the vine would not thrive; so they have resorted to all manner of expedients, and used all manner of vegetable productions to make wine out of, corn, potatoes, rhubarb, apples, rye, barley, and hops. They have succeeded in making plenty of substitutes for wine, but all inferior to it in taste and beauty, most of them of fiery strength, and destructive to health. In like manner the tropical nations south of the favored region of the vine have distilled *their* fiery intoxicating drinks, out of rice, the sugar cane, the aloe, etc., all vastly inferior, in all respects except alcoholic power, to the wine they were meant to imitate.

April 10.

Ladies are often accused of lack of punctuality But they have one excuse — they never have good watches. Those that it is the fashion for them to carry are so small that they cannot keep good time; and so much cost is lavished on the jewels, enameling and monograms, that there is none to spare for the inside works.

It is the popular belief, in Europe and America, that wisdom, and civilization, science, arts, and religion, all come from the East. When I went through the East last year, I found, to my surprise, that nations there all understand that their wisdom and civilization came from the West. Ask them whence they derived arts, science, literature, and religion, and they tell you "from the West." Somewhere in that region between the Mediterranean and the Caspian (which ethnologists accept as the cradle of the Caucasian race) seems to have been the source whence civilization flowed in both directions. In that region the devout followers of nearly every faith find their Holy Land — whence came their creed — Jew and Gentile, Christian and Mahometan, Parsee and Hindoo.

Speaking of Parsees, known through so many centuries as "Fire Worshipers," I found them in Bombay — wealthy, refined, and cultivated merchants, whose integrity, honesty of character, and gentleness of manner, are proverbial. One of them told me, "We do not worship the sun, nor fire, though we are falsely accused of so doing. We believe in one God, as you do. We regard the sun and fire, as you do, as the works of His hands. But He is invisible, and they are visible emblems of His benevolent power, as Creator and Preserver of life. So when we pray we turn our faces toward them, just as you do toward the altar in your church. Ignorant and bigoted worshipers may let this degenerate into idolatry of the creature, instead of adoration of the Creator; but that is their fault, not that of the religion, which is a pure theism, as it was taught by Zoroaster."

April 11.

Women are equal to men and have equal rights. But the rights they have are not precisely the same ones. The right of fighting, for instance, is not one of them.

It is a curious fact that the number of criminals should be about the same in every country, no matter what their difference of race, religion, or enlightenment. The Maharajah of Putteealla told me that, in his prison, were a thousand convicts — which is just what there are in the State prison at Auburn, to which prisoners are sent from a part of the Christian and republican State of New York, having about the same population as his Mahometan and despotic dominions.

April 12.

There is a law which governs what we call "chances," as inflexible as any other law. Two card players of equal skill may sit down at a table with a

shilling between them, and play for a year. Their "luck" will have infinite variety of change. There will be great "runs of luck" for one and the other; but sooner or later they will reach exactly the place they started from, and one shilling will cancel all the debts between them.

There are many fortunes, the founders of which spend their lives in laborious planning, and die before any resulting profit — die without knowing whether they have acted with forecast, or have wasted time. Then come their heirs, who, taking the tide of successful enterprise at its flood, gain the profit and the credit of the plan.

April 13.

During the war we had under serious consideration the question of employing the *Great Eastern*, to transport troops to the Southern coast. There were two difficulties, however. One was that there were only two Northern harbors she could enter to take her troops on board; and the other was, that there was no Southern harbor at all where she could land them.

It is not wise to accept the statements of all tourists in the United States with too much credulity, nor to condemn all with sweeping charges of unfairness. There have been a great many different travelers with a great many different shades of intellectual character. Each observes and describes those things which chiefly impress him. What they are depends very much on his previous habits of thought. How he describes them depends very much on the bias of his mind and the prejudices of his education. De Tocqueville came to America; and, looking upon the United States from a standpoint of a statesman, has given an analysis of their general condition which, if not perfect, is at any rate more just and full than any American has yet been able to give. Dickens came, and looking at the United States from an entirely different standpoint, noted the ludicrous incidents and peculiarities of social life, which struck his attention here just as similar ones previously had in England. His sketches were humorous, amusing, and obviously founded on fact. But we insisted that they were travesties and caricatures. Perhaps they were; but they were not more so than his sketches of life and character in England. He draws no pictures in "Martin Chuzzlewit," that represent the condition of society in the United States in half as damaging a light, as his pictures of "Dotheboys' Halls," the "Fleet Prison?" "Fagin's Den," and "Mr. Dombey's House," represent the condition of society in England.

May 1.

Egypt is more associated with the idea of the past than any other country. Elsewhere you find the relics and mementoes of the past, by searching for them, digging for them, studying them out of the modern civilization which has overlaid them. But in Egypt the monuments of the past confront you at every turn, and tower up preëminent over the puny efforts of modern races. These seem dwarfish and insignificant, by the side of the gigantic temples, pyramids, and obelisks, of the race that has passed away.

May 2.

There are many who still have hopes, and some who still have fears, of Southern supremacy in politics. But from present indications, Southern influence in politics is on the wane. You say the colored race will be in the majority in two or three, perhaps more, of the Southern States; and they will thus become the nucleus of a growing power of that race. I do not so read it. The colored race has played its chief part in our national politics. Henceforth, its role will be a minor one. It may grow in actual numbers, but it will have no accessions from abroad; and its growth at home, in favored localities, will not counter-balance the rapid increase of the white population as a whole.

Hereditary rank sounds grandly to those who do not have it. Those who have, so far from being satisfied with it, aspire to promotions for merit, which to us look ludicrously cheap. The Duke of N. one day informed me, with pardonable pride, that some important business at home called him away from Court and Parliament. I learned soon after what it was. He had been chosen Colonel of the Militia in his county; and had to go down to attend the parade.

In like manner, one of the first objects of a nobleman's ambition, after he has come to his titles and estates, is to be named a justice of the peace.

Lafayette once related to me, with great gusto, his first experience with an American sentry. Just after he had joined Washington's Army, he had been out to dine with some General; and as he was returning, after dark, to his quarters, they gave him the countersign, which, in honor of his coming, was "Paris." The first sentinel he met challenged him and demanded the countersign. The General gave the word, pronouncing it, of course, as every Frenchman would. But the sentry was not satisfied with "Paree?" Said he, "No, indeed, that's not it. You can't pass here." The Sergeant of the Guard had to be called, to release the General, and explain to him that he should have said "Parriss." So he learned that he did not know his own language — at least, not as it was pronounced in the American Army.

May 3.

This morning, I have been continuing my review of the journey through Egypt. The more I think of that country, the more its strange and striking character impresses me. It is an anomaly. It is apparently without a precedent, and without a parallel. Science seems to have been born there, and to have died there. It kindled the flame, at which all other nations hastened to light their lamps; and then the parent light flickered out.

May 4.

What you call "political contradictions" at Cincinnati do not surprise me. Political events repeat themselves. The same class of politicians who were denouncing President Johnson, because he was too lenient to rebels, now turn upon President Grant, and denounce him because he does not adopt the policy

of President Johnson. So with the Alabama Claims. The Clarendon-Johnson Treaty which I sanctioned, for their settlement, was defeated by Senators, because it did not claim enough. So they claimed more, and find themselves at a dead-lock. Now the whole question, on both sides, is how to get back to the very ground of that rejected Clarendon-Johnson Treaty.

May 5.

Did it ever occur to you that the great political problem which has vexed the political theorists and philosophers is simply this — how to prevent the Government from falling into the hands of knaves or fools? In all ages and in all countries that is the question they have been trying to solve — for the most part with very indifferent success. Monarchies, republics, parliaments, and despotisms, in their various forms, were all invented to avert that danger, and have all found it impossible to entirely prevent it. Look at the proceedings of any party Convention under this, the best Government in the world, and see how close they run to that danger every time they meet.

Most of us really believe that in this country a citizen can vote for whoever he pleases for office. Theoretically he can, but as a practical fact he has simply the choice between two or three candidates, all of whom may be objectionable to him. He may exercise his boasted freedom and vote for somebody else, but if he does, it is simply throwing his vote among the "scattering." You say he must have the man of his choice duly nominated. But the nomination is like the election. In the caucus and the Convention, as at the polls, he can only choose between two or three candidates.

"Cumulative voting" seems attractive as insuring representation of minorities, and giving greater liberty of choice to the voter. But it is not, thus far, received with favor. It is doubtful whether any Government created by it would not be a weak and vacillating one. The popular feeling is well founded which deems that the majority should not only rule, but have power to rule effectively, and be held to strict accountability therefor. Nearly everybody would rather be in an alternate majority than in a perpetual minority.

May 9.

Dr. Swan says there are more people who practice his profession ignorantly than there are who practice wisely. I suspect that is so in all professions, Doctor; and the more ignorant they are, the more ready and eager they are to practice.

The organization of parties, and the habit of looking to their agency for the accomplishment of public ends, have become so settled in our political system, that it is doubtful whether any but a regularly-nominated candidate can be elected President. Certainly all the Presidents we have had hitherto have been the nominees of established parties, regularly selected. There have been independent candidates, able men of popular character, named by spontaneous and irregular gatherings, but it is always the nominee of a regular Convention of one of the two great parties that is elected.

In State, district or municipal elections an independent candidate often beats the regular nominees; but when the whole of our widely-extended country has to be consulted, it seems to require the machinery of regular party organization.

May 10.

Every professional man is tempted to more or less dishonesty. The circumstances with which he is surrounded, the people with whom he has to deal, all hold out to him strong inducements to deviate from exact truth. The clergyman's congregation, the lawyer's clients, the doctor's patients, perpetually offer him a premium to defer to their groundless fears, their biased judgment, their wrong-headed folly. If he will comply with their whims, they will pay him. If he insists on advising them, in accordance with his own better knowledge, they will, perhaps, leave him to starve, while they go to find a more pliable adviser.

There is a universal law as fixed and unalterable as any in mathematics, that of sick people a certain proportion must die, and a certain other larger proportion, with any reasonable care, will get well. But the mass of mankind ignore the existence of any such law, and whether the sick man dies or recovers, they give the blame or the praise to the doctor, who may deserve neither the one nor the other.

May 11.

There has been no Signal Corps established yet to gauge the rise and fall of popular opinion, to predict the varying phases of popular sentiment, or to compute the probabilities of political events. What a world of wasted time and talk will be saved when that is done!

May 17.

I doubt if Mr. Lincoln ever made the pun you ascribe to him. Mr. Lincoln, contrary to the general impression of his character, was a serious man, whose mind was occupied with grave subjects. He was not given to ingenious quips of fancy, or play upon words. He liked to hear, or tell a story, not so much for the story's sake, as for illustration of the point under discussion. His use for stories, whether new or old, was that; and he was singularly felicitous in it. I never heard him make a pun; and rarely heard him tell an anecdote unless it illustrated something.

It is a popular fallacy about diplomatists, as about lawyers, that they gain their ends by deceit and chicanery. On the contrary, the best and highest diplomacy is marked by extreme frankness. No man has to weigh his words so carefully as the diplomatist. He must say nothing that he does not mean. He must say nothing that his Government and his people are not prepared to stand by. To utter even a sentence, in the way of deception or intimidation, which his country will not maintain at the cannon's mouth, is to pave the way for his own or his country's humiliation.

May 24.

Rabbits, it seems, do not believe in the Fifteenth Amendment. There were half a dozen white rabbits here, in the garden, a short time ago. One day three black ones were put with them. The black new-comers were anxious and ready to be friendly; but the white ones sedulously kept aloof and would have no association with them. Was this on account of the "distinction in race or color?"

Not man only, but the whole animal creation, are always more or less at war. This garden we are sitting in is the most peaceful of scenes. Yet look around and you will see the blackbirds making war on the orioles, the robins having battle with squirrels, the sparrows exterminating the caterpillars, and the cat exterminating the sparrows, with quite as much "hereditary antipathy," as that between Frenchmen and Germans. It is a subject which I commend to the attention of the next World's Peace Convention.

May 26.

During my professional and official life, whenever I had an important paper to write, I do not think that nine o'clock in the morning ever found me without either having it written, or already prepared in my mind, to be written.

We had been rowing up the lake against the wind, so as to have its aid in returning; when presto, it changed right around; so we had to fight a head-wind both ways. Nothing seems so capricious as the winds and waves. How natural that old superstition (which all nations had) of some mischievous deity, under the water, who took pleasure in thwarting all who ventured on it!

June 2.

To-day Senator ——— says in debate, that the attempted impeachment of Andrew Johnson was merely for "technicalities." It is true: and now it is no longer an offense to so describe it. Yet, at the time, it was made a test of political fidelity, to declare that the impeachment was for "high crimes and misdemeanors;" and Senators did not hesitate to imperil the national safety, by voting for the sham accusations, as if they were real ones.

June 3.

Life is prolonged by being passed in the open air. We all accept that as a general truth; but do not act on it every day. At my age, and in my present condition of health, I find the truth impressed on me by each day's experience — and find myself invigorated by the hours spent on the piazza, or the lake; just as much as I am weakened by those spent on the sofa, or by the study fire.

The senatorial office tends to foster egoism. Representing a State, and a party — often their sole representative on that floor, the Senator comes to be an oracular leader; because oracular leadership is expected of him. So he leads on, and expects men to follow. Some day, he wakes up to the discovery

that a constituency cannot always be depended on, to follow the leader of their own choice; even when he is conforming to what they instructed him, and demanded of him.

I have never been able to comprehend why Senators should descend to mere personal controversy. Such great principles, such important measures proffer themselves, every day, to a Senator; and his position in the public esteem depends so largely upon them — that it seems strange he should ever belittle himself to disputes in which any bar-room politician can surpass him.

Absolute government has ceased to exist among civilized nations. Despots belong to history. Every Sovereign now has some checks and limits to his power, differing in name and nature, but as real as those to the powers of the President of the United States.

June 4.

When we are in trouble, we speculate upon the origin of Evil, and debate as to whether it is a part of divine Providence; or an immutable principle of Nature; or the action of a personal Devil -- yet, in point of fact, our trouble, half the time, is simply a thing of our own invention, manufacture, and seeking.

Great inventions are claimed by different localities, honestly enough, for such inventions are usually the fruit of patient study, which many minds are prosecuting at the same time. John Fitch and Robert Fulton did not steal each other's idea of a steamboat, but each studied it out himself; the one in Pennsylvania, and the other in New York. So the electric telegraph was discovered here by Professor Morse, while a French savant reached the same discovery a few days later, although neither had learned any thing of the discovery of the other.

The Mexicans are debating whether their Congress shall consist of one House or two. President Juarez is right in advising that there should be a Senate. It is opposed on the ground that the Government will have more energy without it. That is true. So would a steam-engine have more energy without its safety-valve; but it needs one, nevertheless.

June 6.

Most statesmen and journalists are content to criticise and warn the public against each other. Few seem capable of the higher function of seeking to achieve some great public good themselves.

June 10.

When the history of the United States is written a century hence, they will hardly be considered entitled to very great credit for having concluded to abolish slavery in 1864. It will rather be a matter of wonderment, why they should have held on so long, to an institution repugnant to the advance of

civilization and progress. The battle for the national life, the maintenance of the National Union, will be considered a much grander achievement. In that battle, the abolition of slavery was an incident — not, as so many contemporaries seem to imagine, the chief end and object of the war. Whether this Union, with all its beneficent promise for the future, should stand or fall, was a question of vital consequence to the human race. Whether slavery should prolong its existence anywhere among civilized nations, at this era of the world's progress, was only a question of a few years, more or less, of time.

June 11.

Most of the world would be surprised to know how few of our thoughts are really original with ourselves. What we write and say is, for the most part, a kind of mosaic interweaving of ideas and recollections gathered together out of other people's talk or books. The combination and rearrangement of them is about all we can call our own. When a man does really evolve an original thought out of his own mind, it is the exception, rather than the rule. It is usually the fruit, either of patient study, or of fresh and vivid experience.

All animals have to work for their living; some of them quite as hard as man does. Birds are usually supposed to have a happy, free and easy life, singing and flying about for mere amusement. But just look at that robin family up in yonder apple tree. What a time they had in running about from one place to another to find a suitable summer residence (as much as Mrs. C. does when the city grows too hot for her.) Then what hard work to build it! Every hair and twig was the object of a separate journey, and cost them the same labor that carrying a hod does a bricklayer. Then the mounting guard over it, and fighting off blackbirds and squirrels. Then, when the young ones are hatched, the old fellow has to keep at work, from daylight to dark, hunting up food for them. When he gets an angleworm, he is as proud as I used to be, when I had won a lawsuit. As for the mother, she is worried with keeping the children quiet, and tucking them in, and covering them up, teaching them how to eat, and how to behave generally. And when one of them accidentally falls down stairs, what distress there is in the family! Birds have their matin and even-song; but there is also a great deal of scolding, quarreling, calling for breakfast, ordering dinner, warning off intruders, and the like, which we are pleased to call "singing," but which, to the poor birds themselves, is any thing but fun.

Compare that kingfisher with yonder fisherman; or that bumblebee with the reaper around whose head he is buzzing; and you will see that each of them has to work eight or ten hours a day, and gets nothing but a bare living by it, after all.

Every game wears out by too much repetition. (Whist I consider an exception, but I suppose the rest of you might not.) Even our national pastime of celebrating the Fourth of July, than which nothing could be more patriotic or

commendable, grows wearisome to so many, that they go out of town, to escape its crowds and noise, and the "oft-told tale" of its orators.

June 16.

The world is full of life, even in its remote nooks and recesses. Devastate a region and leave it bare of animal and vegetable life, and they begin to reappear there within a twelvemonth. Take away one kind of life, and another comes to take its place. Destroy the prairie grass, and trees spring up, as if spontaneously. Drive all human beings out of a city, and birds and quadrupeds will arrive to take their place. Yonder old tree died and fell, last year, and now its stump swarms with mushrooms and oats. Nature so overflows with abundant life, that she seizes every available place that offers, and fills it with a colony.

Republics are not infallible. They have their seasons of absurd excitement and error, like other nations and other Governments. Their superiority lies in the fact, that they see their errors sooner and correct them more speedily. Popular opinion will sometimes choose the wrong man, but, at the next election, it will probably turn him out. It will choose the wrong principle, but it will subsequently reverse its judgment. When such mistakes are made in a monarchy, they are apt to be saddled on the public, for the life-time of a king, or a dynasty.

The judgment of forty million of people is but the aggregate, or the average, of the opinion of so many individuals, each of whom is liable to err. But it is not at all likely that the whole forty million can remain so long blind to their own interests as one individual might, and, when they see their mistake, they have forty million times the power to get out of it.

June 22.

The original arrangement of land and water is supposed to have been fortuitous. The sweep of great floods, the grinding of icebergs, the upheaval of molten rocks, settled that there should be a mountain here, a valley there, a lake in one spot, an island in another, and so on — all in a chance-medley, without any reference to human ideas of taste and propriety. And yet, the highest and most cultivated artistic genius cannot arrange a landscape, so finely and harmoniously, as it has thus been arranged by accident. Nay, he can hardly change a feature in it, without marring it.

June 23.

I think I was forty years old, before I found out what the real value of a farm is, to a non-resident owner, engaged in other business. Farms would come into my hands, by purchase, exchange, or inheritance, and I always accepted my neighbor's idea about them, that they ought to pay me some annual return, or else they were unprofitable investments, to be got rid of as soon as a good opportunity offered. I very soon found that a farm is not likely to pay much income, to a man who does not live on it and work it. So I got rid of

them, accordingly. I see now that there is no piece of country real estate, that I ever held and sold, that is not worth more now than it was then. If I had simply kept them all, the loss of interest would have been more than compensated by the increased value of the principal.

Real estate in or near a town is different. There is more profit in improving and selling a part, and thereby enhancing the value of the rest, than in stubbornly holding on for a rise that, after all, is not so certain to come as death and the tax gatherer are.

June 24.

Antiquarian collections of all sorts, whether of books, coins, armor, furniture, household apparatus, painting and statuary, etc. — all tend to show that civilization, while it has had many vicissitudes in each land, yet has had a gradual, steady, growth in the world, taken as a whole.

June 25.

One can conceive of a race of men without a government, but it is almost impossible to conceive of a race without a religion. Certainly none such has ever been found.

Do you know the origin of the phrase "coming on the town" dreaded so much by poor people? In the time of Queen Anne laws were enacted requiring each township to support its own poor. The immediate consequence was the gathering up of all vagrants and paupers, and packing them off to whatever town they had originally wandered from. For half a century or more the town authorities in England drove a brisk business in exchanging poor people, which was imitated in the colonies — Jamestown, for instance, shipping off a lot of Williamsburg paupers to that place, and Williamsburg retorting by sending back as many Jamestown paupers. The system involved a deal of useless trouble and expense to the towns, as well as hardship to the poor, for each place would have about the same average number to support, whether it got back the poor creatures that had wandered away from it, or simply accepted the charge of those it found at its doors. So modern legislation is on the latter basis. The paupers of each county are sent to the almshouse of the county where they happen to be, instead of "coming on the town" from whence they strayed. Custom still preserves the old phrase, but it has lost its significance.

June 26.

The best two novels that I know of are Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver's Travels. They tell their story with such minuteness as to make an indelible impression on the imagination, and yet with such brevity as never to be tedious. The test of their excellence may be found in the fact that they are equally delightful to the comprehension of a child and the intellect of a sage.

June 27.

Those two railroads which they are now building to the city of Mexico from Vera Cruz and from Denver will do more to insure the internal peace of the

Republic and friendly intercourse with the United States than all its statesmen, legislators, and diplomatists have been able to accomplish.

After a man has become great and famous, his friends and biographers find, or fancy they find, all manner of wonderful things he said and did in his youth, indicating his early prescience of his future greatness.

Biographers are, perhaps, apt to be too eulogistic. But it does not do to go to the other extreme and belittle their subject. The popular mind, not without justice, requires that the biography of a great man shall show that his life was worth recording. If the narration of it makes him out to have been a knave or a fool, or even a mediocrity, it is either disbelieved or else it was not worth writing.

Washington was a man, and, therefore, not perfect. Yet nobody wants now any picture of him, or life of him, which does not illustrate and enforce the great traits of character which give him so just a hold on the popular heart.

Mr. Lincoln before his death was lampooned and ridiculed. But having become a martyr in the cause of the Union and Freedom, his countrymen have no desire to read lampoons and misrepresentations of his character, however ably and ingeniously drawn.

June 28.

If you notice the rivulets that empty into this lake (the Owasco), you will see that each one carries down earth, stones, and débris, which it deposits at its mouth, forming a bar or point which every year extends farther and farther out into the lake. It is a question whether all the projecting points in the lake have not been formed in this way during the lapse of centuries. And that suggests the further inquiry, whether the various geological changes which have taken place in the earth's surface during countless ages have not been thus gradually accomplished? Our theories generally proceed upon the assumption, that there have been a succession of geological eras, each ushered in by some great natural convulsion, and that the earth is now quiescent in one of those eras, awaiting the next convulsion. But the earth is not quiescent. Its surface is almost everywhere undergoing changes, so slow as to be imperceptible except by comparison of succeeding years. May not our whole geological history have gone on, thus steadily and slowly, as we see it going on now?

John Adams had a thorough appreciation of those noisy patriots who love to celebrate victories after they are won, much better than to take any hand in the fighting for them. One of these came to him one day with a subscription paper to erect a liberty-pole on the green, like those round which the Whigs rallied during the Revolution. "Why do you want it?" asked Mr. Adams. "Haven't we carried the day and got our Independence, now? Haven't you got all the liberty you want?" "Yes," replied the patriot, rather reluctantly, "I suppose we have; but then, Mr. Adams, what's liberty good for without a pole?"

July 1.

It is generally mistaken kindness that sends a youthful well-to-do American to Europe to be educated. It rarely fails to spoil him for usefulness as an American citizen.

A great speech requires a great subject. The highest genius and most careful study cannot produce "moving eloquence" about trifles.

July 2.

The best wine, like the best cigar, or the best broadcloth, is that which is best made. It is capital, long-practice, and prestige, that give one locality the superiority over another. Very good wine is made in Madeira out of very indifferent grapes. Some of the finest Havana cigars are made out of tobacco from Virginia and Connecticut. The same cotton that makes only coarse cloth in Carolina goes to England and is turned into the finest fabrics.

July 7.

A "man of one idea" is considered objectionable. But what can you do with a man of sixty ideas, and every one of the sixty an impracticable crotchet?

I have great reliance upon the good sense of the American people. Their action, as a whole, during a period of years, is not likely to be marked by folly or fanaticism. But the "Know-Nothing excitement" and the "Secession excitement," have also shown me, that they are not exempt from the danger of political vagaries. These may sweep away their better judgment in State after State, carrying election after election, and obtaining power which would imperil the country itself, were it not checked by the returning reason which, thus far, has never failed to come to the rescue.

July 8.

If I were to go round the world again, or to make an extended journey anywhere on its surface, I should always prefer to visit localities that would be new to me, rather than follow routes I had traveled before.

July 9.

It is the nature of the horse to be afraid of every thing that he is not familiar with, and to be afraid of nothing that he is. A wisp of paper, in an unusual spot in the road, will frighten him, but he can be trained to face a battery without flinching. He must become personally acquainted with the bass-drum and the locomotive, and, if possible, touch them once with his nose. After that he doesn't care a fig for them.

H. wonders why his servants *will* be so stupid when their duties are so simple. Did it ever occur to you that, if they were more intelligent, they would not be servants at all? When a man can coherently comprehend and discharge duties without watching, he is able to set up for himself. It is just because

he is not capable of working without supervision, that he hires out to work for somebody who can supervise him.

July 10.

Nothing is more characteristic of the times we live in than those rencontres one often has with old acquaintances in unexpected places. One of the soldiers who mounted guard at my house on the night of the assassination, I met four years later, pacing up and down in front of General Davis' head-quarters in Alaska. Two years later, I found him again among a squad of marines on the banks of the Pei Ho in China. Here is Mr. Mancillas, whom I last parted with at the pyramid of Cholula in Mexico. To-day he is rowing with me on the Owasco lake. Yesterday came a pilot who, thirty years ago, helped me on board the *Swiftsure* at Albany, and afterward went to St. Petersburg with Mr. Van Buren, and now he tells me that his wife is a sister of the engineer who accompanied me to Vancouver's Island and Sitka.

July 11.

"Fisherman's luck" is proverbial. The fisherman has the most uncertain of avocations. It does not surprise us at all to read of Simon's saying, "Master, we have toiled all the night, and taken nothing." It is rather a matter of surprise to walk into a fish-market and see that, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of luck, the supply of fish is about the same, every day — never much smaller or greater. The "luck" is distributed. The fish have to be somewhere; and when one man does not catch them, another does. My own experience on this lake is that, although one day passes without a "nibble," and another brings a "great haul;" yet averaging one day with another, it takes just about fifteen minutes to catch each fish. There is just enough probability of a bite to keep alive the interest of a lazy man; and not enough to offer profitable employment to an industrious one.

In our excursions on the lake, every now and then, we come across the "Ancient Mariner," for so we have concluded to call him. He has no other name that we ever heard of. He is somewhere between sixty and a hundred years old, and is always seen solemnly rowing up and down, in a little old white boat, and trolling for perch and bull-heads. When we overtake him he usually has fish, though he seems indifferent about selling. He sells them to us as the Sibyl did her books, always at the same price, be they more or less. If they are forty, the price is twenty-five cents. If there are but half a dozen, the price is still the same, twenty-five cents. He seems to live on the water. At least he is never seen off of it, though he is perpetually picking up boards and drift-wood, as he says, to build him a house. The other day he had great good luck. He had picked up an old boat with oars in it, and was laboriously conveying his flotilla past here, in solemn joy.

July 12.

Besides his other good qualities, Lord ——— had a fastidious taste in regard to eggs, worthy of imitation. When you sat at his breakfast table, there

stood before you a dish of boiled eggs, on every one of which was inscribed the date when it was laid, and the name of the hen that laid it. Mistakes were impossible.

What a wealth of fruit is wasted here every year! For miles about the country you see trees loaded with cherries, and fields reddened with strawberries that will never be picked but left to decay. Curiously enough, the reason assigned is, the country's industry and prosperity. Labor commands such high prices and fruit such low ones that nobody can "afford" to stop work long enough to pick fruits that will "only bring twelve cents a quart."

July 13.

One-half of the philosophy of health, I am inclined to think, consists in living as much as possible out of doors. The deck of the ship is the best cure for sea-sickness. The piazza of the house is its most wholesome apartment; and no "bitters" can give such an appetite for breakfast as a short pull in a boat or short walk on the highway, the most inexpensive of medicines.

It seems to have become a settled opinion now, that for a clergyman to labor, buy and sell, like other men, is either derogatory to his dignity, or incongruous with his calling. It did not use to be so. When Dr. C. came to the little hamlet of Florida in 1806, they offered him, in compensation for his ministerial service, either to rent the "church farm" and give him the proceeds of its annual produce; or else, to let him have the farm itself. The Doctor wisely took the farm; and, on week days you would find him in the field, in his shirt-sleeves, ploughing, planting, fencing, sowing and reaping, as diligently as on Sunday, he was, in his black coat, in the pulpit, exhorting, instructing and edifying. The work of his hands prospered him "in his basket and his store." Fifty years later the farm had become a valuable estate, and he had become the possessor of a handsome competence — although he had never received more than a few hundred dollars pittance, in the way of salary; and that only during the latter years of his pastorate.

July 14.

A clergyman's peaceful end is adduced, and justly enough, as proof of his unwavering faith in God. And yet one would almost imagine that a clergyman, of all men, would have most dread of dying. The habit of insisting, as he must, weekly and daily, on the swift retribution in a future state, for all the misdeeds which man commits, one would imagine would lead him to meditations which other men shun.

July 15.

Capitalists, who have invested in Southern lands since the war, have, for the most part, been disappointed in their expectations. They bought the lands cheap, but are not pleased to find them remaining as cheap as when they bought them. Then, the inevitable disasters to crops, by frost and flood and insect, which ought to be counted in every agricultural enterprise and seldom are,

and the difficulties about labor, increase the disappointment. Immigrants come thither from the North, very slowly, and from Europe hardly at all, as yet. Something more is required to stimulate immigration than cheap lands, even if under the auspices of peaceful and stable government. Immigrants to the United States seem to move on isothermal lines, not because they dislike a milder climate, but because they are most likely to find the employments for which they are fitted, in climates like those they come from. So you find the Norwegians, and Swedes, going up to the forests of Maine, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Puget Sound, the Germans to regions of vineyards and cornfields, like those of the Rhine, the Cornwall miners, to Pennsylvania. Italians, and Spaniards, if they do not stay in the cities, seek "sunny Southern lands;" but they are few in numbers. Our own New England and New York boys push out almost directly westward, to the prairies, and the Pacific coast. I fear many of the cherished anticipations about immigration to the South are doomed to disappointment, or at least to postponement for a time.

July 16.

To improve real estate helps to sell it, and yet it is not safe to assume that all improvements will add to its pecuniary value. It is not so much our improvements that give the increased value to lands about here, as the increase of population, and the consequent increased demand for land. If your land is in a region where inhabitants are reasonably certain to increase, or where your improvements will attract them, go on and improve. But if not, think twice about it.

July 17.

Auburn has now attained to street railways and pavements. Towns seldom go backward, after reaching that point. I know of but two in the United States that have done so.

July 18.

So you are going round the world? Don't make the mistake of thinking that *that* is what you are going for. You do not need to go around it, in order to demonstrate that it is round, for you know that before you start. It is to *see* the world, not merely to make its circuit, that you are going.

You ask if I have any suggestions to make in regard to your route. Nothing, except that you will do wisely not to adhere too closely to the beaten track of tourists. You can buy your "through ticket" in New York, and go from steamer to railway, and railway to steamer, stopping at ports occasionally, where you will find hotels and tourists, merchants and missionaries, people talking English, and dinners and tea parties, like what you see at home, and so get around to where you started from, and after all, know very little about the nations or the countries you have visited. All along the route, through the Oriental lands, is a narrow fringe of Western civilization, totally unlike the interior life of the great countries it borders upon. It is easiest to keep in that fringe, and it requires special effort or enterprise, in a traveler, to get out of it. But you ought to diverge from it quite often, if you wish to

study the people, their manners, customs, government, religion, and the characteristics that render them different from your own.

You ask about the social life of the Oriental nations. They have none. Their life is eminently unsocial. They have nothing of that social intercourse, between different households, and families, or gatherings for private or public amusement, that occupies so large a part of our lives. The men meet at places of business, or on the street; the women are prisoners at home, or veiled and guarded when they go abroad. Men visit men, and women visit women; but even that is only on special occasions, or for some reason.

The Chinese claim to be, and are, a highly civilized people. But the essential difference between them and the Western nations is, that theirs is a stationary civilization, and ours a progressive one.

Unless the human race differs from all the other works of the Creator, He must have had some general plan for it, involving some unity of interest. Yet in all history, travel and politics, any such design seems ignored, and mankind seems split up into diverse communities, warring against each other, or careless of each other's existence. It was to study this problem, of the possibilities of human fraternity, that I availed myself of my first months of leisure, after years of official confinement, to travel round the world.

As nearly as I can trace the history of civilization, it has not been the prerogative, or the inheritance, or the work of any one race. One race takes it up and carries it to a certain point, then lapses into stagnation. Another takes it up and carries it on a step further. It marches on through one continent, at one time, through another, in a succeeding era. Different nations in turn become its leaders and exponents. Mankind, as a whole, profits by it, but only one portion, at a time, seems capable of assisting its progress.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1872.

Occupations at "Woodside." The Book of Travels. Reading. The Presidential Canvass. Letters. The Close of Life.

THE summer was chiefly spent at "Woodside," his son's cottage, on the shore of the Owasco lake. Its quiet seclusion enabled him to go on with his work on the book of Travels. Here, he would sit for hours on the piazza, or under the shade of the trees, talking with friends, or dictating to Olive, his adopted daughter. He would rise

at seven, breakfast about eight, and at nine go to his letters and manuscript. The work on those would last till one, occasionally relieved by a short walk in the grounds. Then came lunch, followed by a half hour's rest on the lounge. Then work was continued for a while, unless interrupted by visitors; but by four o'clock, he always desired to go for his drive on the country roads, or a row on the lake. Dinner with the family and guests came at six. The evening was devoted to conversation, and an occasional rubber of whist. He retired at ten, and usually slept soundly.

He had been able to go, with Olive, over all the notes made during the journey round the world, and was well advanced in their revision. Arrangements had already been made with Appleton & Company, for the publication of the volume. Mr. Derby, who was connected with the firm, came frequently to Auburn, to consult about the illustrations and text.

When there happened to be no callers in the evening, he liked to listen while his son read aloud from Chaucer, Spenser, Southey, or some other of the English poets; or from the old sheepskin-covered Bible, in which, forty-eight years before, he had entered the record of his marriage; and which, from that day, had rested on Mrs. Seward's table, by her bed-side. Occasionally he would have a chapter from Lane's edition of the "Arabian Nights." Little as there might seem to be in common between the Arabic legends, and the Sacred Scriptures, he used to say that he found his travels in the Orient lent new and vivid interest to their description of places and customs, that have remained almost unchanged for a thousand years.

He had been accustomed for many years to use a walking-stick. There were now in the hall at Auburn, many canes picked up in various regions. One was a relic of the old *Constitution;* one was a fragment from the wreck of the *Merrimac;* one an elastic strip from the hide of a West Indian marine monster. The elms of Mount Vernon, the giant trees of Calaveras, the pines of Alaska, the cedars of Lebanon were all represented in this group. But the favorite stick of all was the old grapevine branch, which he had carried in his hand when climbing the Alps, exploring the Sierra Madre, ascending Mounts Zion and Olivet, plodding through the sands at the Pyramids, and scaling the Great Wall of China. The beautiful inlaid cane presented to him by the California Pioneers, and the historic memorial of the old State Department, were too choice for daily use; and so, reposed in state in the drawing-room.

The Presidential canvass had now opened. General Grant had been renominated by the Republicans. The Independents and Demo-

crats had combined in support of Horace Greeley. Many letters came from old friends, especially at the West, who, not realizing how age and infirmity had broken his health, were urging him to take active part in the canvass, "on the stump," as in the "old times." During the progress of the campaign, he wrote two letters in reference to it.

August 12.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have reflected upon your kind letter of the 5th, in which you invite me, in accordance with what you think is the wish of many others, to express my views on the present political canvass.

Immediately after the general election of 1860, it became quite manifest, that the advantage which had been gained in that election, in arresting the extension of slavery, was to be made the occasion of a civil war; with the declared objects of overthrowing the Constitution and dissolving the Union. Until that time, I had been a leader in political debates. But it was the pleasure of the American people that I should relinquish that place; and assume a Ministerial office in the Executive Department, which was so suddenly called upon to meet that exigency. Ministerial functions in revolutionary periods are trying and difficult. I did not believe that I should be able to perform, successfully, those which devolved on me, without an absolute renunciation of all political aspirations and partisan sentiments, for my whole after life. I made and avowed that renunciation, cheerfully, because I thought the fall of the Republic would involve those who were in charge of the Administration of its Government in irretrievable infamy; while, if it should be saved, my participation in saving it would be sufficient to crown a generous ambition.

The retirement which I entered upon in 1869, in pursuance of that resolution, has thus far been maintained. No unforeseen circumstances have yet occurred which seem to me to make it either necessary or wise that I should quit it. Moreover, health somewhat impaired, and advancing years, have rendered that retirement congenial. My fellow-citizens are, in no case, left in ignorance, concerning the principles and policy which I deem it my duty to support by my vote. Beyond this, as at present advised, I must be excused from going.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

The Honorable ROSCOE CONKLING, Utica, N. Y.

The other letter was to R. P. Johnson of San Francisco. It was dated September 17th. It adverted, in like manner, to the great national struggle, and his own subsequent retirement. It added in conclusion:

Now, however, not less than at any former time, I think it the duty of every citizen to leave no uncertainty to exist, concerning the principles which govern his vote. I have seen no sufficient reason to withdraw mine from the support of the principles and policy which carried the country safely through

the civil conflict, or from the party organization and candidates who represent them. This must be my short reply to your long and much-esteemed letter.

His conversation with visitors and friends, upon the political situation, were all of like tenor. Mr. Weed, though himself infirm, came to spend a day with him, on his way to the State Convention to propose the nomination of General Dix, as Republican candidate for Governor.

Gradually, but steadily, his strength had been ebbing away. The casual visitor could not realize that the figure, sitting erect, and chatting so pleasantly, had become so physically helpless. His hands had lost their power, and were no longer obedient to his will. He could still walk, though with slow and feeble step. At the table, and at toilet, the service of an attendant was constantly required to perform the simplest offices. Yet his mind, his voice, and his eyes were still clear and strong. He could direct, when he could no longer move. He could read book or newspaper rapidly, although he was unable to turn their pages. He could dictate fluently, though he could no longer hold a pen or sign his name. The affectionate ingenuity of "William and Jenny," the son and daughter-in-law, who lived with him at Auburn, found expression in continual devices to counteract and mitigate the effects of his physical weakness. Obstacles were smoothed; stairs were lowered to inclined planes; easy carriages provided; chairs were devised that he could sit in, or rise from unaided. Attendants, familiar with his ways and habits, were constantly at hand.

He had no morbid apprehension of death, but talked cheerfully and philosophically on that as on all other subjects. At the same time he noted the progress of his malady, and was not blind to those premonitions which his family were unwilling to see or believe.

"How do you feel this morning, Governor Seward?" said a visitor, who found him one day sitting in his arm-chair on the southern terrace, watching the robins drinking at the fountain.

"I can answer you much as John Adams once answered Mr. Webster when he asked him a similar question. 'I am living in a very old house; and as near as I can learn, the proprietor isn't going to make any repairs.'"

To one of his sons, he said: "There are many roads to death, but the actual dissolution of soul and body usually begins in one of two ways. Death grasps some men by the throat; others he strikes first at the heart. I am satisfied that my ending will be in the former way. Respiration will be obstructed, and then fail."

His father had lived to over four-score. But both his elder brothers were dead — one having died within the year.

Up to almost the last day of his life he took his accustomed seat at the head of the table, and his accustomed afternoon drive. On the very day when the end came he was dressed and sitting in his usual place. He had been at work, with his adopted daughter, upon the notes of travel.

Reclining upon the lounge to rest, he was attacked with a difficulty of breathing, which was at first attributed to a slight cold taken a few days before. Dr. Dimon, his physician, was sent for, and saw that the closing hour was at hand. When the announcement was cautiously made, Seward received it with a placid smile, as if neither unexpected nor unwelcome. The family, hastily assembled from the different rooms, stood in tears by his bedside. All had shared in the hope and belief that the progress of the malady would be retarded for months or years.

As his eyes closed, and his breath was failing, his daughter-in-law asked him: "Father, have you any thing to say to us?"

The eyes opened for a last and gentle glance, "Nothing," said he, "only, 'Love one another!'"

At four in the afternoon, on the 10th of October, he passed away.

"WOODSIDE."

THE GRAVE ON FORT HILL.

APPENDIX.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

The illustrations in the volumes of "Seward at Washington" are engraved from photographs taken either by professional or amateur artists, at the period to which they refer.

The scenes of travel were obtained during the journeys described.

Mr. Titian R. Peale, for many years an Examiner of the Patent Office, became very early interested in the photographic art. An old friend of the Secretary of State, he frequently accompanied him in his visits to the Army and localities about Washington. Several of the engravings are from views taken on the spot by his camera.

F. B. Carpenter's historical picture of the Emancipation Proclamation in Lincoln's Cabinet was painted while all of those portrayed in it were still living. Subsequently purchased by Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, and presented by her to the Government, it hangs in the hall of the House of Representatives. The steel plate of it, by Ritchie, was at one time the property of Derby & Miller, and now belongs to Henry C. Bowen, proprietor of the New York *Independent*, through whose courtesy the publishers have been permitted to make the engraving of it which is found in these pages.

Lentze's historical picture of the signing of the Alaska Treaty was painted by him at Washington during the summer following the purchase of the Territory, and the portraits in it are from life.

The views at Auburn, during later years, are from photographs made by the grandson of the Secretary, who bears his name.

The Photo-illustrations are by the RAMSEY ENGRAVING CO., 17 Bond street, NEW YORK.

EXERCISES AT THE UNVEILING

OF THE

SEWARD MEMORIAL STATUE,

AT

AUBURN, N. Y., NOV. 15, 1888,

WITH THE ORATION BY

HON. WILLIAM M. EVARTS,

AND ADDRESSES BY

Hon. CYRENUS WHEELER, Jr., *Chairman of Com.*, Hon. THEODORE M. POMEROY,
Hon. MORTIMER V. AUSTIN, *Mayor*.

THE STATUE AT AUBURN.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Memorial Statue to William H. Seward, modeled by Walter G. Robinson, sculptor, of Auburn, N. Y., was unveiled at the Seward Park, in the city of Auburn, on Thursday, the 15th day of November, 1888.

The statue is a gift to the city from several of its citizens and a few non-resident personal friends of Mr. Seward.

The proceedings preliminary to the inauguration of the statue were in charge of a general committee consisting of the following named gentlemen:

CYRENUS WHEELER, JR.,	THEODORE M. POMEROY,
NELSON BEARDSLEY,	BENJAMIN B. SNOW,
HENRY A. MORGAN,	THOMAS M. OSBORNE,
JOHN N. KNAPP,	WILLIAM P. ROBINSON,
SERENO E. PAYNE,	GEORGE UNDERWOOD,
SAMUEL LAURIE,	JAMES C. STOUT,
ORLANDO LEWIS,	CLINTON D. MACDOUGALL,
DAVID WADSWORTH, JR.,	JOHN D. TELLER,

GEORGE H. NYE.

Hon. Cyrenus Wheeler, Jr., was made chairman of the general committee. Hon. William P. Robinson was made secretary thereof, and Horace T. Cook, Esq., was made treasurer of the fund to be raised and disbursed.

Preliminary to the placing of the statue, Hon. Frederick W. Seward and Gen. William H. Seward tendered to the city a substantial addition to the park, from the adjoining homestead lot of the late Secretary Seward. The following is the correspondence relating thereto and the action of the Common Council thereon:

AUBURN, *Aug.* 27, 1888.

The Honorable, the Common Council of the City of Auburn:

The undersigned as a committee representing many citizens of Auburn, and neighbors and friends of the late William H. Seward, who have procured a bronze statue of that distinguished statesman, and propose erecting the same in a suitable location and presenting it to the city, respectfully request your honorable body to designate the park at the intersection of South and William streets, as the place for the erection of said statue, and to authorize this committee to erect the same thereon.

Herewith is transmitted a letter "A" from Gen. William H. Seward, proposing, in behalf of his brother, Hon. Frederick W. Seward, and himself, to donate land for the enlargement of said park; and the undersigned respectfully request that the park so enlarged be designated as the "Seward Park."

SAMUEL LAURIE,	HENRY A. MORGAN,
JOHN D. TELLER,	GEORGE H. NYE,
JAMES C. STOUT,	WILLIAM P. ROBINSON,
S. E. PAYNE,	T. M. OSBORNE,
DAVID WADSWORTH, JR.,	G. W. ALLEN,
THEODORE M. POMEROY,	C. D. MACDOUGALL,
N. BEARDSLEY,	ORLANDO LEWIS,
C. WHEELER, JR.,	GEORGE UNDERWOOD,
J. N. KNAPP,	B. B. SNOW.

"A."

AUBURN, N. Y., *Aug.* 25, 1888.

To the Chairman of the Meeting of the Donors of the Seward Statue:

DEAR SIR: — In connection with the proposed erection of a bronze statue of the late William H. Seward, by his neighbors and friends, to be placed in Seward Park, it is the desire of Mr. Frederick W. Seward and myself, now the only surviving members of his immediate family, to present, under proper restrictions, limiting its use for park purposes, to the city of Auburn, a plat of land to be taken from the south end of the grounds surrounding the family residence and adjoining the park.

This plat is about 127 feet on the park line, 151 feet on the north line, 40 feet on South street, and 42 feet on William street. This will increase the area of the present park nearly one-half. I make mention of this now to the end that your committee, in selecting the location for the statue, may take into consideration the proposed enlargement of the park. This ground includes the small arbor where Mr. Seward, for more than forty years, passed much of his time during the summer months. In this retired spot, he worked during his early years upon many of his most important law cases, and later on prepared many of his orations and political addresses. Here, during his declining years, he performed some of his literary work and wrote of his travels. Here it was that he delighted to receive his neighbors and friends, and with them discuss current affairs. Here, also, after his retirement from public life, he received many notable personages from abroad, who came to visit him. This spot is, therefore, so intimately associated with much of his life work while at home, that it seems appropriate that it should be now dedicated to public use, to the end that it may not be lost sight of in the march of improvement which naturally tends, sooner or later, to obliterate old landmarks in a growing city like ours.

Very truly yours,

W. H. SEWARD.

By Alderman MURPHEY:

WHEREAS, Many citizens of Auburn and friends and neighbors of the late William H. Seward propose to present to said city a bronze statue of that distinguished statesman, and to erect the same upon a suitable granite pedestal in the park at the intersection of South and William streets, known as Seward Park, without expense to the city; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That full power and authority are hereby given for the erection of said statue in said park, with the proposed extension to be donated to the city by Generai William H. Seward and the Hon. Frederick W. Seward, and is hereby designated as "Seward Park," and said citizens and donors are hereby authorized to select within said park, a suitable plot on which said statue may be erected by them and encompassed in a substantial iron fence for its protection, the same to be done as proposed by the donors, without expense to the city.

By Alderman NYE:

That the communications be accepted and filed, and that the resolution be adopted. Carried.

The statue, which is of bronze, is nine feet in height, being a little more than one-half larger than the life-size of Mr. Seward. It rests upon a granite pedestal, which is also nine feet high. The figure represents Mr. Seward in the act of delivering the "Higher Law" sentiment, his right foot advanced, his right hand elevated, the fore-finger pointing upward, the face uplifted and glowing with thought, and the form thrilled and animated by the prophetic utterance. The artist, Mr. Walter G. Robinson, has caught the spirit of the orator and has forcibly illustrated his expression. The pose is graceful and life-like, and the likeness is pronounced by Mr. Seward's most intimate friends, as perfect.

INSCRIPTIONS ON PEDESTAL.

[East face—fronting South street.]

Presented November 15th, 1888, to the City of Auburn, by the townsmen and friends of William H. Seward, in commemoration of his beneficent life, and of his distinguished services to the State, to the Nation, and to Mankind.

[Rear face—Northward.]

WILLIAM H. SEWARD

1801

1872.

[West face—fronting William street.]

The last eight lines of A. D. F. Randolph's sonnet:

"*How through the years in silence thou hast borne*
The cruel doubt, the slanders of debate,
The assassin's knife, and keener blade of scorn
Wielded by party in its narrow hate:
How could'st thou pause each step to vindicate
Of thy surpassing work? Lo! It is done;
Freedom enshrined in our regenerate state,
And they who were divided made as one!"

[Front face—Southward.]

A quotation from William H. Seward's California speech, in the Senate, March 11, 1850:

"*The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare and to liberty.*

But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes.

[And below, on base.]

SEWARD

Notwithstanding the unpropitious rain, a vast concourse of people assembled at the park to witness the ceremony of unveiling. At 11:30 o'clock, Miss Fannie Seward, youngest daughter of General William H. Seward, touched the lever which raised the flags and disclosed the statue. A salute was fired by a squad from Seward Post, G. A. R., the chimes of St. Peter's Church were rung, and the further exercises were adjourned to the Opera House, in the afternoon. The exercises at the Opera House commenced at 3 P. M. The Auburn City Band rendered a selection, after which the Rev. Dr. Brainard, rector of St. Peter's Church, read a selection from Scripture, followed by prayer.

ADDRESS BY CYRENUS WHEELER, JR.,

CHAIRMAN OF GENERAL COMMITTEE.

We have assembled to-day, to witness the unveiling of a statue erected to the memory of that eminent citizen, statesman, and philanthropist, William H. Seward.

This work has been long delayed; but the delay is not without its advantages. Had it been undertaken at an earlier day, its promoters would have been dependent upon foreign artists. It is, as they desired it should be, like him whom it represents, distinctively American.

Its location is peculiarly fitting, being near the homestead with which his name for half a century was associated, and close to that part of it where he delighted to meet his friends and neighbors, and where he spent many hours in preparation for his life-work — the earnest advocacy of liberty and justice, and the fearless condemnation of tyranny and injustice.

The statue is the happy conception of Mr. Walter G. Robinson, a citizen of Auburn, who has in its execution embodied therein the characteristic features of an event in the life of him whom it represents, that marked an important epoch in the history of this Nation.

In 1871, Mr. Robinson designed a medallion portrait of Mr. Seward and copied the same in marble. This was pronounced by competent judges who examined it, a work of decided merit, and by the friends and neighbors of the statesman, a likeness of great truthfulness. Stimulated by his success to higher efforts, a few years later he conceived the idea of modeling a statue which might be deemed worthy of preservation in enduring form. Limited in means, and dependent upon his daily labor, which was interrupted by long periods of illness, he devoted the limited time at his command to the object of his ambition, and labored diligently for its accomplishment, under difficulties and discouragements that would have thwarted the purpose of a less persistent man. Patiently toiling for the accomplishment of the desired object, his efforts known only to a few of Mr. Seward's friends, years passed before

he reached that degree of perfection which he believed warranted him in submitting his work to public inspection and criticism.

About one year ago, the model was placed on exhibition, and receiving the unanimous approval of our citizens, it was immediately decided to obtain from it a copy in bronze for erection in this city. An order was given to the Chicopee Company, of Chicopee, Mass., and the completed statue was received in this city a few weeks since.

A committee appointed by the subscribers to the fund, consisting of Nelson Beardsley, H. A. Morgan, G. W. Allen, Gen. J. N. Knapp, Hon. Sereno E. Payne, Samuel Laurie, Orlando Lewis, David Wadsworth, Jr., Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, Benjamin B. Snow, Thomas M. Osborne, George Underwood, Hon. William P. Robinson, James C. Stout, General Clinton D. MacDougall, Hon. John D. Teller, George H. Nye, and Cyrenus Wheeler, Jr., have had charge of the enterprise, and expected to have held these ceremonies on the tenth day of October last, the anniversary of Mr. Seward's death; but to their regret, circumstances rendered it impracticable.

For the purpose of enlarging the "Seward Park" and making it a more appropriate site for the statue, the Hon. Frederick W. Seward and Gen. William H. Seward have deeded to the city a substantial addition to the same which is now included therein.

The townsmen and friends of the deceased statesman and philanthropist, fully appreciating the great services he has rendered his country and mankind, have united in sharing the expense of the production and erection of the statue, and now propose, through their representative, the Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, to present the same to the city for its acceptance.

ADDRESS BY HON. THEODORE M. POMEROY,

PRESENTING THE STATUE TO THE CITY.

Mr. MAYOR:— The pleasant duty has been assigned to me of presenting to the city of Auburn, through you, this statue in bronze. For whom I speak, and why, is contained in the inscription upon the dais of its pedestal: "Presented, November 15th, 1888, to the city of Auburn, by the townsmen and friends of William H. Seward, in commemoration of his beneficent life, and of his distinguished services to the State, to the Nation, and to Mankind."

It is a matter of pride to us, that this long contemplated token of affection from neighbors and friends has finally taken expression through the genius of one of our own citizens, and that it is located upon ground hallowed by the associations of Mr. Seward's whole life, secured to the city through his own family, and bearing his own name.

From early manhood, till past the allotted three score years and ten, Mr. Seward was in all those local and social relations which furnish life's

greatest happiness, one of us. During all that time he resided upon the ground, a portion of which is included in this park. Yonder home was the Mecca of his thoughts, to which he ever came with ardent affection, whenever relieved from the cares of public office. No pomp of state, nor pride, nor assumed dignity of public position followed him here. No citizen walked out and in among us, more one of us than he, more interested in all matters of municipal improvement, more a citizen, neighbor and friend. Persecuted as few have been persecuted in his public life, he brought back no asperity from the conflict, and the most bitter of political neighbors were moulded in his genial, social presence, into a common band of devoted personal friends.

Beneath these elms in closest personal friendship with those about him, of all parties, and of all creeds, in seeming rest and quiet, he forged his thoughts of eternal right and heaven-born principles of human government, into the eloquent and undying expressions, which when proclaimed to the world, were to make for him a life of irrepressible conflict, and to bring to him a martyr's death and a martyr's crown.

The inspiration of the ceremonies of to-day comes from these peaceful surroundings and from these home friends, never personally separated from him in life by party or creed, who come to-day in a common brotherhood of love and respect, to present to the city of his home, this testimonial of affectionate remembrance of their departed friend.

But, while the inspiration to this occasion comes from these local associations, the fulfillment of its purposes necessarily broadens to a wider field. The suggestion of the statue itself is not of the restful citizen, nor of the statesman in repose; but of Mr. Seward as he appeared in the prime of his magnificent manhood, the leader of his party and the prophet of his time, building up from the crumbling ruins of a nationality which a generation of American statesmen, unsurpassed in intellectual ability in any age, had been endeavoring to preserve upon the shifting sands of compromise, a nation founded upon the abiding rock of the higher law.

It is this great and enduring influence exemplified by Mr. Seward in his distinguished services to the State, to the Nation and to Mankind, emanating from him in all his utterances, as he ever looked upward for instruction and strength, and ever led his party upward by his courage, persistence and faith, that is sought to be feebly typified in this figure in bronze. Such influence never dies. Like matter, it may be transmuted or assimilated into other manifestations, but like matter it never dies. Paul still stands on Mars Hill and Luther before the Diet at Worms, and so will the purifying influence of Mr. Seward's high statesmanship continue, through his personality, to lead mankind to a higher source of the strength of national life, when time shall have obliterated this long-enduring type of his physical manhood.

But Mr. Seward was thoroughly a statesman, and as such accepted the limitations to individual effort which control under all constitutional governments. Party organizations are these limitations. Whoever floats a banner of material or political progress outside of these simply vexes the air. No men within the United States were more thoroughly antagonistic to the institution of slavery,

nor morally more courageous in standing by their convictions, than William H. Seward and Abraham Lincoln. Still, acknowledging these limitations, they walked together with their party, through the admission of Texas, the Mexican War, the Fugitive Slave Law, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; heart-sick but never despondent, knowing not when God's time for emancipation would come, but knowing that when it did come, the result was to be wrought out through human instrumentalities, and that then, they, as leaders, would be powerless for good, except as the solid phalanx of party organization stood with them. Men less patient, less enduring, less obedient to the laws of democratic development would have wrecked not only emancipation, but the Union as well, in the first throes of Civil War. But they then stood not alone. Through party organization there sat in the gubernatorial chairs of all of the free States men of equal faith and endurance, Andrew, Buckingham, Morgan, Curtin, Blair, Brough, Morton, Yates and others of equal sturdiness of patriotism, names not born to die, and the echo of the first gun of the Rebellion came to Lincoln in the Presidential chair, and to Seward at the helm of State, prepared to hold the outside world at bay. It was from the legions with whom these men had walked to the polls, through years of national discouragement and defeat, that the armies came which carried the flag reverently borne in sorrow from Sumter, triumphant to Appomattox, and trampled out slavery in its march as a mere incident of its progress to final victory. The further lesson to be learned from the statue we unveil to-day, is not simply the recognition of our subordination to a higher law, but that that law is to be propagated on earth, in closest contact and fellowship with our fellow-men. That whatever inspiration the prophet may receive, upon the mountain of contemplation, must be brought down to, and laid upon, and held upon the heart of humanity to elevate and bless the world. It was in his close walk with us as a neighbor and friend, that we loved our neighbor and friend. It was in his close contact and alliance with his fellow-citizens in the bonds of party organization, that his pure, philanthropic and statesmanlike principles of political progress found broad and ample room for recognition and development. Such compensation as has fallen to the lot of few of the great men of all time came to him. He lived to see the realization of his highest political aspiration, not a new South, nor a new North, but a *new Nation*, enfranchised and disenthralled everywhere and in every part, from every bondage of fact and of opinion hostile to organic national unity, and as we trust, henceforth dedicated by both divine and constitutional law, "to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare, to liberty."

In conclusion, Mr. Mayor, I commit through you, as its most honored representative, to the city of Auburn, with a pleasure and pride which I know all of our citizens share in common with me, this statue of Auburn's most illustrious citizen, of one of America's most distinguished statesmen, and of one of the world's most beneficent philanthropists and benefactors, William H. Seward.

At the same time, I am pleased to deliver to you a deed to the city of Auburn, from Mr. Seward's family, of a substantial addition to this park.

ADDRESS BY MAYOR MORTIMER V. AUSTIN,

ACCEPTING THE STATUE IN BEHALF OF THE CITY.

Mr. Pomeroy, and through you to the donors of land and of the statue of William H. Seward:

As the representative of the city of Auburn, the home of the illustrious statesman in whose memory and as a tribute to whose public services this gathering is had, I take pleasure in participating in behalf of our city and its people, in the act of acceptance of the generous and thoughtful offering of the valuable land for public purposes and of the monument to William H. Seward.

Looking around me, I see many whose personal acquaintance with him extended over many years, who possessed his close friendship and were honored by his counsels and confidence. His quiet home, through the serviceable and valuable years of his long life, overlooks this site; the land donated to us by his sons, consecrated for almost half a century by his presence, was his favorite resort; the trees waving over us, planted and nurtured by his own hand, were the cherished objects of his watchful care; his life devoted to his family, his friends, his country, and to struggling humanity, went out among us, and his mortal remains rest within our borders.

As a reminder to us and our people, of his home among us while living, of his life so spent in our community, of his attachment to family and friends, of the value of his public services, local and national, of his continued devotion and strict adherence to those principles which had the benefit, education and elevation of mankind for their object, of his noble aims inspired by the higher law, this cast were idle. The form and features of the dead are reproduced in this base material with such skill as to be easily recognized; but a little time will elapse, when none will remain to know it by comparison with the living, in whose form it has been fashioned by skilled hands, under the supervision and guidance of loving descendants. Those who come after us will, by this statue, know his features, while here, but under the influence of time and the elements, this life-like representation of him must perish; this monument, made with care and now planted, must crumble and pass beyond recognition, and the inscription become worn and defaced; but long after yonder home shall be unknown, its location and form shall have passed from the memory of the living, after those trees, the fruits of his labor, pride and care shall have decayed and passed away, after this cast shall have crumbled into atoms and vanished, after the location of yon resting-place of his remains shall be unmarked and unknown, the name of William H. Seward, his long and continued adherence to principles of justice, his personal sacrifices and services to his country in times of need and danger, and to humanity of his day and time, will be familiar wherever commercial or industrial relations shall flourish or educational institutions exist.

ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM M. EVARTS.

Mr. President and Citizens of Auburn:

The kind invitation of Mr. Seward's fellow townsmen and of my esteemed friends, his sons and near kinsmen, to take part in the inauguration of the statue, which is here to perpetuate his memory, found me with every inclination of affection, and under every obligation of duty, to accede to their wishes so agreeably expressed. The only reluctance I might feel to assuming the service proposed to me in this celebration, had no other source than distrust in my ability to treat adequately, so great a theme, either suitably to the large space in the public history of our country which Mr. Seward fills, in the eyes of all his countrymen, or acceptably to the intimate and warm associations of homage, admiration, and affection, which his neighbors cherish toward him, as shown to them in his daily walk and conversation for a life-time. But this distrust, however well conceived, I must surrender to the indulgent judgment which has assigned to me so responsible a share in expressing your sentiments, and motives that have prompted and justify the public and perpetual remembrance of the name, the worth, the fame of William H. Seward.

A statue of enduring marble or brass, raised and accepted in public approval and applause, imports very much to a people of our civilization, and especially to the people of this country. The evident and demonstrative form of honor challenges the general favor of the present, and the permanent judgment of all future generations. In the mother country it is sparingly, and in our own more sparingly accorded. Neither our civic sense of equality, nor our religious estimate of human greatness, easily tolerates any forms of mere personal adulation, or of mere human exaltation. In the classic period of Greek and Roman development, neither the system of society nor of religious faith discouraged hero-worship, while their ample resources of sensuous art supplied every form of dignity and beauty to manifestations of manlike gods and godlike men. Indeed, the line between humanized images of gods and deified statues of men was almost lost, and their attributes were somewhat confused. Statesmen and orators of Republican Greece, senators, magistrates, consuls, dictators, emperors of the successive polities of Rome, all had their statues, often less upon personal than upon official claims to this affected immortality. These stately and enduring portraitures served to mark to successive generations the illuminated record of the history and progress of the Nation. Their number, and their conventional titles to this homage could not long maintain, if they ever gained, a personal place in the affections, the admiration, or the gratitude of their countrymen. In the lapse of time, and the changed opinions of mankind, scarce any interest in most of these effigies survives, but such as the artist and his art may attract.

The estimate of men and their actions, of events and their relation to human affairs, which the intellectual, moral, and social condition of our people and of our time shapes and adjusts in the distribution of these enduring and conspicuous honors, insists upon higher and more profound, more com-

prehensive and more distinguishable, more evident and more fruitful qualities and conduct of the lives and services which we desire to illustrate and exalt before the eyes of the world.

These qualities and this conduct, these lives and these services must in some degree connect themselves with the imperishable and universal traits and needs of human nature ; must have wrought in the welfare of society ; must have saved or built up the fabric of the State, enforced moral and religious truths, enlarged or diffused knowledge, quickened or elevated patriotism, displayed beneficent activities, increased the sum of happiness or fortified the defenses of civilization.

In raising statues to such characters and to such conduct, we not only preserve their memory, but we inculcate and propagate their virtues ; we assert and assist the progress of society and the dignity of man. If, upon this criterion, the number of our statues is circumscribed, the tribute is more signal, the instruction is more luminous, and permanence in popular approval more secure.

In the great city of this country, destined, perhaps, to become the great city of the world, our national history of a hundred years has crowned but six citizens with the honor of a public statue, falling within the province of statesmanship and resting upon that title — Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Webster. Lincoln, and Seward ! Who would wish to season his admiration of these imposing names ? Whatever name might be added to this list in a particular or general judgment without losing its lustre by the association, what one of these would any of us submit to miss ? In their title to this honor, what element is there but of the highest and sincerest nature ? Great powers of mind, great elevation of character, great public service, great patriotism, a great theater of action, and great results in the well-being of a great nation and in the permanent welfare of the world. In this their undoubted title what flaw or alloy is there of personal pomp, or personal power, or personal gain, or personal motives or ends ? No ! Their work and their achievements were all for the common benefit, and for themselves but a common share.

If we look more closely at these illustrious names we may find occasion to set apart from the rest, the name of Washington, upon a higher plane than belongs to statesmanship alone, for he added to this the power and fame of a great commander, and the transcendent name and fame of Father of his Country. And, in the same sense, besides Lincoln's illustrious distinction as a statesman, his power and fame with his countrymen and mankind include the incomparable titles of the Ruler of a Nation and the Emancipator of a Race. We may, also, justly separate the name of Franklin from the list of mere statesmen, for his fame and power as a benefactor of mankind in the domain of science and the economies of life, may well be celebrated with the most signal honor.

These three names remain,—Hamilton, Webster, Seward,— as crowned with the civic honor of a statue in the great city of this great State, for statesmanship and service to his country in the faculties, the duties, and the triumphs

which may attend that high career. These were all lawyers, they were all orators, they were all ministers of State, they were all leaders of political opinion and of political parties; they were all charged, in turn, with a critical share of the safety and hopes of the country in junctures of the gravest moment, and in continuous conduct of matters of State of the mightiest solicitudes and responsibilities. On these occasions their principles, their measures — in these capital junctures of the public welfare — were prosperous in their hands, and helped save and strengthen the Commonwealth. I shall not compare them or contrast them, or their opportunities, or their treatment of them. These were all of the highest and, by consent of all, they were capable of the mastery of great affairs because they showed this mastery. The towers of our strength needed to be defended, they could be defended, and by these right hands they were defended.

Hamilton's political genius lent to the formation and adoption of the Constitution, and, as a working force, carrying the new Government over the breakers of public debt and public poverty into security and prosperity, was as indispensable as it was adequate to the mighty task. Webster, with the collective force of a massive reason and a flaming eloquence, shattered as with a thunderbolt the powerful sophistries and ambushed treasons that struck at the heart of the Constitution and shook the pillars of the established State. He informed the understandings of the people and prepared their hearts for the appropriate, adequate, and seasonable means to carry the country through the terrible struggle of opposing forces it was to encounter. Through this stormy period, it was reserved for the generation of Seward to guide and lead the Nation to the desired consummation of an unmutilated territory and an uncorrupted Constitution. How great a part, and how prosperously our statesman, your townsman, bore in this wonderful stage of our history, I must attempt some brief delineation.

Slavery, whose fateful name was so carefully left out of the text of the Constitution by its framers, was rooted in the structure of our society, was wrought into the compensations and balances of our constituted liberties, haunted the public conscience, perplexed with fear the augurs, scared the waking visions of the prophets, broke the chariot wheels of every triumph, and made a spectral guest at every feast.

Some thought the lifeblood of liberty, by its own vigor, would suffocate or expel the incongruous element from the body politic and leave no stain or scar behind. Some sought for a spell to exorcise the evil spirit, and others for "poppy and mandragora and all the drowsy syrups" to prolong its sleep. Rash men wished to hasten, brave men feared to meet, wise men prepared for, the inevitable outburst of the "irrepressible conflict."

For a considerable time after the permanence of slavery in our system as a possible alternative was rejected by every thoughtful statesman as intolerable and visionary, it was hoped that a basis of political treatment might dispose of the problem without breaking up the organizations of the great parties which sought to maintain their footing in the free States and the slave States alike. It was felt by many that whenever it should come about, that the pre-

dominance of the issue of slave labor and free labor should efface in the minds of the people of the country all other topics of political interest among them, when, thus, political parties could only hope to exist or grow on one side of a geographical line or the other, and the antagonisms of politics should divide the country into sections, instead of operating on the diversity of individual opinions wheresoever — it was felt, I say, that this would be not so much a step toward, as a stage in, the dissolution of the common Government. The struggles for the possession of the Government, it was feared, and for the control of measures touching this absorbing issue between political parties — thus become effectively geographical — could not very long be expected to adhere to the forms of peaceful constitutional suffrage, or always submit to the preponderance of votes.

To resist this foreseen tendency in our politics and avert it, and search for some sovereign remedy that might assuage these urgent passions and interests, was the staple of our politics for many years. A world of wisdom and of arts and artifices of politics, no end of patriotic fervor and self-sacrifice was devoted to the solution of this problem.

I do not propose to dwell upon this period of our statesmen's labors and trials, nor to measure or estimate, in detail, Mr. Seward's shares or fortunes in these complexities or prolixities. Events and importunate exactions on one side and the other of these implacable contentions, brought us face to face with the dissolution of the Union, and the destruction of the Government, as an overshadowing and flagrant fact. The long debate came to an end, and force was to decide what the debate had fathomed and explored but had not settled. The various opinions whether the slavery question had enough of elemental war in it to burst the strong bonds of the Union, now, all went for naught. The subordinate doubt whether, if the Nation was pushed to it, the point of failure to reconcile the irreconcilable and repress the irrepressible, separation would not need to be the logical consequence of that situation, was soon swallowed up in the conviction, that separation, by contract, was as impossible as it was illusory in speculation. The manifest condition in which the people of the country were placed, then, however slowly it might disclose itself to men of different party or personal associations, was whether the Nation could be dismembered in the interest of slavery, or its integrity could be assured, whatever might befall slavery, in the name and love of country, and of liberty and union, one and inseparable.

Before the instant and urgent project of the dissolution of the Union had occupied the scene, three distinct views concerning this dread possibility had been formed on the Northern mind, and had divided the leaders of opinion and of politics into three groups. The first included a very earnest, though not very numerous body of thinkers and agitators, who had accustomed themselves to place the separation of the Northern people from responsibility for, and complicity in, the continuance of slavery, above all interest or duty in the maintenance of the Union. These doctrines and their inculcation made light of the question of the dissolution of the Union, as compared with the extirpation of slavery from the Nation in which they should continue their citizen-

ship and allegiance. Of the votaries of these opinions some thought this end might be reached consistently with preserving the integrity of the Nation, while others regarded it as impossible, and but a waste of force to calculate upon it. This group included not only the recognized set of Abolitionists, but also a class of politicians who pleased themselves with the notion, that to escape the stress and reproach of double dealing on this troublesome issue, in the pursuit of political careers, it was better to divide the country to accommodate this exigency of their ambitions. This group could be counted upon to resist the extension of the power and corruption of slavery in our system, to the extreme, but not, also, to couple with it the inexorable condition of the maintenance of the Union.

The second group of Northern opinions and Northern statesmen and politicians looked upon the issue of slavery as incapable of treatment, politically — with safety to the integrity of the Union and the maintenance of the Constitution — except by the methods of conciliation and protection of the issue till the preponderance of freedom should demonstrate the hopelessness of any resort to force, or efface any desire to attempt it. The leaders of these opinions set themselves against any provocation of the issue of force. Always and under all circumstances devoted to the preservation of the Union at every cost, they had ever before their eyes the ease with which the passions of the people and the exasperations of ambition might unsettle our "unity and married calm of States," and the immeasurable consequences of opening such a strife. This group embraced the great body of the Whig statesmen and their supporters, and a large body of the Northern Democracy.

The remaining group was made up of those who refused to consider such grave issue of the dissolution of the Union, or its dismemberment or preservation by force, as possible to arise in the conflict of opinions and interests between slavery and freedom. They regarded the cohesion of our body politic as secure and immovable as the natural cohesion of the solar system. They affected to think that the several elements that held us together were as permanent and dominant in their operation as the natural elements that secure the harmony of the spheres. Unaccustomed, therefore, to weigh the contingencies of a possible disruption of our political system, under whatever severity of political controversies and collisions, it was obvious that when the disruption should take place, it was yet problematical what disposition and what efficiency they would bring to deal with the flagrant outbreak, which they had not counted upon as possible.

No competent judgment but must have felt that, unless these various opinions and theories and political associations could be combined and animated and welded together, in a concentrated purpose to preserve the Union first, last, and always and at every cost, as rapidly as possible when the outbreak should occur, disaster, if not fatal disaster, might attend the efforts of the Government to maintain itself against what would surely show itself as a most formidable rebellion.

Mr. Seward's attitude toward these various opinions was admirably suited to bring about the necessary fusion among its groups. Hostile to slavery to

the utmost, and intolerant of any calculation of its permanence in our system, or of any policy looking to its strength or defense ; incredulous of any possible choice by any great body of our countrymen of slavery, out of the Union, over its extirpation by constitutional processes within it ; open and sincere in absolute devotion to the Union, and contempt for all calculations of its value, or any balancing of evils under the Constitution against ruin by its destruction — Mr. Seward in the Senate and before the people stood for conciliation, prudence, firmness, courage, loyalty, in one united purpose and action of all lovers of the Union and all opponents of slavery, to preserve the one and insure the destruction of the other.

From the time when in 1849, he took his seat in the Senate until he left it to take his place in Lincoln's Cabinet, Mr. Seward held no other view than this — that slavery, by his voice or vote or acquiescence, should gain no enlargement of strength or spread or duration, and that it must abide its fate under the Constitution and within the Union. That this involved, by necessity, its decay, its decline, and its destruction was as apparent to his forecast as it was uppermost in his purpose and desire. Midway in this senatorial service the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was accomplished. This put an end to the *concordat* between freedom and slavery upon which a *modus vivendi* for them had been found, under the conciliations of the Constitution and the traditions of our legislation, and the issue was handed over to a sheer trial of strength between the two geographical sections, with whatever methods and results might pertain to a trial of right by might. These twelve years of Mr. Seward's life include, substantially, the whole period of public oratory and parliamentary influence that make up the area and arena upon which he exhibited and exercised, upon a great theater, and upon subjects of the highest import in the critical affairs of a great Nation, the great faculty with which he was endowed, for the safety of the State. Manifold were the occasions, multiform the modes in which these efforts were put forth. For fullness and fertility, for variety and force, for resolution and efficiency, no equal array of speeches — none of them exhibitory, all of them responsible and to an end — can be found on the records of our statesmen. No doubt, no single speech of Mr. Seward can compete for the crown of eloquence with the speech of Fisher Ames on the British treaty, or of Daniel Webster on the Foote resolutions. These stand, by popular and critical concurrence, at the head of the annals of American parliamentary eloquence. But as a whole series in one great debate, in which every power and energy were put forth in this protracted peril to the safety of the Republic, the successive speeches of Mr. Seward are without a parallel.

Close upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise came the formation of the Republican party out of Northern followers of the old Whig and Democratic parties. The new organization took the field at the start, with no supporters in the slave States. This decisive movement called out the array and raised the standard of political revolt against the traditional pretension that the power of slavery was safe, under the Constitution, against political proscription. This declaration of its principles, this proclamation of its purposes

was not misunderstood on either side of the issue raised, and proved the first stage of avowed political sectional division within the province of the suffrage. The consolidation of this sectional vote and its triumph in the electoral colleges, in the canvass of 1860, by the election of President Lincoln, transferred the contest from the province of the suffrage to the field of armed rebellion and armed defense of the Government, the Constitution, and the Union —from the arbitration of peace to that of war.

The political leadership of the movements which prepared and built up the Republican party and culminated in this stupendous transformation of the scene of its action from peace to war — movements which, thenceforth, were to be worked out by the methods of the sword and the shock of arms — would seem naturally, if not necessarily, to have fallen to Mr. Seward as the candidate in the canvass and the chief magistrate of the Nation in the supreme conduct of the great transaction. But the situation was unprecedented, and the choice was — not without prudence and, certainly, not without prosperity — made to turn, with a measuring cast, upon the leadership being accorded to the vast homogeneous and ardent population of the West rather than to the older States of the East — to the Mississippi valley, and not to the Atlantic coast. No doubt the great body of the party looked up to Mr. Seward as the bold and persistent, the sagacious and circumspect, organizing mind which had drawn together the powerful array which was marshaled for the impending conflict. But neither Mr. Seward nor these his followers and admirers made any question of the wisdom of the patriotic Convention's choice of a candidate. The task before them all was great enough, and felt to be great enough, for every demand upon the faculties and the courage of leaders and followers alike.

The drama of our Civil War and the parts played in it by the chief actors fills a great chapter in the world's annals, and brings it and them into comparison with the largest transactions in human affairs and the capital figures in them, which the history of the race has recorded. If it should ever be needful or useful to scrutinize and dissect the relative importance of the shares in this arduous service and this resplendent triumph which fell to each of our great statesmen and soldiers, the task may well be left for the serener judgment of later times. It is for us to exalt the common and united service and give our homage to the grandeur of their common and lasting fame. In the meantime, the lustre of each character and of his due proportion in the conspicuous actions of the marvelous work, is best enhanced by magnifying and not belittling the parts of others played on the glorious scene. In this spirit and in this aspect the particular enlistment to extol and perpetuate the memory of this or that reputation as preëminent will best find its exercise. The proud encomium, which has come to us from ancient days, *primus inter pares*, may thus be over matched by the more singular praise of *par inter primos*. It is nobler to be equal among the greatest, than to be merely the greatest among equals.

The very large and conspicuous part which Mr. Seward took in the common counsels of the new administration, the unmeasured support which he gave to the President in all the cares which rested upon him, and to his colleagues in the Cabinet in the arduous labors and responsibilities distributed among them

I need not insist upon. Events alone would demonstrate this unity and concord, and the record of the times confirm it. We may therefore turn our attention into some observations upon that department of the Government over which he presided, the Department of State in charge of our foreign relations during the Civil War.

The calculation of the revolted population that their distribution into States would not only put at their service ready organized rebellion, but save them from the distraction of society which Civil War would otherwise bring in its train, was not misconceived. But they strangely shut their eyes to the fact of organized loyalty, by the same reason being preserved among the faithful States and the weakness of dissentient sympathy with the rebellion, in their population, averted. De Tocqueville thought it, in our system, a peril to the united Government which it could not survive, whenever State rebellion should raise its standard. But when the time came, it was this very feature in our admirable distribution of powers betwen Nation and States that proved the safety of the common Government and the protection of society. It was the inattention to this organic scheme of our Government, on the part of foreign powers, that misled them in their confident anticipation of our dismemberment and our humiliation before their eyes. Out of this theoretic infirmity, as the wise men of Europe interpreted it, came our strength. When the statesmen of the great powers of Europe pronounced, as they did, our suppression of so great a rebellion impossible, they should have satisfied themselves with saying it would be impossible under any form of government of which they had experience.

The immense advantage of this speedy accommodation of a Civil War to the condition of public war, to the Government in dealing with the revolted population and marshaling the resources of the loyal people cannot be overestimated. Under this operation the task of the Government, however prodigious, was manageable by the same methods that would have been adequate and appropriate to a foreign war with an antagonist of strength equal to that of the domestic rebellion. The vast transactions of the treasury, the immense combinations and operations of the land forces and the naval service could thus be handled, and were handled, without a break in the regularity of any functions of Government, and without any persistent disturbance of the peace in the loyal region of the country.

In the province of foreign affairs and the conduct of them, this assimilation of our civil to a public war placed us in an attitude of delicacy and difficulty toward the foreign nations whose interests were deeply and rudely affected by the sudden transformation of this great and friendly, powerful and commercial nation into a vast theater of domestic war. Soon it appeared that the lawful exercise by our Government of the rights of public war to reduce the revolt, and which the rules of public law required neutral nations to respect and submit to, carried into the internal affairs of these nations, into their industries, their commerce, their finances, their values and prices of their domestic trade, the employment of labor and the rate of wages, as much disturbance, derangement and suffering as if they themselves were

parties to the war itself. Soon, too, it appeared that under our close blockade of the Southern ports the temptation to a vast trade to violate and evade it sprung up and was irresistible. Soon, as well, the exigencies of the rebellion demanded a foreign base of supply and a foreign maritime resort for naval constructions and naval recruitments. In short, so closely were the industrial and commercial interests of foreign nations interlocked with our own, the maintenance of our domestic war seemed to partake, in nature and effect, so strongly of the consequences of a war upon the fabric of their peace and prosperity, that it seems as if this must urge them to coerce a peace or take open part in the war itself.

The addition to these natural and urgent influences that were pressing upon foreign nations to meditate or speculate how far and how long this novel situation should be or could be allowed to continue, without some form of friendly or hostile intervention, the political calculations and designs of France and England as they watched the progress of affairs on this side of the water, could not be looked upon by our Government without the greatest distrust and concern. Imperial France allied with imperial Mexico, planning an alliance with our revolted States — England watching for the expected, if not desired event of our dismemberment, and counting upon an industrial and commercial conquest of both the broken parts — these, indeed, were attitudes and eventualities which demanded in the conduct of our foreign affairs unsleeping vigilance and an active and energetic diplomacy.

These observations on our foreign relations during the war can be carried, on this occasion, no further. They go scarcely beyond mere allusion to the elements of difficulty and danger, without attempting an exposition of them. The more they are explored and understood, the graver and more numerous and complicated they appear. The responsibility of this department of the public service, in all cabinets, foreign and in our own, even in time of peace, rests wholly upon the minister in charge of it. In disordered times, in periods when war rules the hour and brings upon the scene its own inexorable rights, its own despotic laws, the management of foreign relations is, of necessity, at the charge of one mind, of one will, of one action and one accountability. His eye must survey the whole field, his forecast must take in the future, his wisdom, his courage, his faculty, his will must, for better or worse, be the forecast. the wisdom and the will of the Government and the country. He who can point in this province of human affairs and mastery, to the crown which ends his work in the prosperity and triumph of his policy and methods, may, more than in any other great sphere of political duty and political success, expect and receive the applause which belongs to personal qualities, personal conduct and personal achievement. For this reason, great reputations have been deservedly made and conceded for prosperity in single instances, in isolated negotiations and even in subordinate hands. Who, then, can measure the vast services, and who will venture to qualify the honest fame of one who held, through the whole great drama of our Civil War on the world's stage, the part Mr. Seward filled and the action he displayed.

The leading ideas which, from the beginning to the end of this administra-

tion of the State Department during the first term of Mr. Lincoln's presidency, held possession of the mind of Mr. Seward, and animated and directed his management of the situation, were these: First, that a Nation rent by civil feuds gives at once an opportunity for foreign intervention in its affairs, and this constitutes the chief peril to be guarded against. Second, that the motives and the occasions for this intervention in our domestic conflict were more profound and more importunate than could well be measured. Third, that no calculation could be tolerated of the degree or form of the mischief which would come to our affairs, if this intervention should occur. Fourth, to prevent this intervention would require, and must receive, incessant, intelligent and intrepid action by this Government, through the best means amd agencies at its command. And, last, that neither public opinion, nor popular excitement, nor theoretic reasoning as to our rights, nor our pride or our passions could affect his duty and his responsibility to see to it that intervention did not take place. If, he conceived, this great end was secured, there would be time enough in the future for settlement of all trespasses and redress of all grievances. If, in spite of every effort, foreign intervention should occur, this disaster and our resentment would swallow up all minor incidents. Upon this line Mr. Seward conducted his foreign correspondence, and shaped and directed all other agencies of influence abroad which were at his service. His policy was triumphant. The rebellion was absolutely suppressed without intervention, as, with it, it would not have been, or, certainly, not crushed when and as it was, if intervention had played a part in the transaction. France retired from Mexico, and Mexico remained and France became a Republic. England was brought into judgment for excesses of neutral privileges and condemned by the august tribunal of nations, assembled to pass upon her conduct.

The strange last stroke of the rebellion, as from a dying hand, compassed the death of Seward and Lincoln and accomplished the dreadful purpose in the martyrdom of the great President. The calm sentiments, the prudent counsels, the serene wisdom, the all-embracing charity, which suffereth long and is kind; which, by consent of all men, the situation and the process of restoration and reconstruction manifestly called for, were, for the moment, rudely set aside. Lincoln, alone, held in one hand the moral, the political, the magisterial, gentle and powerful domination over the minds and hearts of his countrymen which could sway them to these controlling duties and purposes, and that hand had lost its cunning and its strength. Suddenly, the task was passed by the Constitution, into unprepared, unselected, unintrusted hands. No statesman was ever placed in more difficult circumstances than befell Mr. Seward by this tragic calamity. Yet nothing was more peremptory, than that Mr. Seward should stand between the living and the dead and attempt to stay the plague of confusion of counsels, vehemence of passions, and the heady fight of factions which ensued upon the death of the President. All these, as we know, culminated in an attempt of the two houses of Congress to depose the President, through the constitutional process of impeachment. The failure saved us from a disaster which would have been, to our institutions, a reproach to the past, a peril to the present, and a menace to the future.

And thus came to an end the great drama of the Civil War, and thus the public life of Mr. Seward was brought to its close. In the last, as in the earlier stages of his public service, the principles, the methods, the policy which he pursued were crowned with success. His political fortunes were never separate, and never separable, from the prosperity of his party and the welfare of his country. The political good of the country was always the end which he had before him. The political means to accomplish this political end, under our institutions, were the action of parties through the methods of free speech, free press, and free suffrage. In this scheme of our wide democracy, he believed with Mr. Burke, "that no men could act with effect, who did not act in concert; that no man could act in concert who did not act with confidence; that no men could act with confidence who were not bound together by common opinions, common affections, and common interests."

In the hour in which I might hope to engage your attention to the man and the career, which it is your delight to honor, I have not attempted the impossible task of unfolding or rehearsing the manifold beneficent and elevated actions of his busy life. I have sought rather, to place before you this imposing figure among men upon the solid structure, as if upon a lofty pedestal, which his public career has built up, to his own fame in the great temple of liberty and justice which we hope will remain the habitation of our people forever.

To me much meditating upon the collective traits of Mr. Seward's character, his life and work seem among the sincerest and worthiest that the history of government and the annals of statesmanship have shown. Those traits were a calm judgment, a penetrating forecast, an intrepid courage, a fervid spirit, unfailing patience, and the largest charity. These, united with great intellect and high morality, made up his qualities and his preparation and equipment for the strenuous public services he was destined to perform. His system of life, his conduct of life comported, from the beginning to the end, with these collective traits. He betrayed no trust, he deserted no duty, he quailed before no danger, he recoiled from no labor, he broke no friendship, he rose on no man's fall, he gained by no man's loss, he fed no grudges, nor raised his own repute by defamation of others. Toward the dear country which he loved, the great Constitution which he revered, the institutions of equality and freedom which he adored, the work of his life was given to strengthen in every part, the Republic, add stability and permanence to its frame and cure all evils in the body politic — *ad firmandam rempublicam, et ad stabiliendas vires, et sanandum populum omnis ejus pergebat institutio.*

Mr. President and Citizens of Auburn: In decreeing a statue to your celebrated townsman, you concur in the general judgment of the country that this life has merited this honor. But there are elements of closer and more delicate associations, on your part, with this life than those which enter into his public fame. Here he lived in the sunshine and the shadow of your and his household lives. Here he began, here he pursued, that public course which, step by step, before your eyes carried him up the steep ascent to the highest honors of the State and of the Nation, and of the applause of the world. Here, his public

services completed, he came back to be your daily companion. Here, from a year's travel, in which he compassed the whole globe, receiving everywhere illustrious honors, he returned again and for the last time. Here, visibly before your afflicted eyes, progressive infirmities oppressed his bodily frame, but they did not dim the light of his understanding nor abate his unquenchable spirit. Here, his mortal remains were laid in the grave which your hands had prepared for them. Here, then, while others lay upon the altar raised to his memory the rich gifts of homage, of honor, of blessing, and of fame, you bring, besides, the precious gold and frankincense and myrrh of your heart's affections to the memory of your neighbor and your friend. Now and henceforth, your beautiful vicinage shall be counted by your countrymen among the sacred places of the land, as the home and the tomb of Seward and the shrine of the noble statue that illustrates his noble life.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following letters have been selected for publication from the large number received, for the reason that they are chiefly the expression of personal friends or associates of Mr. Seward in his life-time, and reveal impressions which he made upon those who knew him most intimately, or that they recall some incident in his career not before made public.

Hon. John Sherman, U. S. Senator.

MANSFIELD, Ohio, *Nov.* 9, 1888.

GENTLEMEN:— I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to attend the unveiling of a statue of William H. Seward, at Auburn, on the 15th inst. I regret that engagements will not permit me to do so. It is fitting that his old neighbors and friends should mark the resting-place of one of the most eminent citizens of America with a memorial statue and accompany its erection with impressive ceremonies. I had the honor to know Mr. Seward well, as well as any one entering public life could know a veteran leader of his party, whose voice and influence were the controlling element that for the first time made his country, in fact as well as in name, a free Republic. In recalling his services and the matchless ability with which he conducted the great battle of freedom I feel that the people of the United States have been wanting in gratitude to him, but that his impress on our history is so strong, and the good he did so great that each revolving year will bring out in living light his love of liberty, the tenacity and courage of his long struggle with slavery, and his final triumph in the emancipation of millions of slaves, to which he contributed more than any one living or dead. I take pleasure in adding my testimony to that of his fellow townsmen and join with you in the highest honors that can bless the memory of a statesman, a philanthropist, and a patriot. Very sincerely yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

Messrs. BENJAMIN B. SNOW and Others, *Committee.*

Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, Mayor of New York City.

MAYOR'S OFFICE,
NEW YORK, *Nov.* 7, 1888.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, Esq., and Others, *Committee, Auburn, N. Y.:*

GENTLEMEN:— I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation of the citizens of Auburn to be present at the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward on the 15th inst. I regret exceedingly that I shall not be able to leave New York at that time, but I sympathize fully with the patriotic spirit which has led the inhabitants of the city, where he lived and died, to erect a durable monument to the memory of the great man whose life was consecrated to the public service and whose impress has been permanently made upon the institutions of the country. I knew him well from my early youth, and I never ceased to admire the courage and the patriotism which he displayed in his long and memorable career. It has been my privilege already to contribute to the monument which stands in Madison Square in this city, and I am glad to see that the example here set is followed in the interior of the State, which owes so much to his public spirit and his self-sacrificing devotion to the general good.

Yours respectfully,
ABRAM S. HEWITT

Hon. Charles C. Nott, Judge Court of Claims.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Nov.* 8, 1888.

Messrs. BENJAMIN B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee, etc., etc.:*

GENTLEMEN:— Official duties, I greatly regret to say, will prevent me from being present at the unveiling of the statue of the great statesman and revered friend whose memory the citizens of Auburn are about to honor. Knowing well the love and esteem in which he was held by both my father and my grandfather before me, I regret for their sakes as well as my own that I cannot unite with you in this act of reverential and just regard.

As my contribution to the occasion I inclose a copy of what is now a rare and well nigh lost literary gem, one which at the time of its publication gave Mr. Seward great pleasure, viz.: Whittier's sonnet on "The Great Plea for the Union," delivered in the Senate, January 12, 1861; and I send it with this explanation:

Knowing how much pleasure it had given Mr. Seward, coming as it did from that extreme wing of ardent men who held

"Even Union less
Than Liberty and Truth and Righteousness."

And knowing also what an historic item it was of that dark and doubting period just before the war, I naturally looked for it when the complete edition of Mr. Whittier's works was published. It was not there. The matter slept for some time, and then I wrote to the poet, whom we all love and revere, asking him to tell me why he had thus excluded it; and then the curious literary

fact appeared that he had sent the sonnet to a newspaper without keeping a copy, and that he had never seen it afterward, and that when the complete edition was published he had no copy to publish. Fortunately I had taken better care of it than its author; and I deem the unveiling of the Auburn statue a fitting occasion for restoring the lost sonnet to the world.

I remain, gentlemen,

Very respectfully, etc., etc.,

CHARLES C. NOTT.

Hon. M. Romero, Minister from Mexico.

LEGACION MEXICANA, WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 10, 1888.

DEAR SIRS: — I have been honored with your invitation to attend the ceremonies of the unveiling of the statue of the late William H. Seward, at the city of Auburn, N. Y., on the 15th inst. It was my fortune to have resided in this city, as the official representative of the Mexican Government during most of the time in which your distinguished statesman, whose memory you honor, filled the office of Secretary of State of the United States, where he had the opportunity, under the circumstances then existing, of rendering the most distinguished services to his country of his eventful career. And I enjoyed not only his personal acquaintance, but also his friendship, having at the same time the opportunity of admiring his high qualities as a patriot and a statesman, under a condition of things no less trying for his than for my own country. Nothing, therefore, could give me greater pleasure than to be able to join you in a celebration to honor the memory of such a distinguished man, who was at the same time a personal friend of mine, and a friend of my country. And it is with the greatest regret, that owing to a previous engagement, I am constrained to forego what I almost consider as the fulfillment of a sacred duty.

I am, gentlemen,

Very respectfully, yours, etc.,

M. ROMERO.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW and Others, *Committee.*

Hon. John Hay, President Lincoln's Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 10, 1888.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, Esq., and Others:

GENTLEMEN: — I sincerely regret that it will not be possible for me to be present at the unveiling of the statue of Mr. Seward, at Auburn, on the 15th. I should have been glad to bring my tribute of respect and veneration for one of the foremost patriots and statesmen in all our history. To his unfaltering courage, clear and prophetic insight, and unsleeping vigilance it is due in a great measure, that we were enabled to fight out our battle for national existence, without the active interference of foreign power. In the darkest hours he never despaired of the Republic. In the great conflict, in the preparation

for which his ardent eloquence had done so much to rouse the conscience of his countrymen, his calm and undaunted spirit looked always beyond the clouds and mists of temporary reverses to the sure sunshine of a righteous peace. He was Lincoln's most intimate and most trusted friend, and wisest counsellor; and their names will shine together like twin stars in the heaven of fame.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN HAY.

Hon. George F. Edmunds, U. S. Senator.

BURLINGTON, Vt., *Nov.* 8, 1888.

DEAR SIR: — I have received the kind invitation of your committee to attend at the unveiling of the statue of the late William H. Seward, on the 15th inst. I sincerely regret that official engagements at Washington compel me to deny myself the pleasure of being present on the occasion. My admiration of Mr. Seward as a great man and a pure patriot has been unqualified since my very young days. And when in 1866, I came to know him personally my appreciation of him as a man, and as a kind friend, and as a statesman, increased with the continuance of our acquaintance. I am glad that the citizens of Auburn have erected this statue in his honor, and I hope it will stand in the presence of future generations, not only as a memorial to his worth and public services, but as an inspiration to the people to strive for the justice of equal laws and for the conservation of stable government.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, Esq., Auburn, N. Y.

Hon. S. S. Cox, M. C.

NEW YORK CITY, *Nov.* 11, 1888.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: — Your invitation to be present at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward, on the 15th inst., is received. It would give me pleasure to be present were I not compelled by duties, to be elsewhere at the time fixed.

In so far as it would be in my humble power to honor William H. Seward, I would be both pleased and proud to do so. My relations with him were all of a federal kind and grew out of our service in the United States Congress together. But it was while he was Secretary of State, during the war, that I learned to appreciate the incomparable genius he displayed in the conduct of our complicated and menacing foreign relations during the darkest years of the Republic. Serving then on the Foreign Affairs committee, I was thrown into frequent intercourse with him; and enjoying his absolute confidence I had occasion to understand and appreciate the lofty and serene statesmanship by which he foiled our enemies, and rescued our Government from division and disaster.

He deserves from Auburn, nay, from the whole country, monumental honors, as well as that higher testimonial to his patriotism, which the history of our country will not fail to bestow.

With respect,

S. S. COX.

Messrs. BENJAMIN B. SNOW and Others, *Committee.*

Hon. Leonard Swett, Lincoln's Partner.

122 ASHLAND AVE., CHICAGO, *Nov.* 12.

Mr. BENJAMIN B. SNOW, and Others of *Committee:*

GENTLEMEN: — Your invitation to be present at Auburn at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the statue of Mr. William H. Seward, on the 15th instant, has been received. I regret that professional engagements will prevent my participation in this pleasing duty.

I had the pleasure of an intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Seward during the period in which he was Secretary of State to Mr. Lincoln, and remember especially the intimate and friendly relations that existed between the two.

Mr. Lincoln's relations to the other members of the Cabinet in the main were official, but between him and Mr. Seward there seemed to be an intimacy and friendship based upon a personal liking of each other. They were alike and unlike just enough to have a sincere affection for one another, and whenever their duties permitted, they were fond of getting together and spending a day in unbending genuine social life.

For instance, I remember in the autumn of 1864, when the lines of care had begun to furrow themselves in Mr. Lincoln's face, a time was approaching in which he could take a whole day off and rest. I went to him, and reminding him of the day and necessity for rest, said, "Where can you go and what can you do which will give you on that day the most unbroken recreation?" After a moment's reflection he replied, "Go to Marshal Lamon and get him and his carriage, a lunch and a rifle, and then get Mr. Seward and we will go into the woods beyond the Soldiers' Home and spend the day there alone, talking and shooting with the rifle."

We made the preparations and I went to Mr. Seward, saying that Mr. Lincoln had selected him as his companion for the day.

We went together as far as we could into the forest, in the bright sunlight,

> "Where the sound of dropping nuts is heard,
> Tho' all the trees are still,"

and spent the day in pleasant conversation and shooting with the rifle.

I also remember well that Mr. Lincoln beat the whole party in shooting.

I recall also an incident which once occurred subsequently in the State Department, when Mr. Seward was Secretary of State in Mr. Johnson's Cabinet.

I was sitting there opposite him so that the gash of the assassin's knife was prominent before me. I said, "Mr. Seward, I do not wish to be impertinent,

but I do want to look critically at your throat." He immediately took off his cravat, unbuttoned his collar, and showed how the knife had pierced him, and how by a hair's breadth it missed the great artery of life.

As I sat down Mr. Seward said, "I have always felt that Providence dealt hardly with me in not letting me die with Mr. Lincoln. My work was done, and I think I deserved the reward of dying there. How much better to have died than to prolong my life, in the miserable business of patching up Johnson's Cabinet."

Mr. Seward was a great and good man, genial and pleasant in his friendships, and honorable and true in all public positions he held.

Yours truly,

LEONARD SWETT.

Quarter-Master General Meigs.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Nov.* 9, 1888.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW and Others, *Committee:*

GENTLEMEN:—It is a regret to me that I shall not be able to attend the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward on the 15th of this month.

Mr. Seward, a great statesman, a patriot, and for years a power in our country, who foresaw and designated the "irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery, long before it culminated in the struggles of an armed Nation, was from the time I first met him, years before the rebellion, a most kind friend to me, and to him I render the homage of respectful admiration and friendship, due to his genius and to his private worth.

His fame rests on sure grounds, in the written history of this country, and his fellow-citizens of Auburn, his home, do themselves honor in erecting a monument to his memory.

Such monuments appeal to the rising generations and lead them to reflect upon the toils, the sacrifices, the dangers through which liberty and justice are established in this country.

With the hope that for centuries to come, no domestic discord will allow hostile hands to desecrate the monument you are about to dedicate, I subscribe myself your obedient and faithful friend and servant.

M. C. MEIGS,

Quarter-Master-General United States Army, Brevet Major-General.

Major-General N. P. Banks, ex-Speaker of Congress.

WALTHAM, Mass., *Nov.* 12, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR: — Please accept my sincere thanks for your invitation to attend the ceremony of unveiling Mr. Seward's statue at Auburn, the 15th inst. It is a grief that I am compelled to deny myself that privilege, as engagements that cannot be deterred require my presence here. For many years I enjoyed the honor of Mr. Seward's acquaintance and learned, as others did, to respect

his just and generous character, his varied and profound attainments, his lasting attachment to personal friends, and his patriotic regard for the interests of the country. But it was not until I was in some slight measure associated with him in the consideration of foreign affairs that I was able justly to appreciate the great qualities of his character.

No citizen could be less considerate of private or personal interests, or more unreserved in devotion to the welfare of his country than Mr. Seward. He seemed absolutely devoid of the spirit of rivalry, and best pleased when by his own concessions he had harmonized the aspirations of others with the just and general interests of the country. In his last days, when racked by pain and enfeebled by incurable disease, he maintained the serenity of his character and gave to others the consolations which an unclouded mind and great heart could command. He was a worthy coadjutor of Abraham Lincoln and the cause and country for which Mr. Lincoln suffered and died.

Respectfully,

N. P. BANKS.

Admiral Porter.

OFFICE OF THE ADMIRAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *Nov.* 10, 1888.

GENTLEMEN: — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation on behalf of the citizens of Auburn, to be present at the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward, at Auburn, on the 15th of November.

It would afford me much pleasure to be present at the ceremonies, if my health and duties will permit.

Thanking you kindly for thinking of me on this occasion, I beg leave to remain,

Very respectfully,

DAVID D. PORTER, *Admiral.*

Messrs. BENJAMIN B. SNOW and Others, *Committee.*

J. C. Bancroft Davis, Late Assistant Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 8, 1888.

Messrs. B. B. SNOW and Others, etc.:

GENTLEMEN:— I regret extremely that inability to leave Washington on the 15th inst. will deprive me of the pleasure of witnessing the unveiling of the statue of the late Mr. Seward at Auburn, and of hearing the story of his noble life told in the eloquent language of his distinguished friend, Mr. Evarts.

I count it among my cherished memories that I had the pleasure to know Mr. Seward well, and I thank the committee for remembering me on this occasion.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS.

From the Hon. Charles Francis Adams.

BOSTON, *Nov.* 8, 1888.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, Esq., and Others, *Committee, Auburn, N. Y.:*

GENTLEMEN:— I have to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation on behalf of the citizens of Auburn to attend the ceremonies at the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward, on the 15th inst.

While it would afford me the utmost pleasure in this or in any other way, to show the respect I bear to the memory of Mr. Seward, I regret to say that my engagements are of such a character that they will not permit my absence from here at the time named. Regretting extremely that this should be the case,

I remain, etc.,

CHARLES F. ADAMS.

Hon. Samuel Blatchford, Associate Justice U. S. Supreme Court.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Dec.* 10, 1888.

Messrs. B. B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee of the Citizens of Auburn:*

GENTLEMEN:— I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your courteous invitation to myself and my family to be present at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward, at Auburn, on the 15th of November.

It would give me unfeigned pleasure to be present at, and take part in, these ceremonies, were it not for the necessity of my continued presence at Washington, in the discharge of my public duties as a member of the Supreme Court of the United States.

I am rejoiced at this tribute of respect which the citizens of Auburn are paying to the memory of the great statesman who made that city his home from his early youth until his death. Associated with him as I was, from my appointment as his private secretary, on the 1st of January, 1839, at the time he assumed the office of Governor of the State of New York, on his first election to that position, becoming military secretary on his staff in September, 1841, and continuing in that relation until his second term of office as Governor closed, on the 31st of December, 1842, my relations with him had become so close, that, in November, 1845, I removed to Auburn, from the city of New York, and formed a copartnership with him, and my excellent friend, the late Christopher Morgan, in the practice of the law. This relation continued until the fall of 1854, when I removed back to the city of New York, Governor Seward having been in the meantime elected United States Senator from the State of New York, and having taken his seat as such on the 4th day of March, 1849. His public career from that time, for twelve years in the Senate and for eight years as Secretary of State of the United States, is well known to all.

It was my good fortune, as an inmate of his family for nearly three years, to enjoy the full benefits which such an intimate association could confer. I saw daily his patient assiduity, his equanimity of temper, his varied resources, the versatility of his acquirements, his fidelity in every relation, his wisdom and

his practical talent, as a statesman, as a politician, as a lawyer, and as a man. In his daily intercourse with his fellow citizens he was modest and humble, with a kind word for every one, a ready ear for all who came to ask his advice, and a liberal hand in bestowing aid, cheerfully, yet with discrimination.

It is fitting that his fellow citizens, who knew him so well and appreciated him so thoroughly, should perpetuate his memory in the statue whose unveiling you celebrate. It has given me great pleasure to have been invited and permitted to contribute to the erection of this memorial. It is also eminently fitting that it should be erected, not only in the heart of the city whose prosperity was always dear to him, but in a site as near as possible to those walks and abiding places which he most often frequented in his life-time, and where his virtues and excellencies are perpetuated by those who bear his name. I am, with high respect, Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL BLATCHFORD.

Hon. George William Curtis.

WEST NEW BRIGHTON, S. I., N. Y., *Nov.* 8, 1888.

DEAR SIR:— I am very much honored by your invitation to the ceremonies of unveiling the statue of Mr. Seward, and I regret sincerely that I am unable to accept it.

In the National Republican Convention of 1860, when the delegation from New York, of which I was one, had endeavored in vain to secure the nomination of Mr. Seward, I remember with what impressive pathos to which all our hearts responded, the chairman of the delegation, who is your orator of the day, Mr. Evarts, said in moving to make the nomination of Mr. Lincoln unanimous, "Mr. Chairman, we came from a great State, bringing with us, as we believed, the name of a great statesman." It was very fortunate for the Republican party that it in its early days should have had in the Senate a leader of so philosophic and optimistic a temperament as Mr. Seward. No political party, indeed, could have been more fortunate in its conspicuous chiefs,— Lincoln, Seward, Chase, and Sumner. Every young Republican of that day, recalling the moral enthusiasm of the great controversy, now happily and forever closed, will rejoice in the permanent honors paid to a statesman who represents the convictions which have formed a more perfect union, established justice, secured domestic tranquillity, provided for the common defense, promoted the general welfare, and secured the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

Hon. Charles Devens, ex-United States Attorney-General.

BOSTON, *Nov.* 12, 1888.

GENTLEMEN: — I am much obliged by the invitation of the citizens of Auburn to attend the dedication of the memorial statue to Mr. Seward. It would

afford me much pleasure to unite with them in doing honor to the memory of this illustrious statesman and to listen with them to the eminent orator by whom the occasion will be fitly commemorated.

I regret that my judicial engagements in Massachusetts render it impossible.

Nowhere was Mr. Seward more honored and loved than in this State, while his name is forever identified with the great conflict which redeemed a Nation, and consecrated it forever to freedom, and while his fame is part of the honor and glory of the whole country, it is eminently proper that such a memorial as that which you propose should stand in the city which was his home.

You who were his neighbors and friends and who knew him in his daily walk and conversation, like him must soon pass away. But his memory should remain forever where he dwelt, as an incitement to high thought, to faithful performance of duty, and to noble and exalted patriotism. I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES DEVENS.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW and Others, *Committee on Invitations.*

Hon. W. A. Sackett.

SARATOGA SPRINGS, *Nov.* 10, 1888.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, Esq., and Others, *Committee, etc.:*

GENTLEMEN: — I have received your kind invitation in behalf of the citizens of Auburn to be present at the unveiling of the memorial statue of William H. Seward, for which please accept my most sincere thanks. Unavoidable circumstances will prevent my attendance; every feeling of my heart and all the memories of my earlier and middle manhood will unite me in spirit with those who participate in the ceremonies of the occasion. A commemoration that well befits the memory of the great man, patriot and statesman, whose name it perpetuates. No name in American history is more worthy of monumental fame. His life filled the full measure of progress, truth, greatness. History cannot overstate the advantages of his career to his country and to mankind.

Mr. Seward in his earlier years, as Governor, Senator, Secretary of State, was always my most esteemed friend and political guide. These memorial services carry me back through a most eventful period in our country's history, in peace and in war, for more than fifty years; take me back again to the early days of slavery agitation, to the time when the chains of bondage fell from more than five millions of our fellow-men.

Mr. Seward's life was so full of earnest, determined effort in behalf of humanity and the rights of man, that it is useless to attempt to enumerate. The pages of history will do him justice. He will live in monuments, in fame, and in the hearts of his countrymen to the latest ages. His memory will be the memory of the great and glorious events of his country, in the times in which he lived.

I wish I could be with you and take part in the honors to his name. I send my heart, my memories, and my most profound regards.

W. A. SACKETT.

Hon. Alexander H. Rice, M. C.

BOSTON, Mass., *Nov.* 8, 1888.

GENTLEMEN: — I feel greatly honored by your invitation to attend the ceremonies at the unveiling of the statue at Auburn, of your late illustrious fellow-citizen, the Hon. William H. Seward, whose friendship it was my privilege to enjoy, and whose memory I cherish with affectionate veneration.

If it were possible for me to be present on the occasion referred to, it would give me pleasure to accept your invitation; but I have engagements elsewhere which forbid. I am, gentlemen,

Yours very truly,

ALEXANDER H. RICE.

Messrs. BENJAMIN B. SNOW and Others, *Committee.*

Rev. Father Mulheron.

AUBURN, N. Y., *Nov.* 8, 1888.

Messrs. BENJAMIN B. SNOW, CLINTON D. MACDOUGALL and Others, in *Committee:*

GENTLEMEN: — It is with regret that I must fail to respond in person to your kind invitation to be present at the unveiling of the Seward monument on the 15th inst.

I must necessarily be out of town on that day, and could it be otherwise I would gladly be present as a mark of respect to the honored statesman, both as a personal admirer and as one of a class who owe such men a grateful remembrance.

Our country has been prolific in great men, but there are few the peers of William H. Seward, who to great intellectual powers added a largeness of heart and a magnanimity of soul which lifted him high above the narrowness of party spirit and the bigotry of sectarian prejudices. He was a great man in the true sense of the word, and in honoring his memory besides honoring itself, our town deserves the gratitude of the Nation.

Yours very sincerely,

W. MULHERON.

Hon. John D. Lawson.

11 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK, *Nov.* 8, 1888.

Mr. BENJAMIN B. SNOW, and Others:

GENTLEMEN: — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation of the citizens of Auburn to be present at the ceremonies attending the

unveiling of a statue of William H. Seward, on the 15th inst., but will be unable to do so. I regret this the more as my first vote was cast for him in 1839, and during the succeeding years of his life I entertained for him the highest respect and admiration, and made him my political mentor.

Yours, very respectfully,

JOHN D. LAWSON.

Hon. Hamilton Fish, ex-Secretary of State.

251 EAST 17TH ST., NEW YORK.

GENTLEMEN: — It is with much regret that I am compelled to decline the invitation to attend the unveiling of the statue of Governor Seward, on the 15th inst. The condition of my health prevents my personal presence on this interesting occasion, but I shall be with you in spirit, and in the desire of doing all honor to the memory of one of New York's greatest and most distinguished citizens.

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

HAMILTON FISH.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee.*

Hon. Andrew Shuman, ex-Lieutenant-Governor, Illinois.

Mr. BENJAMIN B. SNOW:

DEAR SIR: — I have received the invitation of your committee to be present at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward, and much regret that it will not be possible for me to accept.

I have a very pleasant remembrance of the Hon. William H. Seward as I knew him in my boyhood, and have a profound veneration for him and his public career in subsequent years. He was the astute Gamaliel at whose feet I bowed while he was living, and I shall honor his memory as long as I live. I heartily wish that I could, with others of his surviving friends and admirers, testify to my respect by being present at the ceremonies to which you invite me, and I regret that I cannot do so.

Respectfully yours,

ANDREW SHUMAN.

Hon. Levi P. Morton, Vice-President Elect.

85 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, *Nov.* 14, 1888.

DEAR SIR: — I regret to find that pressing engagements will render it impossible for me to be present at the ceremonies connected with the unveiling of the statue intended to commemorate the noble life of William H. Seward. It is a disappointment that I am unable to join you in these ceremonies, for

my whole heart is with you in the tribute the Nation owes to the sound judgment, sterling ability and lofty patriotism of this son of New York.

You will have with you, however, at your gathering to-morrow, orators who will recall the services of inestimable value which he rendered to the Nation as the right arm of Abraham Lincoln in the "irrepressible conflict." Together they stood at the helm of the Nation through its bitterest storm; together they were struck down by the assassin's blow; and together they will live in the hearts of their countrymen as the foremost patriots of all time.

With renewed regrets, believe me,

Very faithfully yours,

LEVI P. MORTON.

Messrs. B. B. SNOW and Others, *Committee.*

Hon. M. W. Fuller, Chief Justice U. S. Supreme Court.

WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 13, 1888.

DEAR SIRS:—I sincerely regret that official duties here render it impossible for me to accept your courteous invitation to be present at the unveiling of a statue of that eminent statesman, your beloved townsman, William H. Seward, to appreciation of whose great and instructive career, I would otherwise have been glad to testify by personal attendance on this interesting occasion.

Very truly yours,

M. W. FULLER.

Messrs. SNOW, DWIGHT, MAC DOUGALL, TELLER, ROBINSON, UNDERWOOD, and OSBORNE, *Committee.*

Hon. John A. King.

WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 14, 1888.

Messrs. SNOW, DWIGHT, and Members of *Committee, etc.:*

DEAR SIRS:—It is with great regret that engagement in this city will deprive me of the pleasure to which you have so kindly invited me. It would have been with unfeigned satisfaction, agreeable to me to have assisted at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of a statue of William H. Seward; of one whose memory is dear to every true lover of his country, and of the great principles of human freedom.

Truly have the citizens of Auburn honored themselves in placing so enduringly and in the view of all who may henceforth visit their beautiful city, the features and figure of the illustrious statesman, whose imprint has been made so deeply in the annals of our State and Nation, that no time can efface.

Trusting that the occasion may in every way be full of happiness as it is most fitting, I have the honor to be with the highest respect,

Yours, etc.,

JOHN A. KING.

Hon. Samuel F. Miller, Associate Justice U. S. Supreme Court.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 12, 1888.

Mr. BENJAMIN B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee, etc.:*

Please accept my thanks for the invitation to be present at the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward, by the citizens of Auburn.

It would give me no ordinary pleasure to be present on that occasion. Mr. Seward was no ordinary man, and it was my pleasure to be personally on intimate terms of friendship with him during the period of his long services as Secretary of State.

And while I have now been over a quarter of a century in the public service in a position that has enabled me to become well acquainted with nearly all the public men of the United States, few, indeed, have impressed me as he has done.

If he had no other claim on his country's gratitude than his services in the department of State, which is by no means all, it would be difficult to fix too high a value on them. But the duties of the court to which I belong forbid my presence, and thanking you for your courtesy, I am,

Your obedient servant,

SAM. F. MILLER.

Hon. John G. Nicolay, Private Secretary of President Lincoln.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Nov.* 13, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you and your committee for the invitation to be present at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of a statue of William H. Seward at Auburn, New York, on the 15th instant.

I had hoped to be able to go, but now find that work which I cannot postpone will prevent my doing so. Though absent, I join you heartily in honoring the memory of the great statesman whose patriotism and eminent public service it was my good fortune to witness, and the recollection of whose personal friendship I gratefully cherish.

Your obedient servant,

JNO. G. NICOLAY.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, Esq., and *Committee.*

Judge W. H. Robertson.

KATONAH, *Nov.* 13, 1888.

GENTLEMEN:—I regret my inability to be present at the unveiling of a statue of William H. Seward at Auburn, on the 15th inst., to which I have your kind invitation, and for which please accept my thanks.

I was an ardent admirer of Governor Seward from my boyhood till his death. Twice I voted for him for U. S. Senator; and the remembrance of those votes

is even now a source of pleasure and pride; only one other member of the Legislature voted for him at both elections.

What he did in the cause of freedom; what he did for the preservation of the Union; and what he did for the public good in other respects, have erected in the hearts of the people an enduring monument to his memory as a citizen, and to his fame as a statesman. Regretting that I am unable to be with you at the unveiling, I am, Yours truly,

W. H. ROBERTSON.

Messrs. BENJ. B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee.*

Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss.

NEW YORK, *Nov.* 12, 1888.

B. B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee, Auburn, N. Y.*.

GENTLEMEN:—I am in receipt of your invitation to attend the ceremonies incident to the unveiling of a statue of William H. Seward, on the 15th inst.

I regret that engagements of long standing for this week make it impossible for me to join with you on Thursday, in reviving the memories of this great patriot and statesman

To men of middle age, no memorial is needed to recall Mr. Seward's supreme devotion to his country during the political contest which culminated in the rebellion of 1861 to 1865; but it is peculiarly fitting that memorials should be erected by the generation that knew him, that the young of this and future generations, as they look upon the marble or bronze presentment, may be led to study his life, and to learn from his great example. lessons of courage, of devotion to duty, and lofty patriotism.

Yours truly,

CORNELIUS N. BLISS.

Hon. A. D. F. Randolph.

NEW YORK, *Nov.* 13, 1888.

To BENJ. B. SNOW, Esq., CLINTON MACDOUGALL, and Others, *Committee:*

DEAR SIRS:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to meet the citizens of Auburn at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of a statue of William H. Seward, on Thursday next, and very much regret my inability to be present on that occasion.

Permit me to say that half a century ago, and before I had attained my majority, that I was a "young Whig" under the leadership of the "young Governor." Later on, as a private citizen, I followed him through the varying fortunes of the Whig party into the Republican organization and the "Irrepressible Conflict" and all else that followed. It was the lead of one who had the courage of his convictions, combined with those rarer qualities of self-poise and wise patience, that enabled him to go forward or calmly wait, with no relaxing effort or abatement of determination to ultimately reach a successful conclusion.

[illegible] to be written. [illegible] some [illegible] passions, some [illegible] history will record [illegible] circumstances [illegible] American statesmen [illegible] him it was [illegible] conscience and heart of [illegible] political party of [illegible] within a brief [illegible] bitterest foes [illegible] historian [illegible] maligned, misrepresented and misunderstood [illegible] many at the North [illegible] high and steadfast devotion [illegible] retaliation, but only an ever present and supreme determination [illegible] the inalienable rights of man, and to keep [illegible] the Union of the States.

And [illegible] statesmanship based on broad and enduring principles and not on the [illegible] shifting policies of the hour.

The city of Auburn [illegible] honor to his memory. It is an additional proof that where he was best known there he was best loved. I am

Yours faithfully,

A. L. F. RANDOLPH.

Hon. Johnston Livingston.

145 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 13, 1888.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, Esq., and others of the Committee of the Citizens of Auburn:

GENTLEMEN: — I am in receipt of your kind invitation to be present at the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward, and regret that I cannot avail myself of it and be present and do my mite in honor of the grandest character our State has produced. The Nation as well as our State are proud of him — and future generations of Americans will continue to admire and honor him. With kind regards,

Yours truly,

JOHNSTON LIVINGSTON.

Hon. S. Edwin Day.

MORAVIA, N. Y., Nov. 14, 1888.

GENTLEMEN: — That I cannot be present at the exercises attendant on the unveiling of the statue of the late Secretary Seward, pursuant to your kind invitation, is a source of deep regret to me, inasmuch as the occasion will not only be one of present enjoyment, but of pleasant recollection in the years to come.

It is indeed meet that the virtues, valor, ability, services and sufferings of him who was easily first among our citizens, who was for many years in the foremost rank of leaders in the councils of the State and Nation, and whose fame was as wide as the world, should be recognized and honored by a commemorative work of art standing and to stand at Auburn, his home, which he loved so well.

Chief among those virtues was his adherence to duty, and whether engaged in the defense of a friendless and unfortunate dement in a criminal court or in the difficult and delicate duty of managing and guiding the ship of State in the dark days and storm of war, he was always true to his trusts, and he well earned his epitaph, "He was faithful."

Very respectfully,

S. EDWIN DAY.

To BENJAMIN B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee.*

Hon. Russell Sage.

506 FIFTH AVE., N. Y., *Nov.* 13, 1888.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, THEODORE DWIGHT, Esqs., and Others, *Committee, Auburn, N. Y.:*

GENTLEMEN: — I have delayed acknowledging the receipt of your invitation to be present at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward on the 15th inst., hoping to be able to be present and thus manifest the love, friendship and confidence I entertained for the great statesman while living — and no less cherished now that he is dead — but I have important engagements on the 15th instant that will prevent my being with you.

The citizens of Auburn are to be congratulated for erecting a monument to the memory of one of the most foremost statesmen of his age, and to one whose unsurpassed effort in the cause of human liberty has not been in our Public Councils since nor before he left them. It was my good fortune to know Mr. Seward during the last twenty years of his life, and to be associated with him in the Councils of our common country, and to know of his untiring labors in battling for the right and for conciliating the distrust and dissenting sentiments that prevailed from 1850 until the close of the civil war in 1865.

It fell to my lot to be summoned to meet Mr. Seward in the month of June, 1849, after the adjournment of a special session of the United States Senate and to learn of the distrust, envy and malignity that prevailed with leading Whigs at the South to destroy Senator Seward's influence with Taylor's Administration. This was aided by what was termed the "Silver Gray" element of the Whig party in the Middle States, and it required the greatest patience, patriotism and ability to overcome this feeling. But Governor Seward possessed the vigor of intellect and the power of patience to dispel the slanders and the envy of the unheard of political intrigue that attempted to destroy his influence and usefulness for the cause of human liberty. It was from this period

to the close of the civil war that he was strengthened in his unequaled efforts in the Senate in pleading for the oppressed, and holding aloft the true standard that should draw around him the party that sustained him until the conflict was over; and, as time rolls on, the feeling of gratitude, such as you evince to-day, in your efforts in commemorating the memory of him, will be increased when the centuries roll around, and his name will be cherished amongst the greatest defenders of human liberty that lived in the nineteenth century. But I must stop or I fear I shall be drawn into a discussion beyond the limits allowed to the acknowledgment of your courteous invitation, and I, therefore, subscribe myself to be

Your obedient servant,

RUSSELL SAGE.

Hon. R. S. Chilton.

UNITED STATES CONSULATE, GODERICH, Ont., *Nov.* 12, 1888.

To BENJAMIN B. SNOW, CLINTON D. MACDOUGALL, etc., *Committee, Auburn, N. Y.:*

GENTLEMEN:— I regret exceedingly that I am unable to accept the invitation with which you have honored me to be present at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of a statue of William H. Seward. It is fitting that he be thus honored. Although the contemporary of many public men now living, it is not without an effort that we dissociate him from those statesmen of an earlier day who framed the Republic which he, conjointly with our martyr-President, did so much to save. The lofty patriotism, the heroic courage in the discharge of public duty, which distinguished them, was not less conspicuous in him whose statue you will unveil on Thursday next.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

R. S. CHILTON, *U. S. Consul.*

General Alexander S. Webb.

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, NEW YORK, *Nov.* 7, 1888.

General Alexander S. Webb, LL. D., President of the College of the City of New York, will gladly represent his college at the unveiling of the statue to William H. Seward.

Public education owes more to William H. Seward than to any other honored citizen of New York.

Hon. Sayles J. Bowen, ex-Mayor of Washington.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Nov.* 13, 1888.

GENTLEMEN: — I received last evening your kind invitation to be present on the 15th instant, at the unveiling of the statue erected to commemorate the name of William H. Seward.

While it would be a gratification to me to accept the invitation and join with the citizens of my native county in the ceremonies of the day, I find it impossible to leave the city and be absent at the time designated.

I knew Mr. Seward from my earliest youth. During his periods of service in the United States Senate, and in the Cabinets of the lamented Lincoln, and of Andrew Johnson, I resided in this city and was cognizant of the many important patriotic acts he performed in the interest and for the benefit of the whole Nation. To his sagacity, wise counsel and disinterested patriotism may justly be attributed the fact, that, during the darkest days of the war of the Rebellion, we were not involved in an open war with Great Britain, and had the sympathy, aid and good will of Russia withdrawn from us.

But even to refer to his many acts of statesmanship, during his long and useful public life, would extend this letter beyond a proper length. The history of William H. Seward is written in the hearts of the American people.

His name will be cherished so long as the American Government survives or a lover of human liberty and human rights exists.

Thanking you kindly for your invitation, and regretting my inability to be present with you on the interesting occasion,

I am, gentlemen, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SAYLES J. BOWEN.

To Hon. *Committee of Arrangements, etc.*

Hon. Abram Wakeman.

46 East Twentieth Street, New York, *Nov.* 13, 1888.

Gentlemen: — Many thanks for your kind invitation to attend the ceremonies of the unveiling of a statue of William H. Seward, at Auburn, on the 15th instant.

I deeply regret that previous engagements of an imperative character will prevent my acceptance.

Although absent, my heart will respond in deep sympathy with all that may be said or done to honor New York's greatest and noblest son.

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

ABRAM WAKEMAN.

To Benjamin B. Snow, Esq., and Others, the *Committee.*

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

Boston, Mass., 90 Marlborough Street, *Nov.* 13, 1888.

Gentlemen: — Absence from home has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your obliging invitation. I had many pleasant associations with your illustrious fellow citizen, Mr. Seward, and should most gladly have listened to the

oration of Senator Evarts on the unveiling of the Memorial Statue. But I am compelled to deny myself, and can only offer you my sincere thanks.

Yours, respectfully and truly,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

Hon. B. B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee of Citizens of Auburn.*

Hon. Marvelle W. Cooper.

THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB, NEW YORK, *Nov.* 10, 1888.

GENTLEMEN:— I have the honor to receive your invitation to be present at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward at Auburn on the 15th instant, and I beg leave to express my sincere regret that prior engagements will prevent me from availing myself of the opportunity which this occasion offers of testifying my high regard for the foremost man that New York gave to promote the immortal mission of Abraham Lincoln.

Very respectfully yours,

MARVELLE W. COOPER.

To BENJAMIN B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee.*

General Schuyler Hamilton.

PARK AVE. HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, *Nov.* 13, 1888.

BENJAMIN B. SNOW, and Others, *Committee:*

GENTLEMEN:— Your kind invitation to be present at the unveiling of the statue of William H. Seward at Auburn, November 15th, is this moment received. Full of admiration and esteem for his character and indebted to him for much personal kindness, I regret that circumstances beyond my control prevent my being present at so interesting a ceremony.

Yours very truly,

SCHUYLER HAMILTON.

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